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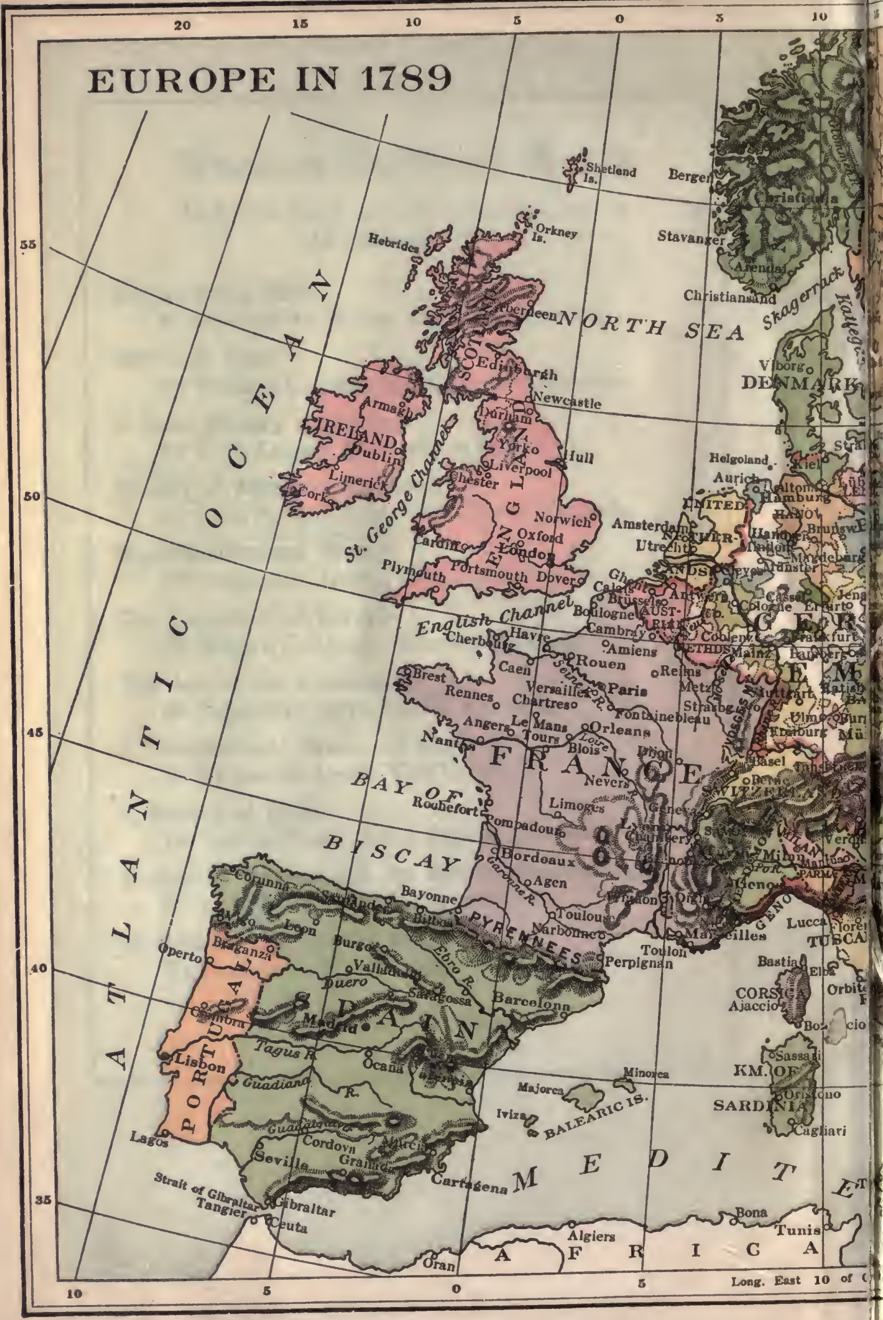

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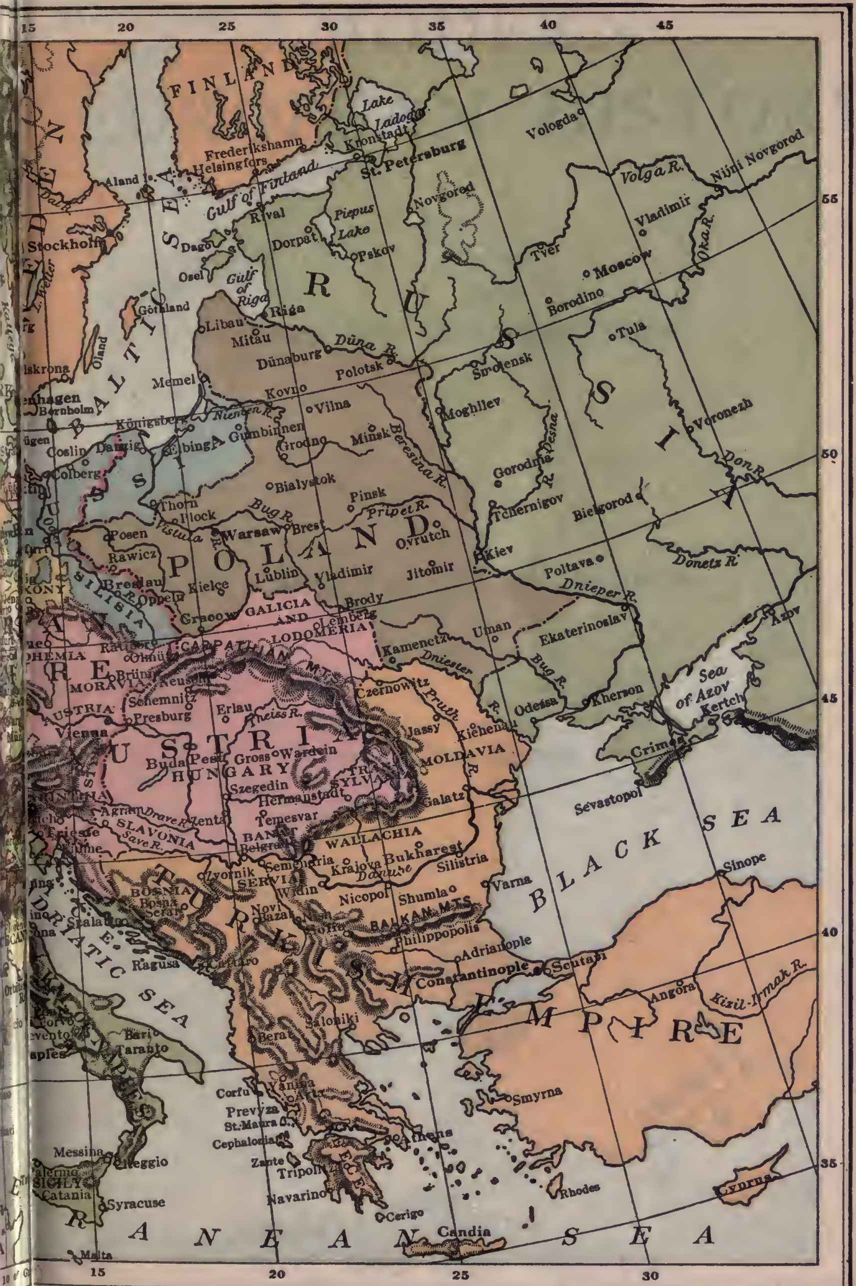
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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

BY
CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

REVISED EDITION

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PREFACE

To all thoughtful persons the European War has brought home with overwhelming power the importance of a knowledge of modern European history. For without such knowledge no one can understand, or begin to understand, the significance of the forces that have made it, the vastness of the issues involved, the nature of what is indisputably one of the gravest crises, if not the very gravest, in the history of mankind. The destinies of every nation in this world and the conditions of life of every individual will inevitably be changed, and may be profoundly changed, by the outcome of this gigantic and portentous conflict. No citizen of a free country who takes his citizenship seriously, who considers himself responsible, to the full extent of his personal influence, for the character and conduct of his government, can, without the crudest self-stultification, admit that he knows nothing and cares nothing about the history of Europe.

If he cares for his own national inheritance and tradition, for its characteristic and fundamental policies and principles, then he will care most emphatically about what happens in Europe. Nothing that happens there is really foreign to us, for the fortunes of Europe and America are inextricably intertwined.

This, in my opinion the most outstanding fact in the modern world, was exemplified in the eighteenth century in the person of Lafayette, an American patriot and a French patriot, a hero of two revolutions. In Lafayette's library hung appropriately side by side two momentous documents, the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, two utterances that have had memorable consequences in the world because multitudes of men have been willing to give their lives that these principles might prevail and multitudes have given their lives that they should not prevail.

Fundamentally this struggle for liberty has been the warp and woof of modern European history and the vicissitudes of the struggle are, in the deepest sense, what I have attempted to set forth in this volume.

Complicated, exceedingly, has been the history of this conflict, and many other elements have entered into the problem and solution. These I have given their due place, but I have also endeavored to keep them in just subordination to the central theme.

As furnishing the background for the story, I have described in the opening chapters the chief features of the eighteenth century, the Old Régime in Europe and in France. That régime was boldly challenged and roughly handled by the French Revolution. I have endeavored to indicate the spirit and meaning of that revolution as well as to describe its stirring events and personalities.. That revolution clashed with Europe and started a European revolution, which has had its ups and downs, its victories and defeats, its varying issues in the different countries. The contest assumed the character of world warfare under Napoleon, who said of himself that he was "the Revolution" and that he had "killed the Revolution." Neither statement was correct; yet each possessed an element of truth. This essential duality of the Napoleonic system, Old Régime and New Régime commingled in impossible union, I have sought to make clear.

Napoleon partially conquered the New Régime, and those who conquered Napoleon and sent him to St. Helena were anxious to conquer it still more. They for a while succeeded, but in the end the new spirit which was abroad in the world was too strong for them and they and their works were severely battered by the widespread revolutions of 1848. To those who are content to look at the surface, the revolutions of that year seemed ephemeral; to those who look beneath they appear anything but ephemeral.

This ebb and flow has been the rhythm of European history since the close of the eighteenth century. The new has indisputably progressed, but it has progressed unequally in the different countries, as was natural and inevitable, since those countries are very dissimilar in character, in stages of development, and in mental outlook. This all-absorbing conflict has not yet ended.

This struggle for freedom has had many aspects. The spirit of nationalism, so prominent a feature of the nineteenth century, has in some cases been an expression of the desire for liberty; in other cases it has been the expression of the old familiar desire for national greatness and power, nothing more. I have attempted in my narrative to show the varying operation of this spirit in the different countries.

Again, where economic and social factors have been formative in national policy, I have described them, as for instance the conditions that prevailed in France before the Revolution, the free trade movement in England, the abolition of serfdom in Russia, the Zollverein in Germany, the tariff policies, the labor legislation, and the various measures of social reform which have been a growing feature of the modern world.

In the treatment of the past century I have drawn freely upon my larger work, *Europe Since 1815*. The numerous illustrations which accompany the text have been selected with reference to their historical importance, and it is hoped that they will render the scenes and persons they portray more actual. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Ernest F. Henderson and his publishers, Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, for permission to use several illustrations from Dr. Henderson's vivid and illuminating book *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution;* and to Miss Louise Stetson Fuller of the Department of History of Smith College for the preparation of the Index.

C. D. H.

Columbia University, January, 1917

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

This book appeared originally early in 1917. I have since then added an account of the Great War ending with the armistice of November, 1918. I have, however, allowed the earlier chapters to stand as they were written in spite of the obvious incongruity of some of the tenses employed in them. This arrangement is provisional only; meanwhile no one is likely to be deceived or confused, the change in the situation of the world, rendering such formal alterations desirable, having occurred so recently.

C. D. H.

June 6, 1919.

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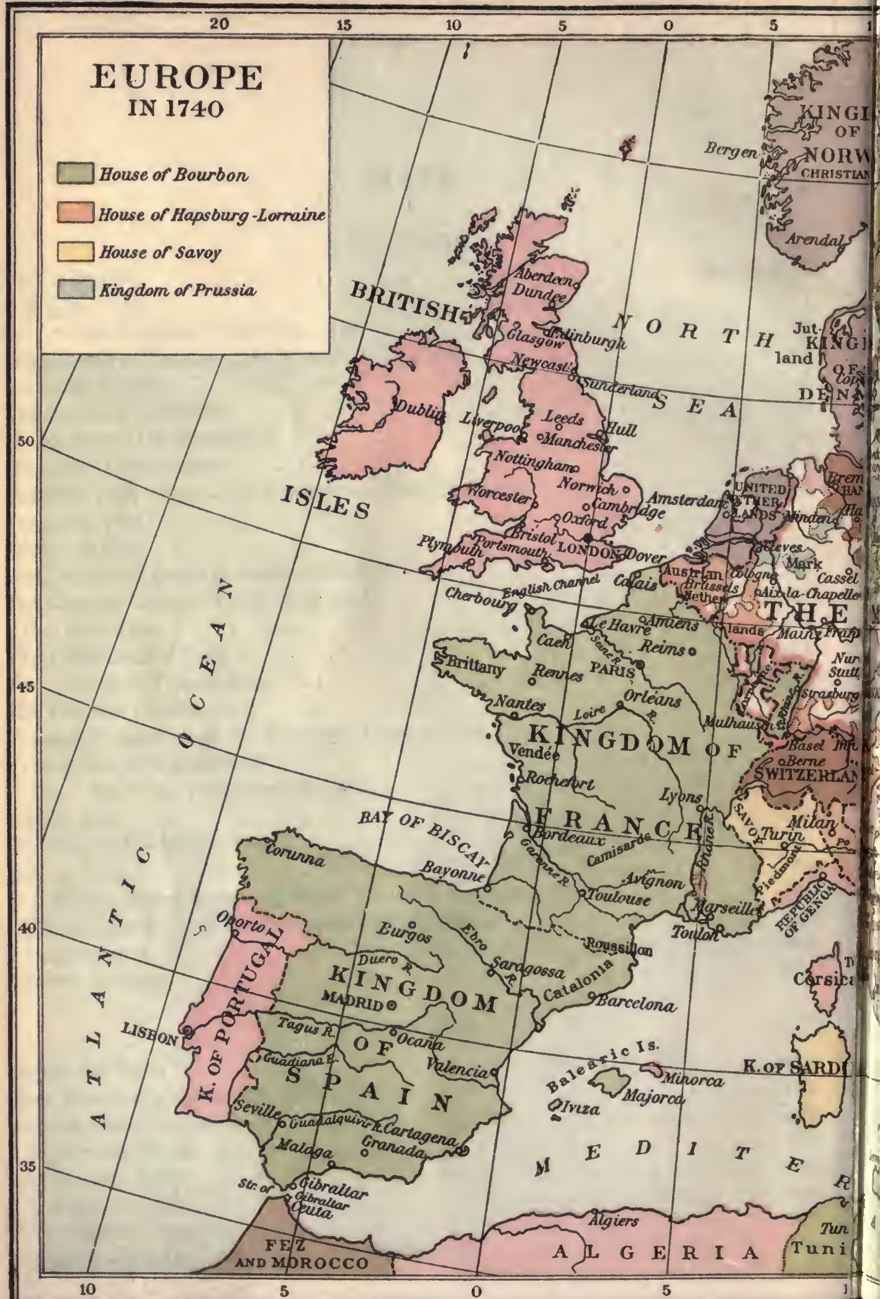
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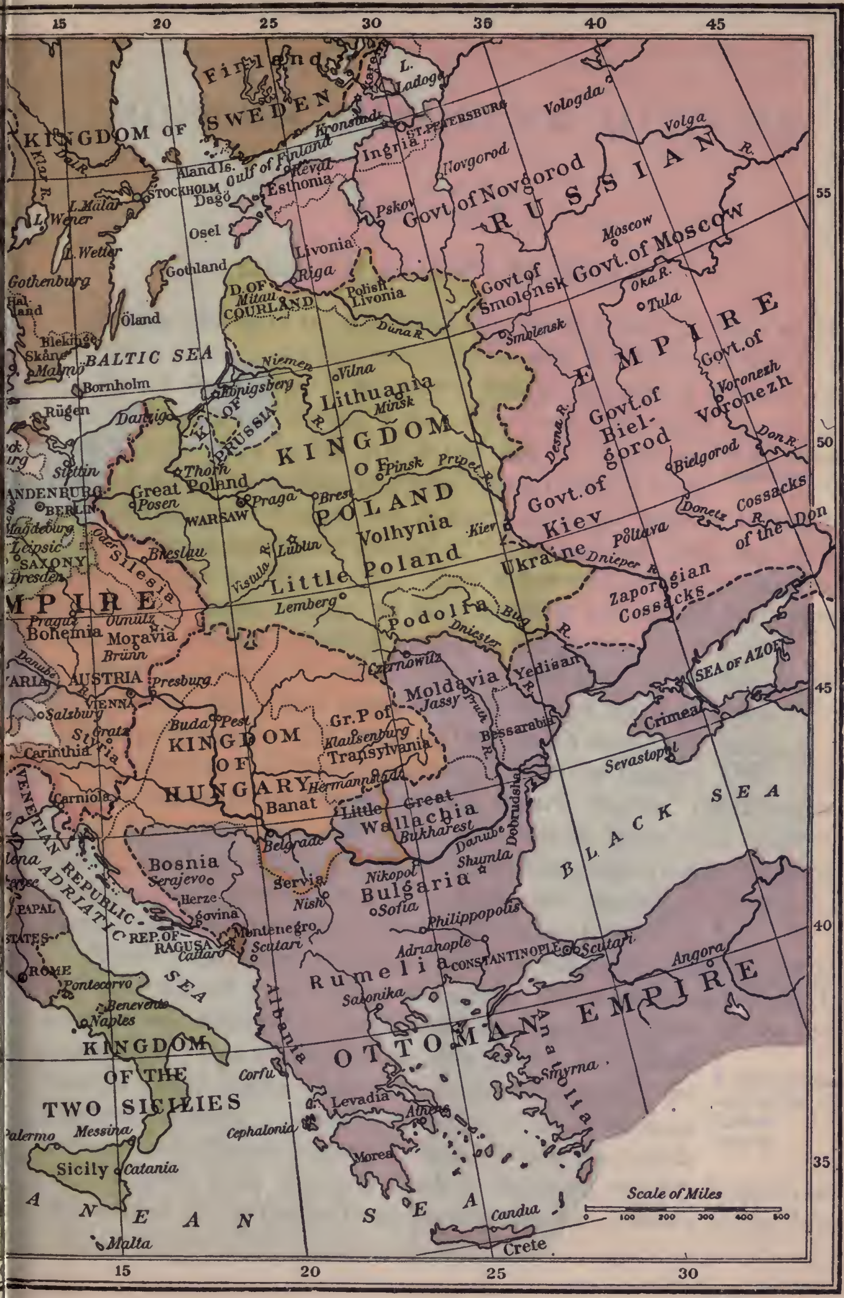
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Anatolia
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Corfu
Smyrna
Levadia
Athens
Palermo
Messina
Cephalonia
Morea
Sicily
Catania
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Candia
Crete
Malta
Scale of Miles
0
100
200
300
400
500
55
50
45
40
35
15
20
25
30

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE OLD RÉGIME IN EUROPE

Importance of the French Revolution

Anyone who seeks to understand the stirring period in which we are now living becomes quickly aware that he must first know the history of the French Revolution, a movement that inaugurated a new era, not only for France but for the world. The years from 1789 to 1815, the years of the Revolution and of Napoleon, effected one of the greatest and most difficult transitions of which history bears record, and to gain any proper sense of its significance one must have some glimpse of the background, some conception of what Europe was like in 1789. That background can only be sketched here in a few broad strokes, far from adequate to a satisfactory appreciation, but at least indicating the point of departure.

Europe in 1789

What was Europe in 1789? One thing, at least, it was not: it was not a unity. There were states of every size and shape and with every form of government. The States of the Church were theocratic; capricious and cruel despotism prevailed in Turkey; absolute monarchy in Russia, Austria, France, Prussia; constitutional monarchy in England; while there were various kinds of so-called republics — federal republics in Holland and Switzerland, a republic whose head was an elective king in Poland, aristocratic republics in Venice and Genoa and in the free cities of the Holy Roman Empire.

A momentous century in English history

Of these states the one that was to be the most persistent enemy of France and of French ideas throughout the period we are about to describe was England, a commercial and colonial empire of the first importance. This empire, of long, slow growth, had passed through many highly significant experiences during the eighteenth century. Indeed that century is one of the most momentous in English history, rendered forever memorable by three great series of events which in important respects transformed the national life of England and her international relations, giving them the character and tendency which have been theirs ever since. These three streams of tendency or lines of evolution out of which the modern power of Britain has emerged were: the acquisition of what are still the most valuable parts of her colonial empire, Canada and India; the establishment of the parliamentary system of government, that is, government of the nation by its representatives, not by its royal house, the undoubted supremacy of Parliament over the Crown; and the beginnings of what is called the Industrial Revolution, that is, of the modern factory system of production on a vast scale which during the course of the nineteenth century made England easily the chief industrial nation of the world.

Accession of the House of Hanover

The evolution of the parliamentary system of government had, of course, been long in progress but was immensely furthered by the advent in 1714 of a new royal dynasty, the House of Hanover, still at this hour the reigning family. The struggle between Crown and Parliament, which had been long proceeding and had become tense and violent in the seventeenth century in connection with the attempts of the Stuart kings to make the monarchy all-powerful and supreme, ended finally in the eighteenth century with the victory of Parliament, and the monarch ceased to be, what he remained in the rest of Europe, the dominant element in the state.

In 1701 Parliament, by mere legislative act, altered the line of succession by passing over the direct, legitimate claimant because he was a Catholic, and by calling to the throne George, Elector of Hanover, because he was a Protestant. Thus the older branch of the royal family was set aside and a younger or collateral branch was put in its place. This was a plain defiance of the ordinary rules of descent which generally underlie the monarchical system everywhere. It showed that the will of Parliament was superior to the monarchical principle, that, in a way, the monarchy was elective. Still other important consequences followed from this act.

The early Hanoverians

George I, at the time of his accession to the English throne in 1714 fifty-four years of age, was a German. He continued to be a German prince, more concerned with his electorate of Hanover than with his new kingdom. He did not understand a word of English and, as his ministers were similarly ignorant of German, he was compelled to resort to a dubious Latin when he wished to communicate with them. He was king from 1714 to 1727, and was followed by his son, George II, who ruled from 1727 to 1760 and who, though he knew

English, spoke it badly and was far more interested in his petty German principality than in imperial Britain.

Development of Cabinet Government

The first two Georges, whose chief interest in England was the money they could get out of it, therefore allowed their ministers to carry on the government and they did not even attend the meetings of the ministers where questions of policy were decided. For forty-six years this royal abstention continued. The result was the establishment of a régime never seen before in any country. The royal power was no longer exercised by the king, but was exercised by his ministers, who, moreover, were members of Parliament. In other words, to use a phrase that has become famous, the king reigns but does not govern. Parliament really governs, through a committee of its members, the ministers.

The Whigs in power

The ministers must have the support of the majority party in Parliament, and during all this period they, as a matter of fact, relied upon the party of the Whigs. It had been the Whigs who had carried through the revolution of 1688 and who were committed to the principle of the limitation of the royal power in favor of the sovereignty of Parliament. As George I and George II owed their throne to this party, and as the adherents of the other great party, the Tories, were long supposed to be supporters of the discarded Stuarts, England entered upon a period of Whig rule, which steadily undermined the authority of the monarch. The Hanoverian kings owed their position as kings to the Whigs. They paid for their right to reign by the abandonment of the powers that had hitherto inhered in the monarch.

The change that had come over their position did not escape the attention of the monarchs concerned. George II, compelled to accept ministers he detested, considered himself "a prisoner upon the throne." "Your ministers, Sire," said one of them to him, "are but the instruments of your government." George smiled and replied, "In this country the ministers are king."

Growth of the British Empire

Besides the introduction of this unique form of government the other great achievement of the Whigs during this period was an extraordinary increase in the colonial possessions of England, the real launching of Britain upon her career as a world power, as a great imperial state. This sudden, tremendous expansion was a result of the Seven Years' War, which raged from 1756 to 1763 in every part of the world, in Europe, in America, in Asia, and on the sea. Many nations were involved and the struggle was highly complicated, but two phases of it stand out particularly and in high relief, the struggle between England and France, and the struggle between Prussia on the one hand and Austria, France, and Russia on the other. The Seven Years' War remains a mighty landmark in the history of England and of Prussia, its two conspicuous beneficiaries.

William Pitt

England found in William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham, an incomparable leader, a great orator of a declamatory and theatrical type, an incorruptible statesman, a passionate patriot, a man instinct with energy, aglow with pride and confidence in the splendor of the destinies reserved for his country. Pitt infused his own energy, his irresistible driving power into every branch of the public service. Head of the ministry from 1757 to 1761, he aroused the national sentiment to such a pitch, he directed the national efforts with such contagious and imperious confidence, that he turned a war that had begun badly into the most glorious and successful that England had ever fought. On the sea, in India, and in America, victory after victory over the French rewarded the nation's extraordinary efforts. Pitt boasted that he alone could save the country. Save it he surely did. He was the greatest of war ministers, imparting his indomitable resolution to multitudes of others. No one, it was said, ever entered his office without coming out a braver man. His triumph was complete when Wolfe defeated Montcalm upon the Plains of Abraham.

Peace of Paris

By the Peace of Paris, which closed this epochal struggle, England acquired from France disputed areas of Nova Scotia, all of Canada, and the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River, and also acquired Florida from Spain. From France, too, she snatched at the same time supremacy in India. Thus England had become a veritable world-empire under the inspiring leadership of the "Great Commoner." Her horizons, her interests, had grown vastly more spacious by this rapid increase in military renown, in power, in territory. She had mounted to higher influence in the world, and that, too, at the expense of her old historic enemy, just across the Channel.

Accession of George III

But all this prestige and greatness were imperiled and gravely compromised by the reign that had just begun. George III had, in 1760, come to the throne which he was not to leave until claimed by death sixty years later. "The name of George III," writes one English historian, "cannot be penned without a pang, can hardly be penned without a curse, such mischief was he fated to do the country." Unlike his two predecessors, he was not a German, but was a son of England, had grown up in England and had been educated there, and on his accession, at the age of twenty-two, had announced in his most famous utterance that he "gloried in the name of Briton." But wisdom is no birthright, and George III was not destined to show forth in his life the saving grace of that quality. With many personal virtues, he was one of the least wise of monarchs and one of the most obstinate.

Opposition of George III to the cabinet system

His mother, a German princess, attached to all the despotic notions of her native land, had frequently said to him, "George, be a king." This maternal advice, that he should not follow the example of the first two Georges but should mix actively in public affairs, fell upon fruitful soil. George was resolved not only to reign but to govern in the good old monarchical way. This determination brought him into a sharp and momentous clash with the tendency and the desire of his age. The historical significance of George III lies in the fact that he was resolved to be the chief directing power in the state, that he challenged the system of government which gave that position to Parliament and its ministers, that he threw himself directly athwart the recent constitutional development, that he intended to break up the practices followed during the last two reigns and to rule personally as did the other sovereigns of the world. As the new system was insecurely established, his vigorous intervention brought on a crisis in which it nearly perished.

Political methods of George III

George III, bent upon being king in fact as well as in name, did not formally oppose the cabinet system of government, but sought to make the cabinet a mere tool of his will, filling it with men who would take orders from him, and aiding them in controlling Parliament by the use of various forms of bribery and influence. It took several years to effect this real perversion of the cabinet system, but in the end the King absolutely controlled the ministry and the two chambers of Parliament. The Whigs, who since 1688 had dominated the monarch and had successfully asserted the predominance of Parliament, were gradually disrupted by the insidious royal policy, and were supplanted by the Tories, who were always favorable to a strong kingship and who now entered upon a period of supremacy which was to last until well into the nineteenth century.

After ten years of this mining and sapping the King's ideas triumphed in the creation of a ministry which was completely submissive to his will.

The ministry of Lord North

This ministry, of which Lord North was the leading member, lasted twelve years, from 1770 to 1782. Lord North was a minister after the King's own heart. He never pretended to be the head of the government, but accepted and executed the King's wishes with the ready obedience of a lackey. The royal autocracy was scarcely veiled by the mere continuance of the outer forms of a free government.

American Revolution

Having thus secured entire control of ministry and Parliament, George III proceeded to lead the British Empire straight toward destruction, to what Goldwin Smith has called "the most tragical disaster in English history." The King and his tools initiated a policy which led swiftly and inevitably to civil war. For the American Revolution was a civil war within the British Empire. The King had his supporters both in England and in America; he had opponents both in America and England. Party divisions were much the same in the mother country and in the colonies, Whigs versus Tories, the upholders of the principle of self-government against the upholders of the principle of the royal prerogative. In this appalling crisis, not only was the independence of America involved, but parliamentary government as worked out in England was also at stake. Had George III triumphed not only would colonial liberties have disappeared, but the right of Parliament to be predominant in the state at home would have vanished. The Whigs of England knew this well and their leaders, Pitt, Fox, Burke, gloried in the victories of the rebellious colonists.

Fall of Lord North

The struggle for the fundamental rights of free men, for that was what the American Revolution signified for both America and England, was long doubtful. France now took her revenge for the humiliations of the Seven Years' War by aiding the thirteen colonies, hoping thus to humble her arrogant neighbor, grown so great at her expense. It was the disasters of the American War that saved the parliamentary system of government for England by rendering the King unpopular, because disgracefully unsuccessful. In 1782 Lord North and all his colleagues resigned. This was the first time that an entire ministry had been overthrown.

George the Third's attempt to be master in the state had failed and although the full consequences of his defeat did not appear for some time, nevertheless they were decisive for the future of England. The king might henceforth reign but he was not to govern. To get this cardinal principle of free government under monarchical forms established, an empire was disrupted. From that disruption flowed two mighty consequences. The principles of republican government gained a field for development in the New World, and those of constitutional or limited monarchy a field in one of the famous countries of the Old. These two types of government have since exerted a powerful and an increasing influence upon other peoples desirous of controlling their own destinies. Their importance as models worthy of imitation has not yet been exhausted.

Significance of the American Revolution

But the disaster of the American War was so great that the immediate effect was a decided impairment of England's prestige. It is a curious fact that after that she was considered by most of the rulers of Europe a decaying nation. She had lost her most valuable colonies in America. The notion was prevalent that her successes in the Seven Years' War had not been due to her own ability but to the incapacity of Louis XV, whereas they had been due to both. The idea that it was possible to destroy England was current in France, the idea that her empire was really a phantom empire which would disappear at the first hostile touch, that India could be detached far more easily than the thirteen colonies had been. It was considered that as she had grown rich she had lost her virility and energy and was undermined by luxury and sloth. At the same time, although in flagrant contradiction to the sentiments just described, there was a vague yet genuine fear of her. Though she had received so many blows, yet she had herself in the past given so many to her rivals and especially to France that they did well to have a lurking suspicion after all as to her entire decadence. The rivalry, centuries old, of France and England, was one of the chief elements of the general European situation. It had shown no signs of abating. The issues of the Revolution were to cause it to flame up portentously. It dominated the whole period down to Waterloo. In England the French Revolution was destined to find its most redoubtable and resolute enemy.

England's loss of prestige

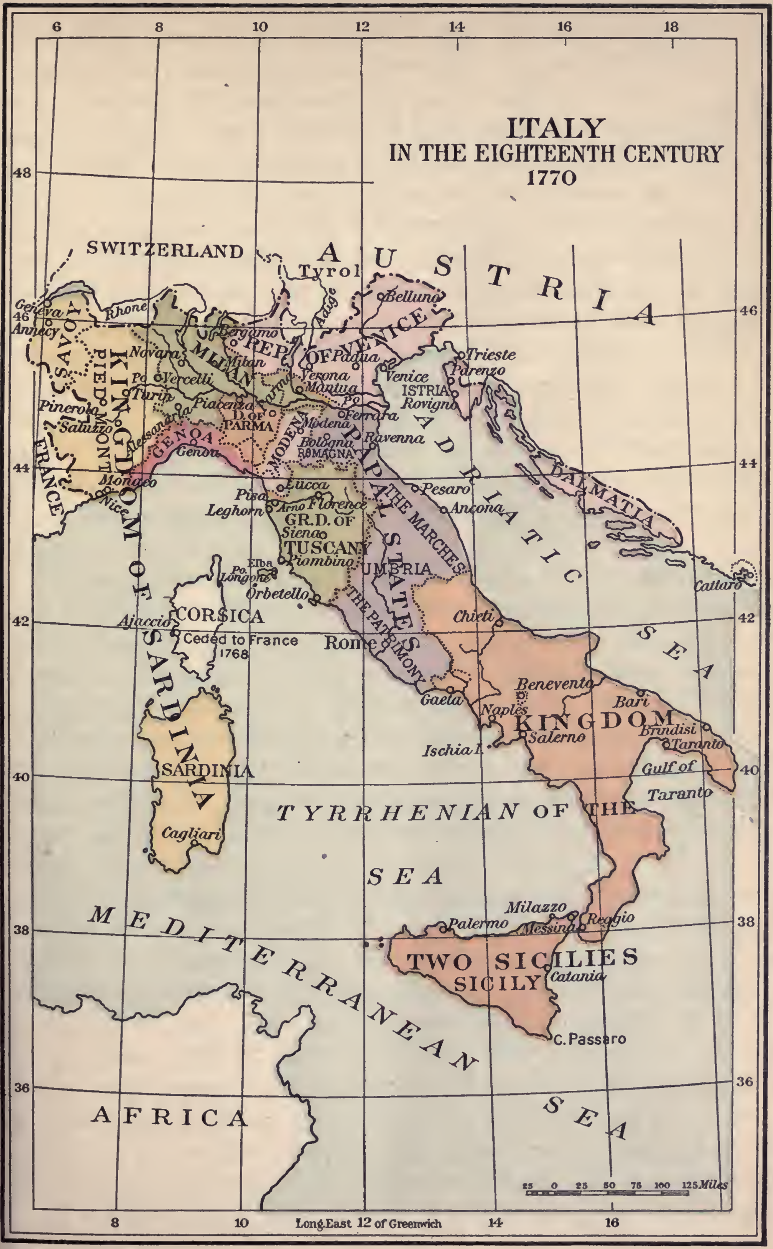
England and the French Revolution

In Italy, on the other hand, it was to find, partly a receptive pupil, partly an easy prey. The most important thing about Italy was that it was unimportant. Indeed there was no Italy, no united, single country, but only a collection of petty states, generally backward in their political and economic development. Once masters in their own house, the Italians had long ago fallen from their high estate and had for centuries been in more or less subjection to foreigners, to Spaniards, to Austrians, sometimes to the French. This had reacted unfavorably upon their characters, and had made them timid, time-serving, self-indulgent, pessimistic. They had no great attachment to their governments, save possibly in Piedmont and in the republics of Venice and Genoa, and there was no reason why they should have. Several of the governments were importations from abroad, or rather impositions, which had never struck root in the minds or interests of the people. The political atmosphere was one of indifference, weariness, disillusionment. However, toward the end of the eighteenth century there were signs of an awakening. The Italians could never long be unmindful of the glories of their past. They had their haunting traditions which would never allow them to forget or renounce their rights, however oppressed they might be. They were a people of imagination and of fire, though they long appeared to foreigners quite the reverse, as in fact the very stuff of which willing slaves are made, a view which was seriously erroneous. It cannot be said that there was in the eighteenth century any movement aiming at making Italy a nation, but there were poets and historians who flashed out, now and then, with some patriotic phrase or figure that revealed vividly a shining goal on the distant horizon toward which all Italians ought to press. "The day will come," said Alfieri, "when the Italians will be born again, audacious on the field of battle." Humanity was not meant to be shut in by such narrow horizons as those presented by these petty states, but was entitled to more spacious destinies. This longing for national unity was as yet the passion of only a few, of men of imagination who had a lively sense of Italy's great past and who also possessed an instinct for the future. A French writer expressed a mood quite general with cultivated people when she said: "The Italians are far more remarkable because of what they have been and because of what they might be than because of what they now are." Seeds of a new Italy were already germinating. They were not, however, to yield their fruit until well into the nineteenth century.

Italy a collection of petty states

Weakness of the governments

Aspirations for unity

ITALY
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
1770
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Tyrol
Adige
Belluno
REP. OF VENICE
Bergamo
Padua
Verona
Mantua
Venice
Trieste
Parenzo
ISTRIA
Rovigno
DALMATIA
Cattaro
Geneva
Annecy
Rhone
SAVOY
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
PIEDMONT
Novara
Po
Vercelli
Turin
Pinerolo
Saluzzo
Alessandria
MILAN
Milan
Piacenza
Parma
D. OF PARMA
GENOA
Genoa
Monaco
Nice
FRANCE
MODENA
Modena
Ferrara
Bologna
ROMAGNA
Ravenna
PAPAL STATES
THE MARCHES
Pesaro
Ancona
UMBRIA
THE PATRIMONY
Rome
Lucca
Pisa
Leghorn
Arno
Florence
GR. D. OF TUSCANY
Siena
Piombino
Elba
Po. Longone
Orbetello
CORSICA
Ajaccio
Ceded to France 1768
SARDINIA
Cagliari
ADRIATIC SEA
Chieti
Benevento
Bari
Gaeta
Naples
Salerno
Ischia I.
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Brindisi
Taranto
Gulf of Taranto
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Milazzo
Palermo
Messina
Reggio
SICILY
Catania
C. Passaro
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
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Germany the battle-field of Europe

Turning to the east of France we find Germany, the country that was to be the chief battlefield of Europe for many long years, and that was to undergo the most surprising transformations. Germany, like Italy, was a collection of small states, only these states were far more numerous than in the peninsula to the south. Germany had a form of unity, at least it pretended to have, in the so-called Holy Roman Empire. How many states were included in it, it is difficult to say; at least 360, if in the reckoning are included all the nobles who recognized no superior save the emperor, who held their power directly from him and were subject to no one else. There were more than fifty free or imperial cities, holding directly from the emperor and managing their own affairs; and numerous ecclesiastical states, all independent of each other. Then there were small states like Baden and Würtemberg and Bavaria and many others. In all this empire there were only two states of any importance in the general affairs of Europe, Prussia and Austria.

The Holy Roman Empire

This empire with its high-sounding names, "Holy" and "Roman," was incredibly weak and inefficient. Its emperor, not hereditary but elective, was nothing but a pompous, solemn pretense. He had no real authority, could give no orders, could create no armies, could follow out no policies, good or bad, for the German princes had during the course of the centuries robbed him of all the usual and necessary attributes of power. He was little more than a gorgeous figure in a pageant. There were, in addition, an imperial diet or national assembly, and an imperial tribunal, but they were as palsied as was the emperor.

The phantom emperor

What was important in Germany was not the empire, which was powerless for defense, useless for any serious purpose, but the separate states that composed it, and indeed only a few of these had any significance. All these petty German princelings responded to two emotions. All were jealous of their independence and all were eager to annex each other's territory. They never thought of the interests of Germany, of the empire, of the Fatherland. What power they had they had largely secured by despoiling the empire. Patriotism was not one of their weaknesses. Each was looking out emphatically for himself. To make a strong, united nation out of such mutually repellent atoms would be nothing

The petty German states

less than magical. The material was most unpromising. Nevertheless the feat has been accomplished, as we shall see, although, as in the case of Italy, not until well on into the nineteenth century.

Austria and Prussia the only important states in Germany

The individual states were everything, the empire was nothing, and with it the French Revolutionists and Napoleon were destined to play great havoc. Two states, as has been said, counted particularly, Austria and Prussia, enemies generally, rivals always, allies sometimes. Austria was old and famous, Prussia really quite new but rapidly acquiring a formidable reputation. Then, as now, the former was ruled by the House of Hapsburg, the latter by the House of Hohenzollern. There was no Austrian nation, but there was the most extraordinary jumble of states and races and languages to be found in Europe, whose sole bond of union was loyalty to the reigning house. The Hapsburg dominions were widely, loosely scattered, though the main bulk of them was in the Danube valley. There was no common Austrian patriotism; there were Bohemians, Hungarians, Milanese, Netherlanders, Austrians proper, each with a certain sense of unity, a certain self-consciousness, but there was no single nation comprehending, fusing all these elements. Austria was not like France or England. Nevertheless there were twenty-four millions of people under the direction of one man, and therefore they were an important factor in the politics of Europe.

The lands of the Hapsburgs

Prussia small but vigorous

In the case of Prussia, however, we have a real though still rudimentary nation, hammered together by hard, repeated, well-directed blows delivered by a series of energetic, ambitious rulers. Prussia as a kingdom dated only from 1701, but the heart of this state was Brandenburg, and Brandenburg had begun a slow upward march as early as the fifteenth century, when the Hohenzollerns came from South Germany to take control of it. In the sixteenth century the possessions of this family were scattered from the region of the Rhine to the borders of Russia. How to make them into a single state, responsive to a single will, was the problem. In each section there were feudal estates, asserting their rights against their ruler. But the Hohenzollerns had a very clear notion of what they wanted. They wished and intended to increase their own power as rulers, to break down all opposition within, and without steadily to aggrandize their domains. In the realization of their program, to which

The Hohenzollerns

they adhered tenaciously from generation to generation, they were successful. Prussia grew larger and larger, the government became more and more autocratic, and the emphasis in the state came to be more and more placed upon the army. Mirabeau was quite correct when he said that the great national industry of Prussia was war. Prussian rulers were hard-working, generally conceiving their mission soberly and seriously as one of service to the state, not at all as one inviting to personal self-indulgence. They were hard-headed and intelligent in developing the economic resources of a country originally little favored by nature. They were attentive to the opportunities afforded by German and European politics for the advancement of rulers who had the necessary intelligence and audacity. In the long reign of Frederick II, called the Great (1740–1786), and unquestionably far and away the ablest of all the rulers of the Hohenzollern dynasty, we see the brilliant and faithful expression of the most characteristic features, methods, and aspirations of this vigorous royal house.

Importance of the army in Prussia

The successive monarchs of Prussia justified the extraordinary emphasis they put upon military force by pointing to the fact that their country had no natural boundaries but was simply an undifferentiated part of the great sandy plain of North Germany, that no river or no mountain range gave protection, that the way of the invader was easy. This was quite true, but it was also equally true that Prussia's neighbors had no greater protection from her than she from them. As far as geography was concerned, invasion of Prussia was no easier than aggression from Prussia. At any rate every Prussian ruler felt himself first a general, head of an army which it was his pride to increase. Thus the Great Elector, who had ruled from 1640 to 1688, had inherited an army of less than 4,000 men, and had bequeathed one of 24,000 to his successor. The father of Frederick II had inherited one of 38,000 and had left one of 83,000. Thus Prussia with a population of two and a half millions had an army of 83,000, while Austria with a population of 24,000,000 had one of less than 100,000. With this force, highly drilled and amply provided with the sinews of war by the systematic and rigorous economies of his father, Frederick was destined to go far. He is one of the few men who have changed the face of Europe. By war, and the subsidiary arts that minister unto it, Frederick pushed his small state into the very forefront of European politics. Before his reign was half over he had made it one of the Great Powers, everywhere reckoned as such, although in population, area, and wealth, compared with the other Great Powers, it was small indeed.

The youth of Frederick the Great

As a youth all of Frederick's tastes had been for letters, for art, for music, for philosophy and the sciences, for conversation, for the delicacies and elegancies of culture. The French language and French literature were his passion and remained his chief source of enjoyment all through his life. He wrote French verses, he hated military exercises, he played the flute, he detested tobacco, heavy eating and drinking, and the hunt, which appeared to his father as the natural manly and royal pleasures. The thought that this youth, so indifferent or hostile to the stern, bleak, serious ideals of duty incumbent upon the royal house for the welfare of Prussia, so interested in the frivolities and fripperies of life, so carelessly self-indulgent, would one day be king and would probably wreck the state by his incompetence and his levity, so enraged the father, Frederick William I, a rough, boorish, tyrannical, hard-working, and intensely patriotic man, that he subjected the Crown Prince to a Draconian discipline which at times attained a pitch of barbarity, caning him in the presence of the army, boxing his ears before the common people, compelling him from a prison window to witness the execution of his most intimate friend, who had tried to help him escape from this odious tyranny by attempted flight from the country. In such a furnace was the young prince's mettle steeled, his heart hardened. Frederick came out of this ordeal self-contained, cynical, crafty, but sobered and submissive to the fierce paternal will. He did not, according to his father's expression "kick or rear" again. For several years he buckled to the prosaic task of learning his future trade in the traditional Hohenzollern manner, discharging the duties of minor offices, familiarizing himself with the dry details of administration, and invested with larger responsibilities as his reformation seemed, in the eyes of his father, satisfactorily to progress.

Frederick becomes king

When he came to the throne in 1740 at the age of twenty-eight he came equipped with a free and keen intellect, with a character of iron, and with an ambition that was soon to set the world in flame. He ruled for forty-six years and before half his reign was over it was evident that he had no peer in Europe. It was thought that he would adopt a manner of life quite different from his father's. Instead, however, there was the same austerity, the same simplicity, the same intense devotion to work, the same singleness of aim, that aim being the exaltation of Prussia. The machinery of government was not altered but it was now driven at unprecedented speed by this vigorous, aggressive, supple personality. For Frederick possessed supreme ability and displayed it from the day of his accession to the day of his death. He was, as Lord Acton has said, "the most consummate practical genius that, in modern times, has inherited a throne."

Attacks Austria and seizes Silesia

His first important act revealed the character and the intentions of the ruler. For this man who as a youth had loathed the life of a soldier and had shirked its obligations as long as he could was now to prove himself one of the great military commanders of the world's history. He was the most successful of the robber barons in which the annals of Germany abounded, and he had the ethics of the class. He invaded Silesia, a large and rich province belonging to Austria and recognized as hers by a peculiarly solemn treaty signed by Prussia. But Frederick wanted it and considered the moment opportune as an inexperienced young woman, Maria Theresa, had just ascended the Austrian throne. "My soldiers were ready, my purse was full," said Frederick concerning this famous raid. Of all the inheritance of Maria Theresa "Silesia," said he, "was that part which was most useful to the House of Brandenburg." "Take what you can," he also remarked, "you are never wrong unless you are obliged to give back." In these utterances Frederick paints himself and his reign in imperishable colors. Success of the most palpable sort was his reward. Neither plighted faith, nor chivalry toward a woman, nor any sense of personal honor ever deterred him from any policy that might promise gain to Prussia. One would scarcely suspect from such hardy sentiments that Frederick had as a young man written a treatise against the statecraft of Machiavelli. That eminent Florentine would, it is safe to say, have been entirely content with the practical precepts according to which his titled critic fashioned his actual conduct. The true, authentic spirit of Machiavelli's political philosophy has never been expressed with greater brevity and precision than by Frederick. "If there is anything to be gained by being honest, honest we will be; and if it is necessary to deceive, let us be scoundrels."

Frederick's political principles

If there is any defense for Frederick's conduct to be found in the fact that his principles or his lack of them were shared by most of his crowned contemporaries and by many other rulers before and since, he is entitled to that defense. He himself, however, was never much concerned about this aspect of the matter. It was, in his opinion, frankly negligible.

The Silesian Wars

Frederick seized Silesia with ease in 1740, so unexpected was the attack. He thus added to Prussia a territory larger than Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island combined, and a population of over a million and a quarter. But having seized it, he was forced to fight intermittently for twenty-three years before he could be sure of his ability to retain it. The first two Silesian wars (1740–1748) are best known in history as the wars of the Austrian Succession. The third was the Seven Years' War, a world conflict, as we have seen, involving most of the great states of Europe, but important to Frederick mainly because of its relation to his retention of Silesia.

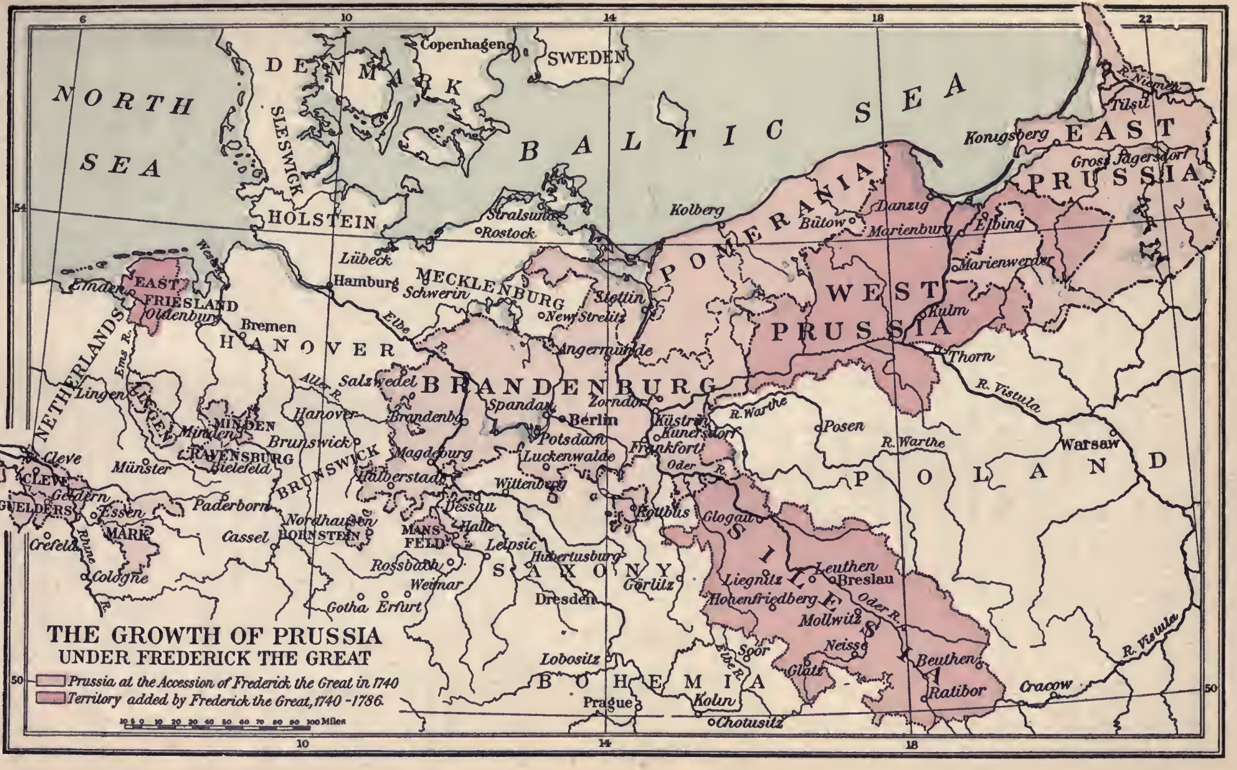
The Seven Years' War

It was the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) that made the name and fame of Frederick ring throughout the world. But that deadly struggle several times seemed about to engulf him and his country in utter ruin. Had England not been his ally, aiding with her subsidies and with her campaigns against France, in Europe, Asia, America, and on the high seas, thus preventing that country from fully coöperating against Prussia, Frederick must have failed. The odds against him were stupendous. He, the ruler of a petty state with not more than 4,000,000 inhabitants, was confronted by a coalition of Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and many little German states, with a total population perhaps twenty times as large as Prussia's. This coalition had already arranged for the division of his kingdom. He was to be left only Brandenburg, the primitive core of the state, the original territory given to the House of Hohenzollern in 1415 by the emperor.

Conquest of Saxony

Practically the entire continent was united against this little state which a short time before had hardly entered into the calculations of European politics. But Frederick was undaunted. He overran Saxony, a neutral country, seized its treasury because he needed it, and, by a flagrant breach of international usage, forced its citizens to fight in his armies, which were thus considerably increased. When reproached for this unprecedented act he laconically replied that he rather prided himself on being original.

The war thus begun had its violent ups and downs. Attacked from the south by the Austrians, from the east by the Russians, and always outnumbered, Frederick, fighting a defensive war, owed his salvation to



NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
SWEDEN
SLESWICK
HOLSTEIN
BALTIC SEA
Stralsund
Rostock
Lübeck
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG
Schwerin
New Strelitz
Stettin
Kolberg
POMERANIA
Bütow
Danzig
Marienburg
Elbing
Konigsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
R. Niemen
Tilsit
Gross Jagersdorf
Marienwerder
WEST PRUSSIA
Kulm
Thorn
R. Vistula
Emden
EAST FRIESLAND
Oldenburg
Weser
Bremen
HANOVER
Elbe
NETHERLANDS
Ems R.
Lingen
LINGEN
MINDEN
Minden
RAVENSBURG
Bielefeld
Aller R.
Salzwedel
Hanover
Brunswick
BRUNSWICK
BRANDENBURG
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Angermünde
Spandau
Zorndorf
Berlin
Potsdam
Luckenwalde
Küstrin
Kunersdorf
Frankfort
Oder R.
R. Warthe
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POLAND
Warsaw
Cleve
CLEVE
Geldern
GUELDERS
Essen
MARK
Crefeld
Rhine
Cologne
Münster
Paderborn
Cassel
Nordhausen
HOHNSTEIN
MANSFELD
Dessau
Halle
Wittenberg
Kottbus
Glogau
Leipsic
Hubertusburg
SAXONY
Görlitz
Dresden
Rossbach
Weimar
Gotha
Erfurt
SILESIA
Liegnitz
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Breslau
Hohenfriedberg
Mollwitz
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Neisse
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THE GROWTH OF PRUSSIA
UNDER FREDERICK THE GREAT

▭ *Prussia at the Accession of Frederick the Great in 1740*
▨ *Territory added by Frederick the Great, 1740 -1786.*

Battle of Rossbach, November 5, 1757

the rapidity of his manoeuvres, to the slowness of those of his enemies, to his generally superior tactics, and to the fact that there was an entire lack of coördination among his adversaries. He won the battle of Rossbach in 1757, his most brilliant victory, whose fame has not yet died away. With an army of only 20,000 he defeated a combined French and German army of 55,000 in an engagement that lasted only an hour and a half, took 16,000 prisoners, seventy-two cannon, and sustained a loss of less than a thousand men himself. Immense was the enthusiasm evoked by this Prussian triumph over what was reputed to be the finest army in Europe. It mattered little that the majority of the conquered army were Germans. The victory was popularly considered one of Germans over French, and such has remained its reputation ever since in the German national consciousness, thus greatly stirred and vivified.

Battle of Kunersdorf, August 12, 1759

Two years later Frederick suffered an almost equally disastrous defeat at the hands of the Austrians and Russians at Kunersdorf. "I have had two horses killed under me," he wrote the night after this battle, "and it is my misfortune that I still live myself. . . . Of an army of 48,000 men I have only 3,000 left. . . . I have no more resources and, not to lie about it, I think everything is lost."

Desperate character of the war

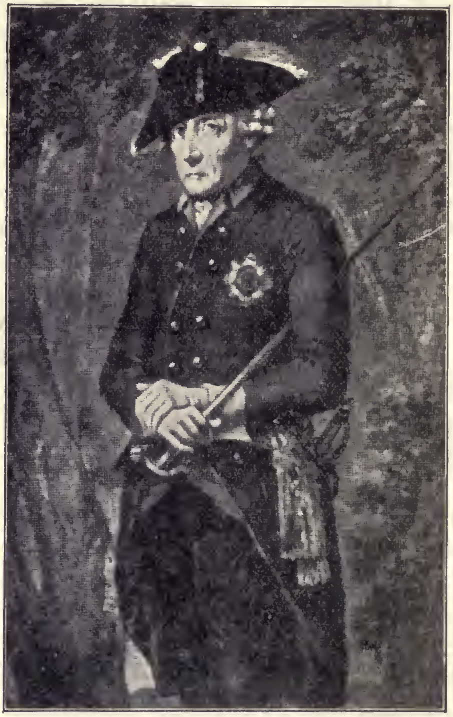
Later, after another disaster, he wrote: "I should like to hang myself, but we must act the play to the end." In this temper he fought on, year after year, through elation, through depression, with defeat behind him and defeat staring him in the face, relieved by occasional successes, saved by the incompetence and folly of his enemies, then plunged in gloom again, but always fighting for time and for some lucky stroke of fortune, such as the death of a hostile sovereign with its attendant interruption or change of policy. The story is too crowded, too replete with incident, to be condensed here. Only the general impression of a prolonged, racking, desperate struggle can be indicated. Gritty, cool, alert, and agile, Frederick managed to hold on until his enemies were willing to make peace.

End of the Seven Years' War

He came out of this war with his territories intact but not increased. Silesia he retained, but Saxony he was forced to relinquish. He came out of it, also, prematurely old, hard, bitter, misanthropic, but he had made upon the world an indelible impression of his genius. His people had been decimated and appallingly impoverished; nevertheless he was the victor and great was his renown. Frederick had conquered Silesia in a month and had then spent many years fighting to retain it. All that he had won was fame, but that he enjoyed in full and overflowing measure.

Frederick in time of peace

Frederick lived twenty-three years longer, years of unremitting and very fruitful toil. In a hundred ways he sought to hasten the recuperation and the development of his sorely visited land, draining marshes, clearing forests, encouraging industries, opening schools, welcoming and favoring immigrants from other countries. Indeed over 300,000 of these responded to the various inducements offered, and Frederick founded more than 800 villages. He reorganized the army, replenished the public treasury, remodeled the legal code. In religious affairs he was the most tolerant ruler in Europe, giving refuge to the Jesuits when they were driven out of Catholic countries — France, Portugal, Spain — and when their order was abolished by the Pope himself. "In Prussia," said he, "every one has the right to win salvation in his own way."



FREDERICK THE GREAT
From an engraving by Cunejo, after the painting by Cunningham.

Despotic character of his government

In practice this was about the only indubitable right the individual possessed, for Frederick's government was unlimited, although frequently enlightened, despotism. His was an absolute monarchy, surrounded by a privileged nobility, resting upon an impotent mass of peasantry. His was a militarist state and only nobles could become general officers. Laborious, rising at three in summer, at four in the winter, and holding himself tightly to his mission as "first servant to the King of Prussia," Frederick knew more drudgery than pleasure. But he was a tyrant to his finger tips, and we do not find in the Prussia of his day any room made for that spirit of freedom which was destined in the immediate future to wrestle in Europe with this outworn system of autocracy.

The first partition of Poland

In 1772 the conqueror of Silesia proceeded to gather new laurels of a similar kind. In conjunction with the monarchs of Russia and Austria he partially dismembered Poland, a crime of which the world has not yet heard the last. The task was easy of accomplishment, as Poland was defenseless. Frederick frankly admitted that the act was that of brigands, and his opinion has been ratified by the general agreement of posterity.

Frederick the Great and Germany

When Frederick died in 1786, at the age of seventy-four, he left his kingdom nearly doubled in size and with a population more than doubled. In all his actions he thought, not of Germany, but of Prussia, always Prussia. Germany was an abstraction that had no hold upon his practical mind. He considered the German language boorish, "a jargon, devoid of every grace," and he was sure that Germany had no literature worthy of the name. Nevertheless, he was regarded throughout German lands, beyond Prussia, as a national hero, and he filled the national thought and imagination as no other German had done since Luther. His personality, his ideas, and his methods became an enduring and potent factor in the development of Germany.

A weak despot succeeds a strong one

But the trouble with despotism as a form of government is that a strong or enlightened despot may so easily be succeeded by a feeble or foolish one, as proved to be the case when Frederick died and was succeeded in 1786 by Frederick William II, under whom and under whose successor came evil days, contrasting most unpleasantly with the brilliant ones that had gone before.

Russia

Lying beyond Austria and Prussia, stretching away indefinitely into the east, was the other remaining great power in European politics, Russia.

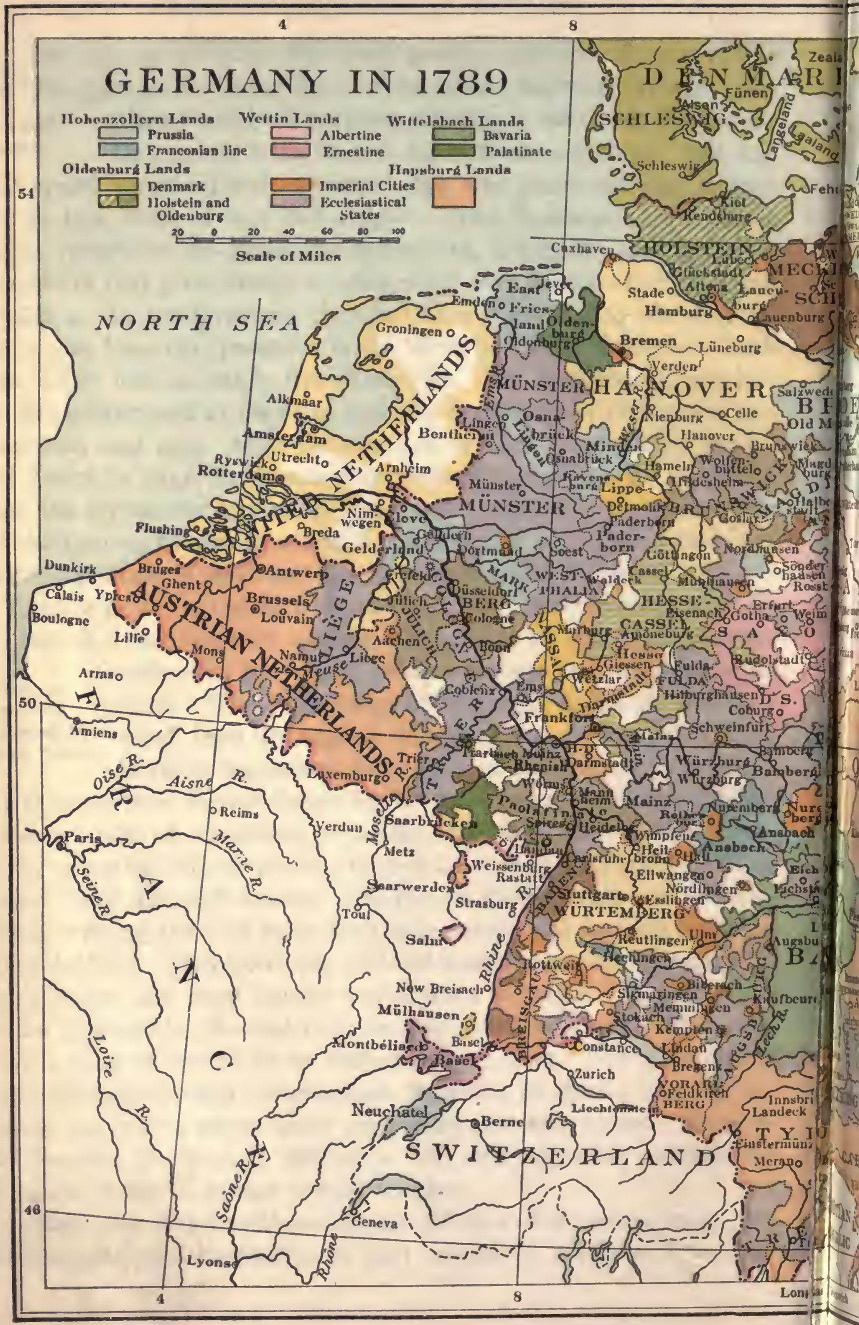
Though the largest state on the continent, Russia did not enter upon the scene of European politics as a factor of importance until very late, indeed until the eighteenth century. During that century she took her place among the great European powers and her influence in the world has gone on increasing down to the present moment. Her previous history had been peculiar, differing in many and fundamental respects from that of her western neighbors. She had lived apart, unnoticed and unknown. She was connected with Europe by two ties, those of race and religion. The Russians were a Slavic people, related to the Poles, the Bohemians, the Serbs, and the other branches of that great family which spreads over Eastern Europe. And as early as the tenth century they had been converted to Christianity, not to that form that prevailed in the West, but to the Orthodox Greek form, which had its seat in Constantinople. The missionaries who had brought religion and at the same time the beginnings of civilization had come from that city. After the conquest of Constantinople by the infidel Turks in 1453 the Russians considered themselves its legitimate heirs, the representatives of its ideas and traditions. Constantinople and the Eastern Empire of which it had been the capital exercised over their imaginations a spell that has only increased with time.

Race and Religion

But the great central fact of Russian history for hundreds of years was not her connection with Europe, which, after all, was slight, but her connection with Asia, which was close and profound in its effects. The Principality of Muscovy, as Russia was then called from its capital Moscow, was conquered by the Mongols, barbarians from Asia, in the thirteenth century, and for nearly three hundred years Russian princes paid tribute and made occasional visits of submission to the far-off Great Khan. Though constantly resenting this subjection, they did not escape its effects. They themselves became half-Asiatic. The men of Russia dressed in Oriental fashion, wearing the long robes with long sleeves, the turbans and slippers of the East. They wore their hair and beards long. The women were kept secluded and were heavily veiled when in public. A young girl saw her husband for the first time the day of her marriage. There was no such thing as society as we understand the term. The government was an Oriental tyranny, unrestrained, regardless of human life. In addressing the ruler a person must completely prostrate himself, his forehead touching the floor; a difficult as well as a degrading attitude for one human being to assume toward another.

Russia invaded and conquered by Asiatic tribes

In time the Russians threw off the Mongol domination, after terrible struggles, and themselves in turn conquered northern Asia, that


GERMANY IN 1789
Hohenzollern Lands
Prussia
Franconian line
Wettin Lands
Albertine
Ernestine
Wittelsbach Lands
Bavaria
Palatinate
Oldenburg Lands
Denmark
Holstein and Oldenburg
Hapsburg Lands
Imperial Cities
Ecclesiastical States
20 0 20 40 60 80 100
Scale of Miles
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50
46
NORTH SEA
SCHLESWIG
Schleswig
Alsen
Fünen
Langeland
Laaland
Kiel
Rendsburg
HOLSTEIN
Lubeck
Glückstadt
Altona
Cuxhaven
Stade
Hamburg
Lauenburg
East Friesland
Emden
Jever
Oldenburg
Bremen
Lüneburg
Verden
HANOVER
Celle
Nienburg
Hanover
Brunswick
Wolfenbüttel
Hameln
Hildesheim
Goslar
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Groningen
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Alkmaar
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Ryswick
Rotterdam
Arnheim
Nimwegen
Breda
Flushing
Bentheim
Lingen
Osnabrück
MÜNSTER
Münster
Minden
Ravensburg
Lippe
Detmold
Paderborn
Göttingen
Nordhausen
Sondershausen
Mühlhausen
Erfurt
Gotha
Weimar
Eisenach
Cassel
Waldeck
HESSE-CASSEL
Marburg
Amöneburg
Hesse
Giessen
Wetzlar
Fulda
FULDA
Hildburghausen
Coburg
Rudolstadt
SAXONY
Schweinfurt
Bamberg
Würzburg
Nuremberg
Ansbach
Eichstadt
Cleve
Geldern
Gelderland
Dortmund
Soest
MARK
WESTPHALIA
Crefeld
Düsseldorf
BERG
Cologne
Jülich
JÜLICH
Aachen
Bonn
Coblenz
TRIER
Trier
Ems
NASSAU
Frankfort
Darmstadt
Mainz
Worms
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Speyer
Palatinate
Rhenish
Wimpfen
Heilbronn
Hall
Ellwangen
Nördlingen
Esslingen
Stuttgart
WÜRTEMBERG
Reutlingen
Ulm
Hechingen
Rottweil
Augsburg
Biberach
Sigmaringen
Memmingen
Stokach
Kempten
Kaufbeuren
Lech R.
Lindau
Bregenz
Constance
VORARLBERG
Feldkirch
Innsbruck
Landeck
Finstermünz
Merano
TYROL
BREISGAU
BADEN
Carlsruhe
Rastatt
Weissenburg
Landau
Strasburg
Saarbrücken
Saarwerden
Salm
New Breisach
Mülhausen
Basel
Montbéliard
Neuchatel
Berne
Zurich
Liechtenstein
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Lyons
Rhone
Saône R.
Dunkirk
Calais
Boulogne
Ypres
Bruges
Ghent
Antwerp
Brussels
Louvain
Lille
Mons
Namur
Meuse
Liége
LIÉGE
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
Luxemburg
Arras
Amiens
FRANCE
Oise R.
Aisne R.
Reims
Marne R.
Paris
Seine R.
Verdun
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Moselle R.
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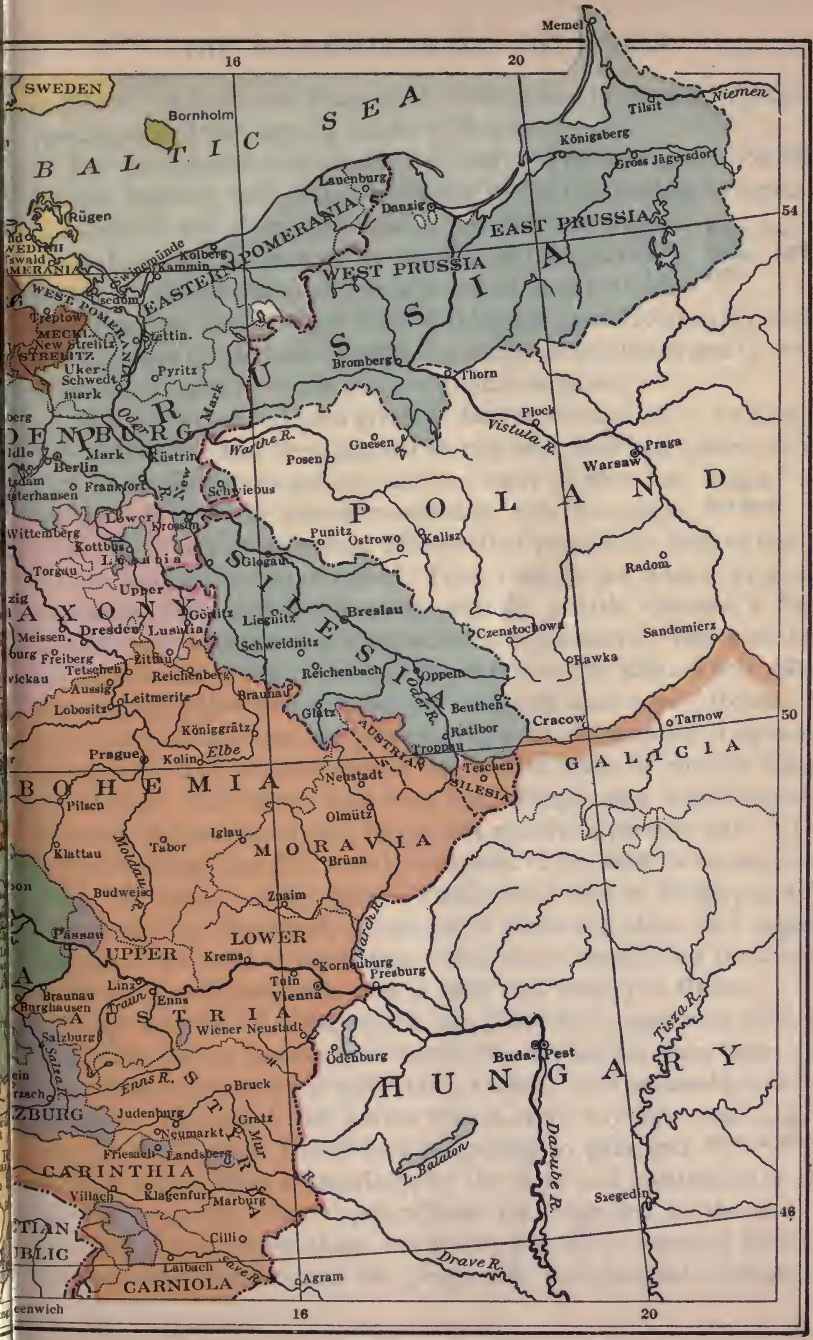
Loire R.
Rhine
Weser
Ems R.
Main


Memel
16
20
SWEDEN
Bornholm
BALTIC SEA
Niemen
Tilsit
Königsberg
Gross Jägersdorf
54
Rügen
Lauenburg
Danzig
POMERANIA
EAST PRUSSIA
WEST PRUSSIA
Kolberg
Kammin
Swinemünde
EASTERN
WEST POMERANIA
Usedom
Treptow
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New Strelitz
STRELITZ
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mark
Schwedt
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PRUSSIA
Bromberg
Thorn
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New
BRANDENBURG
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Berlin
Küstrin
Warthe R.
Posen
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Frankfort
Schwiebus
POLAND
Kalisz
Punitz
Ostrowo
Radom
Lower
Krossen
Kottbus
Lusatia
Wittemberg
Torgau
Glogau
Upper
SAXONY
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
Lusatia
Dresden
Meissen
Freiberg
Zittau
Schweidnitz
SILESIA
Czenstochowa
Sandomierz
Rawka
Tetschen
Reichenberg
Reichenbach
Oppeln
Aussig
Leitmeritz
Lobositz
Braunau
Glatz
Beuthen
Oder R.
Cracow
Ratibor
Tarnow
50
Königgrätz
Prague
Kolin
Elbe
AUSTRIAN
Troppau
Teschen
SILESIA
GALICIA
BOHEMIA
Neustadt
Pilsen
Olmütz
Iglau
Tabor
Klattau
Moldau R.
MORAVIA
Brünn
Budweis
Znaim
March R.
Passau
LOWER
UPPER
Krems
Korneuburg
Presburg
Tuln
Vienna
Linz
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AUSTRIA
Braunau
Burghausen
Wiener Neustadt
Salzburg
Salza R.
Buda-Pest
Ödenburg
Tisza R.
HUNGARY
Enns R.
STYRIA
Bruck
Judenburg
Gratz
Neumarkt
Mur
Friesach
Landsberg
L. Balaton
Danube R.
CARINTHIA
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is, Siberia. A new royal house came to the throne in 1613, the House of Romanoff, still the reigning family of Russia.

Peter the Great, 1672–1725

But the Russians continued to have only the feeblest connection with Europe, knowing little of its civilization, caring less, content to vegetate in indolence and obscurity. Out of this dull and laggard state they were destined to be roughly and emphatically roused by one of the most energetic rulers known to history, Peter the Great, whose reign of thirty-six years (1689–1725) marks a tremendous epoch, both by what it actually accomplished and by what it indicated ought to be the goal of national endeavor.

Peter's boyhood

As a boy Peter had been given no serious instruction, no training in self-control, but had been allowed to run wild, and had picked up all sorts of acquaintances and companions, many of them foreigners. It was the chance association with Europeans living in the foreign quarter of Moscow that proved the decisive fact of his life, shaping his entire career. From them he got a most irregular, haphazard, but original education, learning a little German, a little Dutch, some snatches of science, arithmetic, geometry. His chief boyish interest was in mechanics and its relation to the military art. With him playing soldier was more serious than with most boys. He used to build wooden fortresses, surrounded with walls and moats and bastions. Some of his friends would defend the redoubt while he and the others attacked it. Sometimes lives were lost, always some were wounded. Such are the fortunes of war, though not usually of juvenile war. "The boy is amusing himself," was the comment of his sister, who was exercising the regency in his name. Passionately fond of military games, Peter was also absorbingly interested in boats and ships, and eagerly learned all he could of navigation, which was not much, for the arts of shipbuilding and navigation were in their very infancy in Russia.

The accession of Peter

Learning that his sister Sophia was planning to ignore his right to the throne and to become ruler herself, he dropped his sham fights and his sailing, swept his sister aside into a nunnery, and assumed control of the state. Convinced that Europe was in every way superior to Russia, that Russia had everything to gain and nothing to lose from a knowledge of the ways and institutions of the western countries, Peter's policy from the beginning to the end of his reign was to bring about the closest possible connection between his backward country and the progressive and brilliant civilization which had been built up in England, France, Holland, Italy, and Germany.

But even with the best intentions this was not an easy task. For Russia had no point of physical contact with the nations of Western Europe. She could not freely communicate with them, for between her and them was a wall consisting of Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. Russia was nearly a land-locked country. Sweden controlled all that coast line along the Baltic which is now Russian, Turkey controlled all the coast line of the Black Sea. The only port Russia possessed was far to the north, at Archangel, and this was frozen during nine months of the year. To communicate freely and easily with the West, Russia must "open a window" somewhere, as Peter expressed it. Then the light could stream in. He must have an ice-free port in European waters. To secure this he fought repeated campaigns against Turkey and Sweden. With the latter power there was intermittent war for twenty years, very successful in the end, though only after distressing reverses. He conquered the Baltic Provinces from Sweden, Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, and thus secured a long coast line. Russia might now have a navy and a merchant fleet and seaborne commerce. "It is not land I want, but water," Peter had said. He now had enough, at least to begin with.

The policy of the "open window"

Meanwhile he had sent fifty young Russians of the best families to England, Holland, and Venice to learn the arts and sciences of the West, especially shipbuilding and fortifications. Later he had gone himself for the same purpose, to study on the spot the civilization whose superiority he recognized and intended to impose upon his own country, if that were possible. This was a famous voyage. Traveling under the strictest incognito, as "Peter Mikailovitch," he donned laborer's clothes and worked for months in the shipyards of Holland and England. He was interested in everything. He visited mills and factories of every kind, asking innumerable questions: "What is this for? How does that work?" He made a sheet of paper with his own hands. During his hours of recreation he visited museums, theaters, hospitals, galleries. He saw printing presses in operation, attended lectures on anatomy, studied surgery a little, and even acquired some proficiency in the humble and useful art of pulling teeth. He bought collections of laws, and models of all sorts of machines, and engaged many officers, mechanics, printers, architects, sailors, and work-

Peter's travels in the West

men of every kind, to go to Russia to engage in the task of imparting instruction to a nation which, in Peter's opinion, needed it and should receive it, willy-nilly.

Peter was called home suddenly by the news of a revolt among the imperial troops devoted to the old régime and apprehensive of the coming innovations. They were punished with every refinement of savage cruelty, their regiments disbanded, and a veritable reign of terror preceded the introduction of the new system.

Suppresses revolt at home

Then the Czar began with energy his transformation of Russia, as he described it. The process continued all through his reign. It was not an elaborate, systematic plan, deliberately worked out beforehand, but first this reform, then that, was adopted and enforced, and in the end the sum total of all these measures of detail touched the national life at nearly every point. Some of them concerned manners and customs, others economic matters, others matters purely political. Peter at once fell upon the long beards and Oriental costumes, which, in his opinion, symbolized the conservatism of Old Russia, which he was resolved to shatter. Arming himself with a pair of shears, he himself clipped the liberal beards and moustaches of many of his nobles, and cut their long coats at the knee. They must set the style and the style must be that of France and Germany. Having given this sensational exhibition of his imperial purpose, he then compromised somewhat, allowing men to wear their beards long, but only on condition of submitting to a graduated tax upon these ornaments. The approbation of the emperor, the compulsion of fashion, combined with considerations of economy, rapidly wrought a surprising change in the appearance of the manhood of Russia. Barbers and tailors were stationed at the entrances of towns to facilitate the process by slashing the offending members until they conformed to European standards. Women were forbidden to wear the veil and were released from the captivity of the harem, or terem, as it was called in Russia. Peter had attended the "assemblies" of France and England and had seen men and women dancing and conversing together in public. He now ordered the husbands and fathers of Russia to bring their wives and daughters to all social entertainments. The adjustments were awkward at first, the women frequently standing or sitting stiffly apart at one end of the room, the men smoking and drinking by themselves at the other. But finally

Peter's measures of reform

society as understood in Europe emerged from these temporary and amusing difficulties. Peter gave lessons in dancing to some of his nobles, having himself acquired that accomplishment while on his famous trip. They were expected, in turn, to pass the art on to others.

Creation of an army and navy

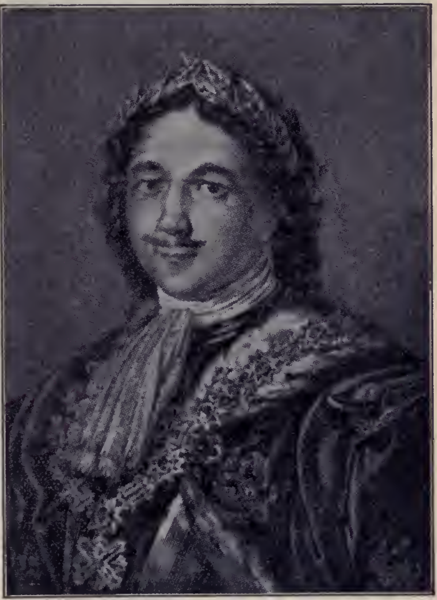
The organs of government, national and local, were remodeled by the adoption of forms and methods known to Sweden, Germany, and other countries, and the state became more efficient and at the same time more powerful. The army was enlarged, equipped, and trained mainly in imitation of Germany. A navy was created and the importance of the sea to the general life of the nation gradually dawned upon the popular intelligence. The economic development of the country was begun, factories were established, mines were opened, and canals were cut. The church was brought into closer subjection to the state. Measures were taken against vagabondage and robbery, widely prevalent evils. Education of a practical sort was encouraged. The Julian calendar was introduced and is still in force, though the other nations of Europe have since adopted another and more accurate chronology. Peter even undertook to reform the language of Russia, striking out eight of the more cumbersome letters of the alphabet and simplifying the form of some of the others.

Resistance to these reforms

All these changes encountered resistance, resistance born of indolence, of natural conservatism, of religious scruples — was it not impious for Holy Russia to abandon her native customs and to imitate the heretics of the West? But Peter went on smashing his way through as best he could, crushing opposition by fair means and by foul, for the quality of the means was a matter of indifference to him, if only they were successful. Here we have the spectacle of a man who, himself a semi-barbarian, was bent upon civilizing men more barbarous than he.

The creation of Saint Petersburg

As the ancient capital, Moscow, was the stronghold of stiff conservatism, was wedded to the old ideas and customs, Peter resolved to build a new capital on the Baltic. There, on islands and marshes at the mouth of a river which frequently overflowed, he built at frightful cost in human life and suffering the city of St. Petersburg. Everything had to be created literally from the ground up. Forests of piles had to be driven into the slime to the solid earth beneath to furnish the secure foundations. Tens of thousands of soldiers and peasants were drafted for the work. At first they had no implements, but were forced to dig with sticks and carry the rubbish away in their coats. No adequate provisions were made for them; they slept unprotected in the open air, their food was insufficient, and they died by thousands, only to be replaced by other thousands. All through the reign the desperate, rough process went on. The will of the autocrat, rich in expedients, triumphed over all obstacles. Every great landowner was required to build in the city a residence of a certain size and style. No ship might enter without bringing a certain quantity of stone for building purposes. St. Petersburg was cut by numerous canals, as were the cities of Holland. The Czar required the nobles to possess boats. Some of them, not proficient in the handling of these novel craft, were drowned. Toward the close of his reign Peter transferred the government to this city which stood on the banks of the Neva, a monument to his imagination, his energy, and his persistence, a city with no hampering traditions, with no past, but with only an untrammeled future, an appropriate expression of the spirit of the New Russia which Peter was laboring to create.



Peter the Great
From an engraving by Anderloni.

Peter's character

He was, indeed, a strange leader for a people which needed above all to shake itself free from what was raw and crude, he was himself so raw and crude. A man of violent passions, capable and guilty of orgies of dissipation, of acts of savage cruelty, hard and fiendish in his treatment even of those nearest to him, his sister, his wife, and his son, using willingly as instruments of progress the atrocious knout and wheel and stake, Peter was neither a model ruler, nor a model man. Yet, with all these traits of primal barbarism in his nature, he had many redeeming points. Good humored, frank, and companionable under ordinary circumstances, he was entirely natural, as loyal in his friendships as he was bitter in his enmities. Masterful, titanic, there was in him a wild vitality, an immense energy, and he was great in the singleness of his aim. He did not succeed in transforming Russia; that could not be accomplished in one generation or in two. But he left an army of 200,000 men, he connected Russia with the sea by the coast line of the Baltic, thus opening a contact with countries that were more advanced, intellectually and socially, and he raised a standard and started a tradition.

Peter's successors

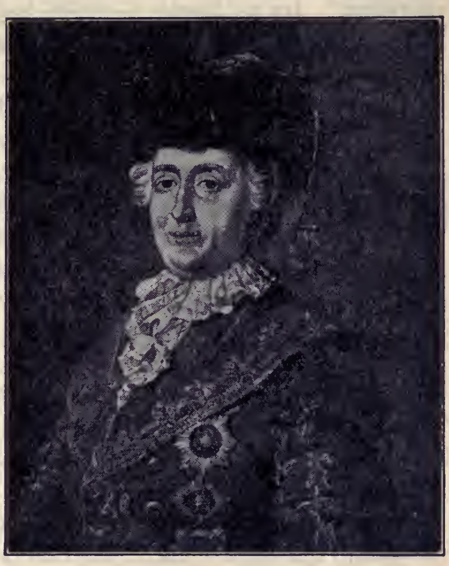
Then followed upon his death, a series of mediocre rulers, under whom it seemed likely that the ground gained might be lost. But under Elizabeth (1741–1762) Russia played an important part in the Seven Years' War, thus showing her altered position in Europe, and with the advent of Catherine II (1762–1796) the process of Europeanizing Russia and of expanding her territories and magnifying her position in international politics was resumed with vigor and carried out with success.

Accession of Catherine the Great

Catherine was a German princess, the wife of the Czar Peter III, who, proving a worthless ruler, was deposed, after a reign of a few months, then done to death, probably with the connivance of his wife. Catherine became empress, and for thirty-four years ruled Russia with an iron hand. Fond of pleasure, fond of work, a woman of intellectual tastes or at least pretensions, which she satisfied by intimate correspondence with Voltaire, Diderot, and other French philosophers of the day, being rewarded for her condescension and her favors by their enthusiastic praise of her as the "Semiramis of the North," Catherine passes as one of the enlightened despots of her century. Being of western birth, she naturally sympathized with the policy of introducing western civilization into Russia, and gave that policy her vigorous support.

Catherine's foreign policy

But her chief significance in history is her foreign policy. Three countries, we have seen, stood between Russia and the countries of Western Europe, Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. Peter had conquered the first and secured the water route by the Baltic. Catherine devoted her entire reign to conquering the other two. The former she accomplished by infamous means and with rare completeness. By the end of her reign Poland had been utterly destroyed and Russia had pushed her boundaries far westward until they touched those of Prussia and Austria. Catherine was not able to dismember Turkey as Poland was dismembered, but she gained from her the Crimea and the northern shores of the Black Sea from the Caucasus to the Dniester. She had even dreamed of driving the Turk entirely from Europe and of extending her own influence down to the Mediterranean by the establishment of a Byzantine empire that should be dependent upon Russia. But any dream of getting to Constantinople was a dream indeed, as the troubled history of a subsequent century was to show. Henceforth, however, Europe could count on one thing with certainty, namely, that Russia would be a factor to be considered in any rearrangement of the map of the Balkan peninsula, in any determination of the Eastern question.



Catherine II
After the portrait by Shebanoff.

This rise of Russia, like the rise of Prussia, to a position of commanding importance in European politics, was the work of the eighteenth century. Both were characteristic products of that age.

Low tone of European politics

The more one examines in general the governments of Europe in the eighteenth century, and the policies which they followed or attempted to follow, the less is one impressed with either their wisdom or their morality. The control was everywhere in the hands of the few and was everywhere directed to the advantage of the few. The idea that it was the first duty of the state to assure, if possible, the welfare of the great majority of the people was not the idea recognized in actual practice. The first duty of the state was to increase its dominions by hook or crook, and to provide for the satisfaction of the rulers and the

The spirit of aggrandizement

privileged classes. One could find in all Europe hardly a trace of what we call democracy. Europe was organized aristocratically, and for the benefit of aristocracies. This was true even in such a country as England, which had a parliament and established liberties; even in republics, like Venice or Genoa or the cantons of Switzerland.

Aristocracies everywhere in power

The condition of the vast mass of the people in every country was the thing least considered. It was everywhere deplorable, though varying more or less in different countries. The masses, who were peasants, were weighed down and hemmed in by laws and institutions and customs that took no account of their well-being. In one way or another they were outrageously taxed, so that but a small fraction of what they earned went for their own support. Throughout most of Europe they did not possess what we regard as the mere beginnings of personal liberty, for, except in England and France, serfdom, with all its paralyzing restrictions, was in force. No one dreamed that the people were entitled to education so that they might be better equipped for life. The great substructure of European society was an unhappy, unfree, unprotected, undeveloped mass of human beings, to whom opportunity for growth and improvement was closed on every side.

Deplorable condition of the masses

Serfdom widely prevalent

If the governments of Europe did not seriously consider the interest of the most numerous and weakest class, on whose well-being depended absolutely the ultimate well-being of the nations, did they discharge their other obligations with any greater understanding or sense of justice? It cannot be said that they did. The distempers in every state were numerous and alarming. The writings of contemporaries abound in gloomy prophecies. There was a widespread feeling that revolutions, catastrophes, ruin were impending, that the body politic was nowhere in sound condition. Excessive expenditures for the maintenance of extravagant courts, for sumptuous buildings, for favorites of every stripe and feather, excessive expenditures for armies and for wars, which were frequent, resulted in increasing disorder in the finances of the various nations. States resorted more and more to loans with the result that the income had to go for the payment of the interest. Deficits were chronic, and no country except England had a budget, or public and official statement of expenditures and receipts. Taxes

A gloomy outlook

State finance grossly mismanaged

were increasing and were detestably distributed. Everywhere in Europe the richer a man was the less he paid proportionately. As new taxes were imposed, exemptions, complete or partial, went with them, and the exemptions were for the nobility and, in part, for the middle classes, where such existed. Crushing therefore was the burden of the lower orders. It was truly a vicious circle.

Crushing taxation of the masses

These evils were so apparent that now and then they prompted the governing authorities to attempt reform. Several rulers in various countries made earnest efforts to improve conditions. These were the "benevolent despots" of the eighteenth century who tried reform from above before the French tried it from below. On the whole they had no great or permanent success, and the need of thoroughgoing changes remained to trouble the future.

Benevolent despotism

Not only were the governments of Europe generally inefficient in all that concerned the full, symmetrical development of the economic, intellectual, and moral resources of the people, not only were they generally repressive and oppressive, allowing little scope to the principle of liberty, but they were, in their relations to each other, unprincipled, unscrupulous. The state was conceived as force, not at all as a moral being, subject to moral obligations and restraints. The glory of rulers consisted in extending the boundaries of their states, regardless of the rights of other peoples, regardless even of the rights of other rulers. The code that governed their relations with each other was primitive indeed. Any means were legitimate, success was the only standard of right or wrong. "He who gains nothing, loses," wrote Catherine of Russia, one of the "enlightened" despots. The dominant idea in all government circles was that the greatness of the state was in proportion to its territorial extent, not in proportion to the freedom, the prosperity, the education of its people. The prevalence of this idea brought it about that every nation sought to be ready to take advantage of any weakness or distress that might appear in the situation of its neighbors. Armies must be constantly at hand and diplomacy must be ready for any scurvy trick or infamous crime that might promise hope of gain. It followed that treaties were to be broken whenever there was any advantage in breaking them. "It is a mistake to break your word without reason," said

Character of the governments of Europe

Material success the only standard of conduct

The faithlessness of monarchs

Frederick II, "for thus you gain the reputation of being light and fickle." To keep faith with each other was no duty of rulers. There was consequently no certainty in international agreements.

This indifference to solemn promises was nothing new. The eighteenth century was full of flagrant violations of most explicit international agreements. There was no honor among nations. No state had any rights which any other state was bound to respect. These monarchs, "enlightened" and "benevolent" or not, as the case might be, all agreed that they ruled by divine right, by the will of God. Yet this decidedly imposing origin of their authority gave them no sense of security in their relations with each other, nor did it give to their reigns any exceptional purity or unworldly character. The maxims of statecraft which they followed were of the earth, earthy. While bent upon increasing their own power they did not neglect the study of the art of undermining each other's power, however divinely buttressed in theory it might be. Monarchs were dethroned, states were extinguished, boundaries were changed and changed again, as the result of aggressive wars, during the eighteenth century. Moreover, the wars of that time were famous for the exactions of the victors and for the scandalous fortunes made by some of the commanders. It was not the French Revolutionists nor was it Napoleon who introduced these customs into Europe. They could not, had they tried, have lowered the tone of war or statecraft in Europe. At the worst they might only imitate their predecessors.

The insecurity of states

Wars of aggression numerous

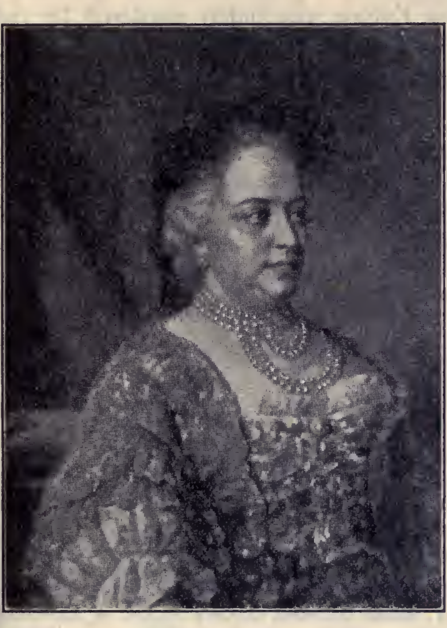
The Old Régime in Europe was to be brought tumbling down in unutterable confusion as a result of the storm which was brewing in France and which we are now to study. But that régime had been undermined, the props that supported it had been destroyed, by its own official beneficiaries and defenders. The Old Régime was disloyal to the very principles on which it rested, respect for the established order, for what was old and traditional, for what had come down from the past, regard for legality, for engagements, loyalty to those in authority. How little regard the monarchs of Europe themselves had for principles which they were accustomed to pronounce sacred, for principles in which alone lay their own safety, was shown by the part they played in the great events of the eighteenth century already alluded to, the war of the Austrian Succession, and the Partition of

The Old Régime everywhere in danger

No honor among monarchs

Poland. By the first the ruler of Austria, Maria Theresa, was robbed of the large and valuable province of Silesia by Prussia, aided by France, both of which states had recently signed a peculiarly solemn treaty called the Pragmatic Sanction, by which her rights had been explicitly and emphatically recognized. Frederick II, however, wanted the province, took it, and kept it. This case shows how lightly monarchs regarded legal obligations, when they conflicted with their ambitions.

Prussia grabs Silesia


Maria Theresa
From a pastel in the possession of the Grand Duke Frederick, Vienna.

The other case, the Partition of Poland, was the most iniquitous act of the century. Poland was in geographical extent the largest state in Europe, next to Russia. Its history ran far back. But its government was utterly weak. Therefore in 1772 Prussia, Austria, and Russia attacked it for no cause save their own cupidity, and tore great fragments away, annexing them to their own territories. Twenty years later they completed the process in two additional partitions, in 1793 and 1795, thus entirely annihilating an ancient state. This shows how much regard the monarchs of Europe had for established institutions, for established authorities.

The extinction of Poland

Two things only counted in Old Europe — force and will, the will of the sovereign. But force and will may be used quite as easily for revolution, for the overthrow of what is old and sacred, as for its preservation. There need be no surprise at anything that we may find Napoleon doing. He had a sufficient pattern and exemplar in Frederick the Great and in Catherine of Russia, only recently deceased when his meteoric career began.

Force, the order of the day

The crash of the Old Régime in Europe

The eighteenth century attained its legitimate climax in its closing decade, a memorable period in the history of the world. The Old Régime in Europe was rudely shattered by the overthrow of the Old Régime in France, which country, by its astonishing actions, was to dominate the next quarter of a century.

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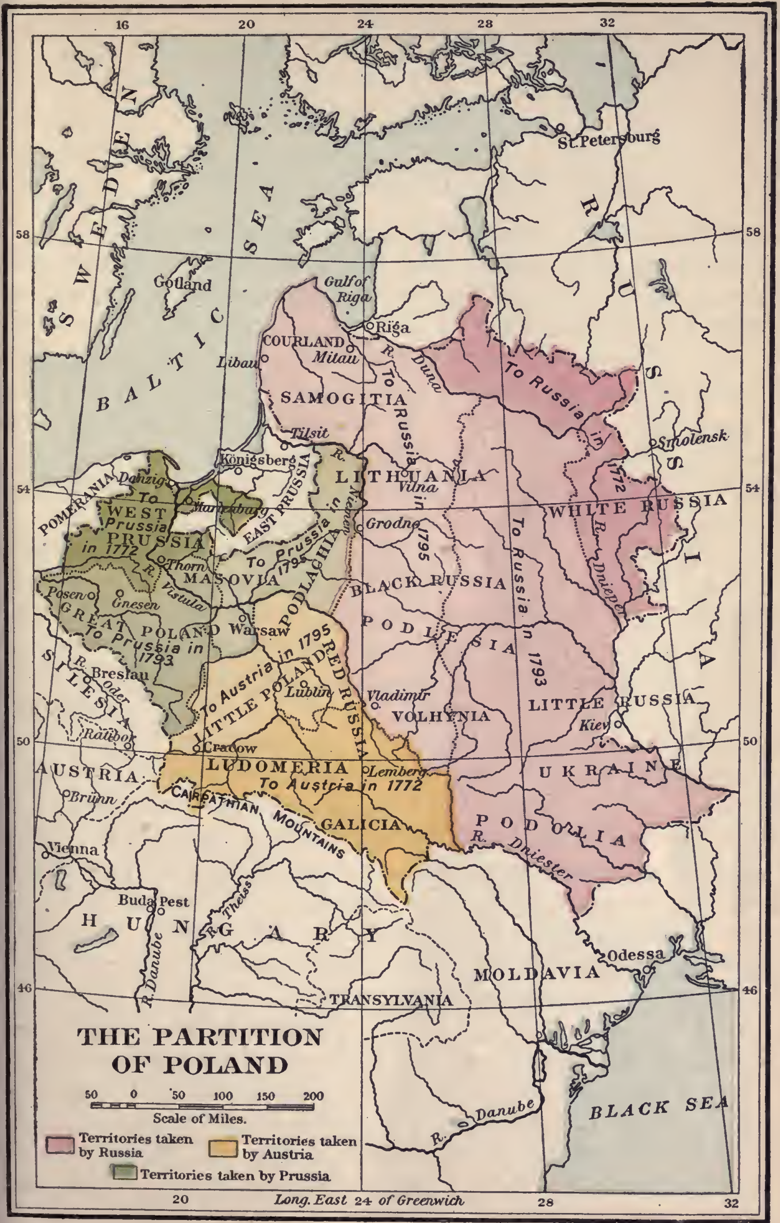


THE PARTITION OF POLAND

16
20
24
28
32
58
54
50
46
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Gotland
Gulf of Riga
Riga
St. Petersburg
RUSSIA
COURLAND
Mitau
Libau
SAMOGITIA
R. Duna
To Russia in 1772
To Russia in 1795
Tilsit
Königsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
LITHUANIA
Vilna
R. Niemen
Smolensk
POMERANIA
Danzig
To WEST Prussia
Marienburg
WEST PRUSSIA in 1772
Grodno
WHITE RUSSIA
R. Dnieper
To Russia in 1793
Thorn
R. Vistula
MASOVIA
To Prussia 1795
PODLACHIA
BLACK RUSSIA
Posen
Gnesen
GREAT POLAND
To Prussia in 1793
Warsaw
To Austria in 1795
PODLESIA
SILESIA
Breslau
R. Oder
LITTLE POLAND
RED RUSSIA
Lublin
Vladimir
VOLHYNIA
LITTLE RUSSIA
Kiev
Ratibor
Cracow
LUDOMERIA
Lemberg
To Austria in 1772
UKRAINE
AUSTRIA
Brünn
CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS
GALICIA
PODOLIA
R. Dniester
Vienna
Buda Pest
HUNGARY
R. Theiss
R. Danube
Odessa
MOLDAVIA
TRANSYLVANIA
R. Danube
BLACK SEA
50 0 50 100 150 200
Scale of Miles.
Territories taken by Russia
Territories taken by Austria
Territories taken by Prussia
20
Long. East 24 of Greenwich
28
32

CHAPTER II

THE OLD RÉGIME IN FRANCE

The French Revolution

The French Revolution brought with it a new conception of the state, new principles of politics and of society, a new outlook upon life, a new faith which seized the imagination of multitudes, inspiring them with intense enthusiasm, arousing boundless hopes, and precipitating a long and passionate struggle with all those who feared or hated innovation, who were satisfied with things as they were, who found their own conditions of life comfortable and did not wish to be disturbed. Soon France and Europe were divided into two camps, the reformers and the conservatives, those believing in radical changes along many lines and those who believed in preserving what was old and tried, either because they profited by it or because they felt that men were happier and more prosperous in living under conditions and with institutions to which they were accustomed than under those that might be ideally more perfect but would at any rate be strange and novel and uncertain.

Attracts liberals everywhere

and repels conservatives

The Revolution a transition from feudalism to democracy

In order to understand the French Revolution it is necessary to examine the conditions and institutions of France out of which it grew; in other words, the Old Régime. Only thus can we get our sense of perspective, our standard of values and of criticism. The Revolution accomplished a sweeping transformation in the life of France. Putting it in a single phrase it accomplished the transition from the feudal system of the preceding centuries to the democratic system of the modern world. The entire structure of the French state and of French society was remodeled and planted on new and far-reaching principles.

Nature of the feudal system

The essence of the feudal system was class divisions and acknowledged privileges for all classes above the lowest. The essence of the new system is the removal of class distinctions, the abolition of privileges, the introduction of the principle of the equality of men, wherever possible.

The Old Régime based on privilege

What strikes one most in contemplating the Old Régime is the prevalence and the oppressiveness of the privileges that various classes enjoyed. Society was simply honeycombed with them. They affected life constantly and at every point. It is not an easy society to describe in a few words, for the variations were almost endless. But, broadly speaking, and leaving details aside, French society was graded from top to bottom, and each grade differed, in legal rights, in opportunities for enjoyment and development, in power.

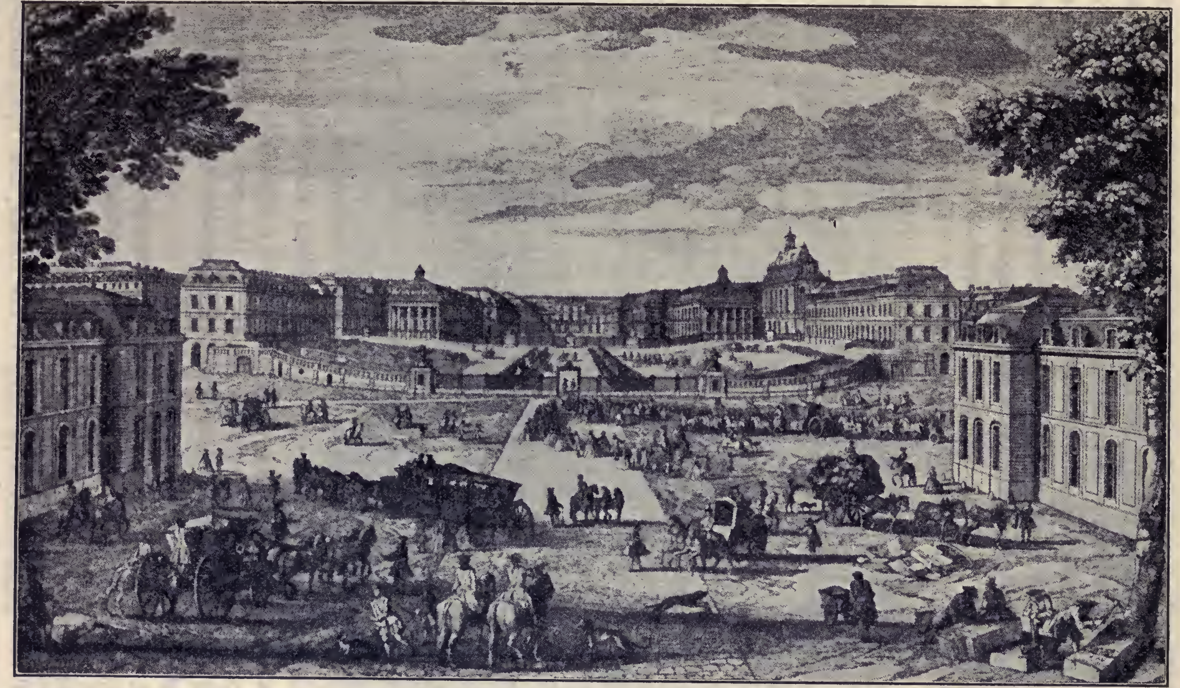
Divine right monarchy

The system culminated in the monarch, the lofty and glittering head of the state, the embodiment of the might and the majesty of the nation. The king claimed to rule by the will of God, that is, by divine right, not at all by the consent of the people. He was responsible to no one but God. Consequently in the actual conduct of his office he was subject to no control. He was an absolute monarch. He could do as he chose. It was for the nation to obey. The will of the king and that alone was, in theory, the only thing that counted. It determined what the law should be that should govern twenty-five million Frenchmen in their daily lives. "This thing is legal because I wish it," said Louis XVI, thus stating in a single phrase the nature of the monarchy, the theory, and the practice also, if the monarch happened to be a strong man. The king made the laws, he levied the taxes, he spent them as he saw fit, he declared wars, made peace, contracted alliances according to his own inclination. There was in theory no restriction upon his power, and all his subjects lay in the hollow of his hand. He could seize their property; he could imprison them by a mere order, a *lettre de cachet*, without trial, and for such a period as he desired; he could control, if not their thoughts, at least the expression of them, for his censorship of the press, whether employed in the publication of books or newspapers, could muzzle them absolutely.

The monarch absolute in power

The splendor of his residence

So commanding a figure required a broad and ample stage for the part he was to play, a rich and spacious background. Never was a being more sumptuously housed. While Paris was the capital of France, the king resided twelve miles away amid the splendors of Versailles. There he lived and moved and had his being in a palace that was the envy of every other king in Christendom, a monumental pile, with its hundreds of rooms, its chapel, theater,



The Palace of Versailles
After an engraving by J. Rigaud.

dining halls, salons, and endless suites of apartments for its distinguished occupants, the royal family, its hundreds of servants, and its guests. This mammoth residence had been built a century before at an expense of about a hundred million dollars in terms of our money to-day, an imposing setting for a most brilliant and numerous court, lending itself, with its miles of corridors, of walks through endless formal gardens studded with statues, fountains, and artificial lakes, to all the pomp and pageantry of power. For the court which so dazzled Europe was composed of 18,000 people, perhaps 16,000 of whom were attached to the personal service of the king and his family, 2,000 being courtiers, the favored guests of the house, nobles who were engaged in a perpetual round of pleasures and who were also busily feathering their own nests by soliciting, of course in polished and subtle ways, the favors that streamed from a lavish throne. Luxury was everywhere the prevailing note. Well may the occupants of the palace have considered themselves, in spirit and in truth, the darlings of the gods, for earth had not anything to show more costly. The king, the queen, the royal children, the king's brothers and sisters and aunts all had their separate establishments under the spacious roof. The queen alone had 500 servants. The royal stables contained nearly 1,900 horses and more than 200 carriages, and the annual cost of this service alone was the equivalent of $4,000,000. The king's table cost more than a million and a half. As gaiety was unconfined, so necessarily was the expediture that kept it going, for every one in this household secured what, in the parlance of our vulgar democracy, is called a handsome "rake-off." Thus ladies-in-waiting secured about $30,000 each by the privilege they enjoyed of selling the candles that had once been lighted but not used up. Queen Marie Antoinette had four pairs of shoes a week, which constituted a profitable business for somebody. In 1789 the total cost of all this riot of extravagance amounted to not far from $20,000,000. No wonder that men spoke of the court as the veritable nation's grave.

The Court of Versailles

A most expensive luxury

Not only were the king's household expenses pitched to this exalted scale, but, in addition, he gave money or appointments or pensions freely, as to the manner born, to those who gained his favor. It has been estimated that in the fifteen years between 1774, when Louis XVI came to the throne, and 1789, when the whirlwind began, the King thus presented to favorites the equivalent

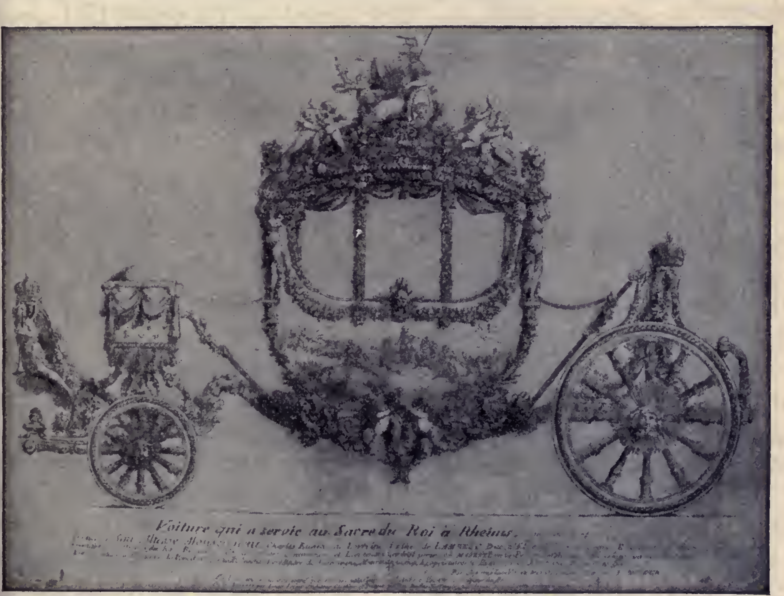
The King a real Lord Bountiful

of more than a hundred million dollars of our money. For those who basked in such sunshine it was unquestionably a golden age.

Defective organization of the state

The provinces

Such was the dazzling apex of a state edifice that was rickety in the extreme. For the government of France was ill-constructed and the times were decidedly out of joint. That government was not a miracle of design, but of the lack of it. Complicated, ill-adjusted, the various branches dimly defined or overlapping, it was thoroughly unscientific and inefficient. The king was assisted by five councils which framed the laws, issued the orders, conducted the business of the state, domestic and foreign, at the capital. Then for purposes of local government France was split up into divisions, but, unfortunately, not into a single, simple set. There were forty "governments," so called, thirty-two of which corresponded closely to the old provinces of France, the outcome of her feudal history. But those forty "governments" belied their name. They did little governing, but they furnished many lucrative offices for


Voiture qui a servie au Sacre du Roi à Rheims.

THE COACH ORNAMENTED WITH SYMBOLS IN WHICH LOUIS XVI WENT TO HIS CORONATION IN 1774
From E. F. Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution.*

the higher nobility who were appointed "governors" and who resided generally in Versailles, contributing their part to the magnificent ceremonial of that showy parade ground.

The intendants

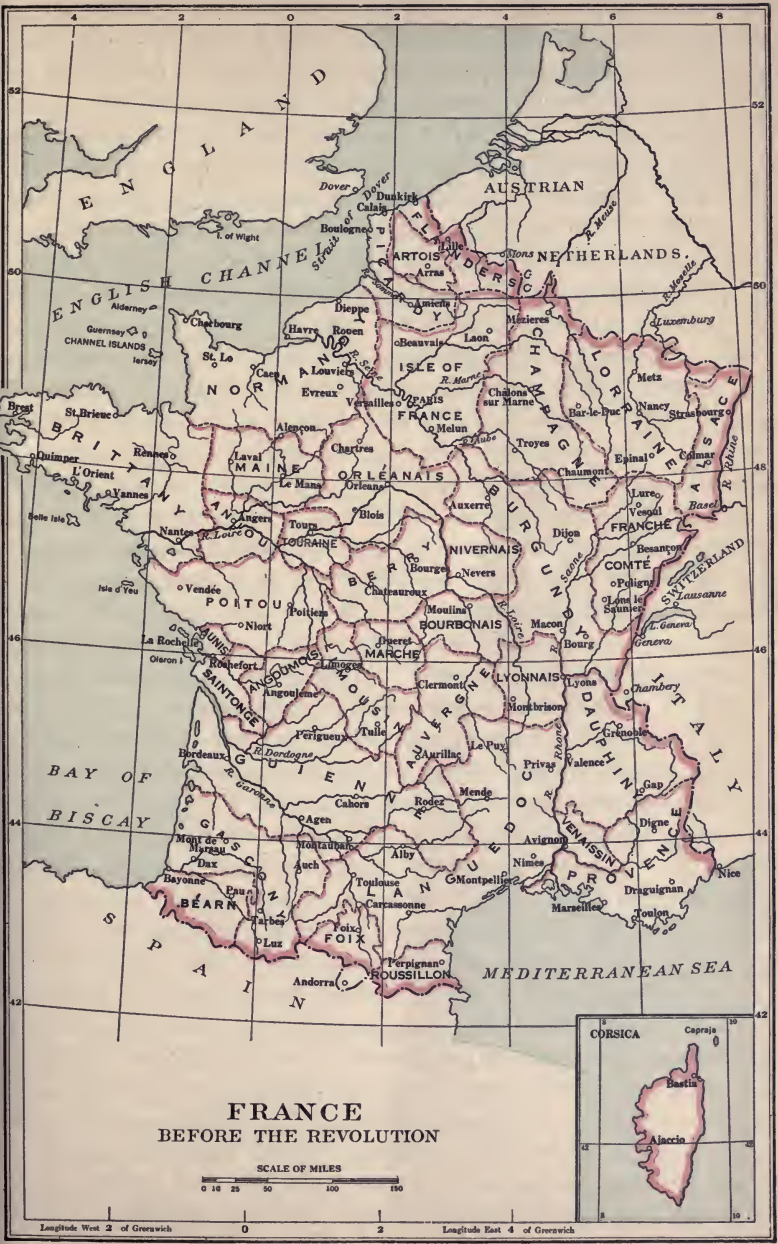
The real, prosaic work was done in the thirty-six "generalities," as another set of divisions was called. Over each of these was an intendant who was generally of the middle or bourgeois class, accustomed to work. These intendants were appointed by the king to carry on the royal government, each in his own district. They generally did not originate much, but they carried out the orders that came from the capital and made their reports to it. Their power was practically unrestricted. Upon them depended in large measure the happiness or the misery of the provinces. Judging from the fact that most of them were very unpopular, it must be admitted that this, the real working part of the national government, did not contribute to the welfare of the people. The intendants were rather the docile tools of the misgovernment which issued from the five councils which were the five fingers of the king. As the head is, so are the members, and the officials under the intendants for the smaller local areas enjoyed the disesteem evoked by the oppressive or unjust policies of their superiors.

No local self-government

Speaking broadly, local self-government did not exist in France, but the local, like the national, government was directed and determined in Versailles. Were a bridge to be repaired over some little stream hundreds of miles from Paris, were a new roof required for a village church, the matter was regulated from Paris, after exasperating delay. It was the reign of the red tape in every sense of the word. The people stood like dumb, driven cattle before this monstrous system. The only danger lay in the chance that they might not always remain dumb. Here obviously was no school for popular political education — a fact which explains many of the mistakes and failures of the people when, in the Revolution, they themselves undertook to rule, the monarchy having failed egregiously to discharge its functions efficiently or beneficently.

France centralized but not unified

Let no one suppose that because France was a highly centralized monarchy, culminating in the person of the king, that therefore the French government was a real unity. Nothing could be further from the truth. To study in detail the various aspects of the royal government, its divisions and subdivisions, its standards, its agents, its methods of procedure, is to enter



FRANCE
BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

SCALE OF MILES
0 10 25 50 100 150
Longitude West 2 of Greenwich
0
2
Longitude East 4 of Greenwich
4
2
0
2
4
6
8
52
50
48
46
44
42
ENGLAND
Dover
Strait of Dover
I. of Wight
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Alderney
Guernsey
CHANNEL ISLANDS
Jersey
Dunkirk
Calais
Boulogne
FLANDERS
Lille
ARTOIS
Arras
PICARDY
R. Somme
Amiens
Mons
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS.
R. Meuse
R. Moselle
Luxemburg
Dieppe
Havre
Rouen
Cherbourg
St. Lo
Caen
NORMANDY
Louviers
Evreux
R. Seine
Beauvais
Laon
Mezieres
ISLE OF FRANCE
R. Marne
Versailles
PARIS
Melun
CHAMPAGNE
Chalons sur Marne
R. Aube
Troyes
Chaumont
Bar-le-Duc
LORRAINE
Metz
Nancy
Strasbourg
ALSACE
Colmar
R. Rhine
Epinal
Basel
Brest
St. Brieuc
BRITTANY
Rennes
Quimper
L'Orient
Vannes
Belle Isle
Alençon
Laval
MAINE
Le Mans
Chartres
ORLÉANAIS
Orleans
Blois
Auxerre
BURGUNDY
Dijon
Lure
Vesoul
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Besançon
Poligny
Lons le Saunier
SWITZERLAND
Lausanne
L. Geneva
Geneva
ANJOU
Angers
Nantes
R. Loire
Tours
TOURAINE
BERRY
Bourges
Chateauroux
NIVERNAIS
Nevers
R. Saone
Isle d'Yeu
Vendée
POITOU
Poitiers
Niort
La Rochelle
AUNIS
Oleron I.
Rochefort
SAINTONGE
ANGOUMOIS
Angoulême
LIMOUSIN
Limoges
Gueret
MARCHE
Moulins
BOURBONAIS
R. Loire
Macon
Bourg
LYONNAIS
Lyons
Clermont
AUVERGNE
Montbrison
Chambery
ITALY
DAUPHINY
Grenoble
Valence
R. Rhone
Privas
Le Puy
Tulle
Perigueux
Bordeaux
R. Dordogne
GUIENNE
R. Garonne
Aurillac
Mende
Rodez
Cahors
Agen
BAY OF BISCAY
GASCONY
Mont de Marsau
Dax
Bayonne
Pau
BÉARN
Tarbes
Luz
Montauban
Auch
Alby
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
Carcassonne
Montpellier
Nimes
Avignon
VENAISSIN
Gap
Digne
PROVENCE
Nice
Draguignan
Marseilles
Toulon
Foix
FOIX
Perpignan
ROUSSILLON
Andorra
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CORSICA
Capraja
Bastia
Ajaccio
8
10
42

a lane where the mind quickly becomes hopelessly bewildered, so great was the diversity in the machinery employed, so varied were the terms in use. Uniformity was nowhere to be seen. There was unity in the person of the king, necessarily, and there only. Everywhere else disunity, diversity, variety, without rhyme or reason. It would take a volume or many volumes to make this clear — even then the reader would be driven to despair in attempting to form a true mental picture of the situation. The institutions of France were a hodge-podge — chaos erected into a system, with no loss of the chaotic, and with no system. Nowadays the same laws, the same taxes, the same weights and measures prevail throughout the length and breadth of the land. But in 1789 no such simplicity or equality prevailed. Weights and measures had different names and different values as one moved from province to province, sometimes as one moved from village to village. In some provinces taxes were, not determined, but at least apportioned, by certain people of the province. In other cases this apportionment was effected directly by the agents of the king, that is, by the central government. In some parts of France the civil laws, that is, the laws that regulated the relations of individuals with each other, not with the state, were of Roman origin or character. There the written law prevailed. In other sections, however, mainly in the north, one changed laws, Voltaire said, as one changed post-horses. In such sections the laws were not written but were *customary*, that is, feudal in origin and in spirit. There were indeed 285 different codes of customary laws in force, that is 285 different ways of regulating legally the personal relations of men with men, within the confines of France.

Ill-constructed machinery of government

Various systems of law

Again the same diversity in another sphere. Thirteen of the provinces of central France enjoyed free trade, that is, merchandise could move freely from one end of that area to the other without restriction. But the other nineteen provinces were separated from each other, just as nations are, by tariff boundaries, and when goods passed from one such province to another, they passed through custom-houses and duties were paid on them, as on goods that come from Europe to the United States.

Provincial tariff boundaries

All these diversities in laws, all these tariff boundaries, are easily explained. They were historical survivals, troublesome and irritating reminders of the Middle Ages. As the kings of France had during the ages annexed this province and then that, they had, more or less, allowed the local customs and institutions to remain undisturbed. Hence this amazing patchwork which baffles description.

The states-rights feeling

One consequence of all this was the persistence in France of that feeling which in American history is known as the states-rights feeling. While all admitted that they were Frenchmen, provincial feeling was strong and frequently assertive. Men thought of themselves as Bretons, as Normans, were attached to the things that differentiated them, were inflexible or stubborn opponents of all attempts at amalgamation. Before France could be considered strongly united, fusion on a grand scale had to be accomplished. This was to be one of the memorable and durable achievements of the Revolution.

Critical condition of the national finances

The financial condition of this extravagant and inefficient state was deplorable and dangerous. Almost half of the national income was devoted to the payment of interest on the national debt. Expenditures were always larger than receipts, with the result that there was an annual deficit which had to be met by contracting a new loan, thus enlarging the debt and the interest charges. It appeared to be the principle of state finance, not that expenditures should be determined by income, but that income should be determined by expenditures. The debt therefore constantly increased, and to meet the chronic deficit the government had recourse to well-known methods which only aggravated the evil — the sale of offices, new loans. During twelve years of the reign of Louis XVI, from 1776 to 1788, the debt increased nearly $600,000,000. People became unwilling to loan to the state, and it was practically impossible to increase the taxes. The national finances were in a highly critical condition. Bankruptcy impended, and bankruptcy can only be avoided in two ways, either by increasing receipts or by reducing expenditures, or both. Attempts were made in the one direction and in the other, but were ineffectual.

The system of taxation honeycombed with favoritism

The receipts, of course, came from the taxes, and the taxes were already very burdensome, at least for those who paid them. They were of two kinds, the direct and the indirect. The direct taxes were those on real estate, on personal property, and on income. From some of these the nobles and the clergy were entirely exempt and they therefore fell all the more heavily upon the class that remained, the third estate. From others the nobles, though not legally exempted, were in practice largely freed, because the authorities did not assess noble property nearly as high as they did the property of commoners. Tax assessors stood in awe of the great. Thus the royal princes who were subject to the income tax and who ought to have paid nearly two and a half million francs, as a matter of fact paid less than two hundred thousand. Again, a marquis who ought to have paid a property tax of 2,500 francs paid 400 and a bourgeois in the same province who ought to have paid 70 in reality paid 760. Such crass favoritism, which always worked in favor of the nobles, never in favor of members of the third estate, naturally served only deeply to embitter the latter class. Those who were the wealthiest and therefore the best able to support the state were the very ones who paid the least, thus conforming to the principle that to those that have shall be given and from those that have not shall be taken away even that which they have. It has been estimated that the state took from the middle classes, and from the workingmen and peasants, half their annual earnings in the form of these direct taxes.

Unpopular taxes

There was another branch of the system of taxation which was oppressive and offensive for other reasons. There were certain indirect taxes which were collected, not by state officials, but by private individuals or companies, the farmers of taxes, as they were called, who paid a lump sum to the state and then themselves collected the taxes, seeking of course to extract as much as possible from the people. Not only has this system of tax-collecting always proved most hateful, both in ancient and modern times, as the tax-farmers have always, in order to make as much as possible, applied the screws with pitiless severity, thus generating a maximum of odium and hatred; but in this particular case several of the indirect taxes would have been unjust and oppressive, even if collected with leniency, a thing never heard of. There was, for instance, the salt-tax, or *gabelle*, which came home, in stark odiousness, to every one. The trade in salt was not open to any one who might wish to engage in it, but was a monopoly of a company that bought the privilege from the state, and that company was most astoundingly favored by the law. For every person above seven years of age was required to buy at least seven pounds of salt annually whether he wished it or not. Even the utterly poor, who had not money enough to buy bread, were severely punished if they refused or neglected to buy the stated amount of salt. Moreover

The odious salt-tax

the tax-collectors had the right to search all houses from top to bottom to see that there was no evasion. Illicit trade in this necessary commodity was incessantly tracked down and severely punished. On the very eve of the Revolution it was officially estimated that 20,000 persons were annually imprisoned and over 500 annually condemned to death, or to service in the galleys, which was hardly preferable, for engaging in the illegal trade in salt. Moreover by an extra refinement in the art of oppression the seven pounds that all must buy could be used only for cooking or on the table. If one desired to salt down fish or meats for preservation, one must not use this particular salt for that purpose, but must buy an additional amount.

The excise tax on wine

There was another equally intolerable tax, the excise on wine. The making of wine was a great national industry which had existed for centuries, but if ever there was a system calculated to depress it, it was the one in vogue in France. Wine was taxed all along the line from the producer to the consumer. Taxed at the moment of manufacture, taxed at the moment of sale by the producer, it was also taxed repeatedly in transportation, — thirty-five or forty times for instance, between the south of France and Paris, so that the combined taxes amounted in the end to nearly as much as the cost of the original production. A trade exposed to such constant and heavy impositions could not greatly flourish.

The system of taxation unfair and arbitrary

Again the taxes both on salt and on wine were not uniform, but varied from region to region, so that the sense of unjust treatment was kept alive every day in the ordinary course of business, and smuggling was in many cases extremely profitable. This in turn led to savage punishments, which only augmented the universal discontent and entered like iron into the souls of men. In the system of taxation, as in the political structure, we find everywhere inequality of treatment, privileges, arbitrary and tyrannical regulations, coupled with uncertainty from year to year, for the regulations were not infrequently changed. No wonder that men, even nobles, criticized this fiscal system as shockingly unjust and scandalously oppressive.

The social organization of France, also, was far from satisfactory. On even the most cursory view many notorious abuses, many intolerable grievances, many irritating or harmful maladjustments stood forth, condemned by reason or the interest of large sections of the population.

Forms outworn, and institutions from which the life had departed, but whence issued a benumbing influence, hampered development in many directions. French society was frankly based upon the principle of inequality. There were three classes or orders, the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate. Not only were the two former classes privileged, that is, placed upon a better footing than the last, but it is curious to observe how the pervasive principle of unequal rights broke up even the formal unity of each of these classes. There was inequality of classes and there was also inequality between sections of the same class. The two privileged orders were favored in many ways, such as complete or partial exemption from taxes, or the right themselves to tax — the clergy through its right to tithes, the nobility through its right to exact feudal dues. Even some of the members of the third estate enjoyed privileges denied the rest. There were classes within classes. Of the 25,000,000 of Frenchmen the clergy numbered about 130,000, the nobility 140,000, while possibly about as many bourgeois as these two combined enjoyed privileges that separated them from the mass of their class. Thus the privileged as a whole numbered less than 600,000, while the unprivileged numbered well over 24,000,000. One man in forty therefore belonged to the favored minority whose lot was differentiated from that of their fellowmen by artificial advantages and distinctions.

The three classes of French society

Inequality between and within these classes

The privileged classes a small minority

The clergy of the Roman Catholic Church formed the first order in the state. It was rich and powerful. It owned probably a fifth of the land of France. This land yielded a large revenue, and, in addition, the clergy exacted tithes on all the agricultural products of the realm. This was in reality a form of national taxation, with this difference from the other forms, that the proceeds went, not to the nation, but to the Church. The Church had still another source of income, the dues which it exacted as feudal landlord from those to whom it stood in that relation. The total income of this corporation was approximately $100,000,000 of our money. Out of this it was the duty of the Church to maintain religious edifices and services, to support many hospitals and schools, to relieve personal distress by charity, for there was no such thing in France as organized poor relief by the state or municipality. Thus the

The Church

Its income and the services it rendered

Church was a state within the state, performing several functions which in most modern societies are performed by the secular authority. This rich corporation was relieved from taxation. Although from time to time it paid certain lump sums to the national treasury, these were far smaller than they would have been had the Church been taxed on its property and on its income in the same proportion as were the commoners.

Favoritism within the Church

An income so large, had it been wisely and justly expended, might have aroused no criticism, for many of the services performed by this organization were essential to the well-being of France. But here as elsewhere in the institutions of the country we find gross favoritism and wanton extravagance, which shocked the moral sense of the nation and aroused its indignation, because they belied so completely pretensions to a peculiar sanctity on which the Church based its claims to its privileged position. For the organization did not treat its own staff with any sense of fair play. Much the larger part of the income went to the higher clergy, that is, to the 134 bishops and archbishops, and to a small number of abbots, canons, and other dignitaries — in all probably not more than 5,000 or 6,000 ecclesiastics. These highly lucrative positions were monopolized by the younger sons of the nobility, who were eager to accept the salaries but not disposed to perform the duties. Many of them resided at court and lived the gay and worldly life, with scarcely anything, save some slight peculiarity of dress, to indicate their ecclesiastical character. The morals of many were scandalous and their intellectual ability was frequently mediocre. They did not consider themselves men set apart for a high and noble calling, they did not take their duties seriously — of course there were honorable exceptions, yet they were exceptions — but their aims were distinctly finite and they conducted themselves as typical men of the world, attentive to the problem of self-advancement, devoted to all the pleasures, dissipations, and intrigues of Versailles. Some held several offices at once, discharging the obligations of none, and enjoying princely revenues. The archbishop of Strassburg had an income of $300,000 a year and held high court in a splendid palace, entertaining 200 guests at a time. Even the saucepans of his kitchens were of silver. A hundred and eighty horses were in his stables, awaiting the pleasure of the guests.

The worldliness of the higher clergy

A few of the bishops received small incomes, but the average among them was over $50,000 a year. They were in the main absentees, residing, not in their dioceses, but in Versailles, where further plums were to be picked up by the lucky, and where at any rate life was gay. Some of the bishoprics had even become the hereditary possessions of certain families, passing from uncle to nephew, as in the secular sphere many offices passed from father to son.

The poverty of the lower clergy

On the other hand, the lower clergy, the thousands of parish priests, who did the real work of spiritual consolation and instruction, who labored faithfully in the vineyard, were wretchedly recompensed. They were sons of the third estate, while their proud and prosperous superiors were sons of the nobility, and they were treated as plebeians. With wretched incomes of a few hundred francs, they had difficulty in keeping body and soul together. No wonder they were discontented and indignant, exclaiming that their lot "made the very stones and beams of their miserable dwellings cry aloud." No wonder they were bitter against their superiors, who neglected and exploited them with equal indifference. The privileged order of the clergy is thus seen to be divided into two classes, widely dissimilar in position, in origin, and in outlook upon life. The parish priests came from the people, experienced the hardships and sufferings of the people, saw the injustice of the existing system, and sympathized with plans for its reform. The triumph of the popular cause in the Revolution was powerfully aided by the lower clergy, who at critical moments threw in their lot with the third estate and against their clerical superiors who rallied to the support of the absolute monarchy which had been so indulgent and so lavish to them. A house divided against itself, however, cannot permanently stand.

The clergy divided against itself

Somewhat similar was the situation of the second order, the nobility. As in the case of the clergy, there was here also great variety of condition among the members of this order, although all were privileged. There were several subdivisions, clearly enough marked. There were two main classes, the nobility of the sword and the nobility of the robe, that is, the old military nobility of feudal origin and the new judicial nobility, which secured its rank from the judicial offices its members held. The nobility of the sword consisted of the nobles of the court and of the nobles of the provinces. The former were few in number, perhaps a thousand, but they shone with peculiar brilliancy, for they were the ones who lived in Versailles, danced attend-

The nobility and its subdivisions

ance upon the king, vied with each other in an eager competition for appointments in the army and navy and diplomatic service, for pensions and largesses from the royal bounty. These they needed, as they lived in a luxurious splendor that taxed their incomes and overtaxed them. Residing at court, they allowed their estates to be administered by bailiffs or stewards, who exacted all that they could get from the peasantry who cultivated them. Everybody was jealous of the nobles of this class, for they were the favored few, who practically monopolized all the pleasant places in the sun.

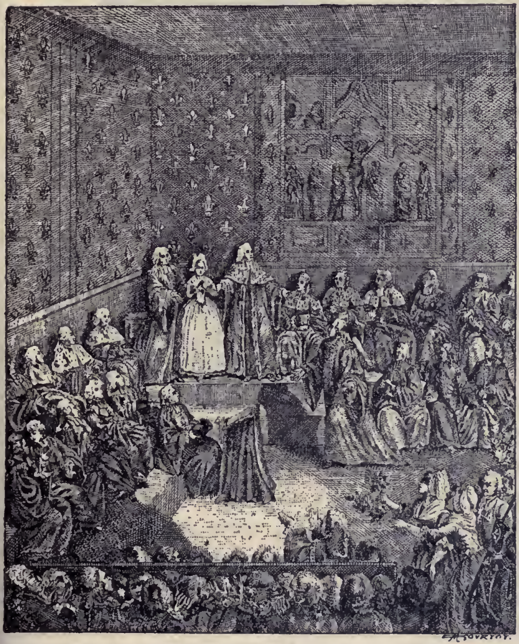
The court nobles

The contrast was striking between them and the hundred thousand provincial nobles who for various reasons did not live at court, were not known to the king, received no favors, and who yet were conscious that in purity of blood, in honorableness of descent and tradition, they were the equals or superiors of those who crowded about the monarch's person. Many of them had small incomes, some pitifully small. They could cut no figure in the world of society, they had few chances to increase their prosperity, which, in fact, tended steadily to decrease. Their sons were trained for the army, the only noble profession, but could never hope to rise very high because all the major appointments went to the assiduous suitors of the clique at court. They resided among the peasants and in some cases were hardly distinguishable from them, except that they insisted upon maintaining the tradition of their class, their badge of superiority, a life of leisure. To work was to lose caste. This obliged many of them to insist rigorously upon the payment of the various feudal dues owed them by the peasantry, some of which were burdensome, most of which were irritating. In some parts of France, however, as in the Vendée and in Brittany they were sympathetic and helpful in their relations with the peasants and were in turn respected by them.

The provincial nobles

The nobility as a whole enjoyed one privilege that was a serious and unnecessary injury to the peasants, making harder the conditions of their lives, always hard enough, namely the exclusive right of hunting, considered the chief noble sport. This meant in actual practice that the peasants might not disturb the game, although the game was destroying their crops. This was an unmitigated abuse, universally execrated by them.

The odium that came to be attached in men's minds to the nobility was chiefly felt only for the selfish and greedy minority. The provincial nobility, like the lower clergy, were themselves discontented with the existing order, for abundant reasons. They might not wish a sweeping transformation of society, but they were disposed to favor political reforms that would at least give all within the order an approximately equal chance. They were devoted to the king, but they experienced in their own persons the evils of an arbitrary and capricious government which was highly partial in its favors.



THE PARLEMENT OF PARIS
After a drawing by Binet.

The nobility of the robe

There was yet another section of the nobility whose status and whose outlook were different still. Many offices in France could be bought. They and their perquisites became the property of those who purchased them and who could transmit them to their children, and one of the perquisites that such offices carried was a patent of nobility. This was the created nobility, the nobility of the robe, so called because its most conspicuous members were the judges, or members of the higher tribunals or *parlements*. These judges appeared, in one aspect, as liberals in that as lawyers they opposed certain unpopular innovations attempted by the king. But in reality as soon as their own privileges were threatened they became the stiffest of defenders of many of the most odious abuses of the Old Régime. In the opening days of the Revolution the third estate found no more bitter opponents than these ennobled judges.

Such were the two privileged orders. The rest of the population comprising the vast majority of the people, was called the third estate. Differing from the others in that it was unprivileged, it resembled them in that it illustrated the principle of inequality, as did they. There were the widest extremes in social and economic conditions. Every one who was not a noble or a clergyman was a member of the third estate, the richest banker, the most illustrious man of letters, the poorest peasant, the beggar in the streets. Not at all homogeneous, the three chief divisions of this immense mass were the *bourgeoisie*, the artisans, and the peasants.

The Third Estate

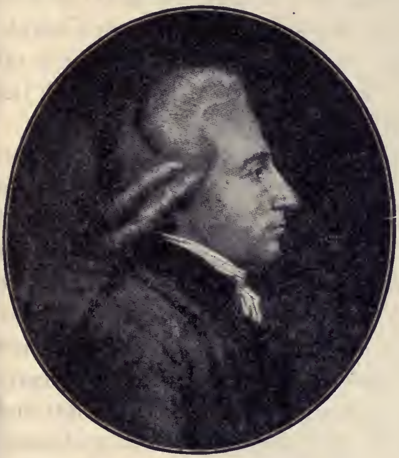
The bourgeoisie, or upper middle class, comprised all those who were not manual laborers. Thus lawyers, physicians, teachers, literary men, were bourgeois: also merchants, bankers, manufacturers. Despite great national reverses, the bourgeoisie had grown richer during the past century as commerce had greatly increased. This economic growth had benefited the bourgeosie almost exclusively and many large fortunes had been built up and the general level of material welfare had been distinctly raised. These were the practical business men who loaned money to the state and who were frequently appointed to offices where business ability was required. Intelligent, energetic, educated, and well-to-do, this class resented most keenly the existing system. For they were made to feel in numerous galling ways their social inferiority, and, conscious that they were quite as well educated, quite as well mannered as the nobles, they returned the disdain of the latter with envy and hatred. Having loaned immense sums to the state, they were increasingly apprehensive, as they saw it verging rapidly toward bankruptcy, because their interests were greatly imperiled. They favored therefore a political reorganization which should enable them to participate in the government, to control its expenditures, to assure its solvency, that thus they might be certain of their interest and principal, that thus abuses which impeded or injured business might be redressed, and that the precariousness of their position might be remedied.

The bourgeoisie

Dissatisfied with the existing system

Desires political and social reforms

They wished also a social revolution. Well educated, saturated with the literature of the period, which they read with avidity, their minds fermented with the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and the economists. Personally, man for man, they were as cultivated as the nobles. They wished social equality, they wished the laws to recognize what they felt the facts proved, that the bourgeois was the equal of the noble. They chafed under pretensions which they felt unjustified by any real superiority. Their mood was brilliantly expressed by a pamphlet written by one of their members, the Abbé Sieyès, which circulated enormously on the eve of the Revolution. "What is the Third Estate?" asked Sieyès. "Everything. What has it been in politics until now? Nothing. What does it desire? To become something."



SIEYÈS
From an engraving by Fiesinger, after a drawing by J. Guérin.

The artisans

Belonging to this estate but beneath the bourgeoisie were the artisans — perhaps two million and a half, living in the towns and cities. They were a comparatively small class because the industrial life of France was not yet highly developed. They were generally organized in guilds which had their rules and privileges that gave rise to bickerings galore and that were generally condemned as preventing the free and full expansion of industry and as artificially restricting the right to work.

The peasantry

The other large division of the third estate was the peasantry. This was by far the largest section. Indeed it was the nation. France was an agricultural country, more than nine-tenths of the population were peasants, more than 20,000,000. About a million of them were serfs, the rest were free men, yet their lot was an unhappy one. The burdens of society fell with crushing weight upon them. They paid fifty-five per cent of what they were able to earn to the state, according to the sober estimate of Turgot. They paid tithes to the clergy and numerous and vexatious feudal dues to the nobles. The peasant paid tolls to the seigneur for the use of the roads and bridges. When he sold his land he paid a fee to the former seigneur. He was compelled to use the seigneur's wine press in making his wine, the seigneur's mill, the seigneur's oven, always paying for the service. The loss of money was one aspect of the business, the loss of time another. In some cases, for instance, the mill was four or five hours distant, and a dozen or more rivers and rivulets had to be crossed. In summer, even if the water was too low to turn the wheel, nevertheless the peasant was obliged to bring his grain to be ground, must wait perhaps three days or must pay a fee for permission to have the grain ground elsewhere. Adding what he paid to the king, the Church, and the seigneur, and the salt and excise duties, the total was often not far from four-fifths of his earnings. With the remaining one-fifth he had to support himself and family.

Oppressed by various and heavy taxes

The inevitable consequence was that he lived on the verge of disaster. Bad weather at a critical moment supervening, he faced dire want, even starvation. It happened that the harvest was bad in 1788 and that the following winter was cruelly severe. According to a foreign ambassador water froze almost in front of the fireplace. It need occasion no surprise that owing to such conditions hundreds of thousands of men became beggars or brigands, driven to frenzy by hunger. It has been estimated that in Paris alone, with a population of 650,000, there were nearly 120,000 paupers. No wonder there were abundant recruits for riots and deeds of violence. The 20,000,000 peasants, who knew nothing of statecraft, who were ignorant of the destructive and subversive theories of Voltaire and Rousseau, were daily and hourly impressed with the imperative necessity of reforms by the hard circumstances of their lives. They knew that the feudal dues would have to be abolished, that the excessive exactions of the state would have to be reduced before their lives could become tolerable. Their reasons for desiring change were different from those of the other classes, but it is evident that they were more than sufficient.

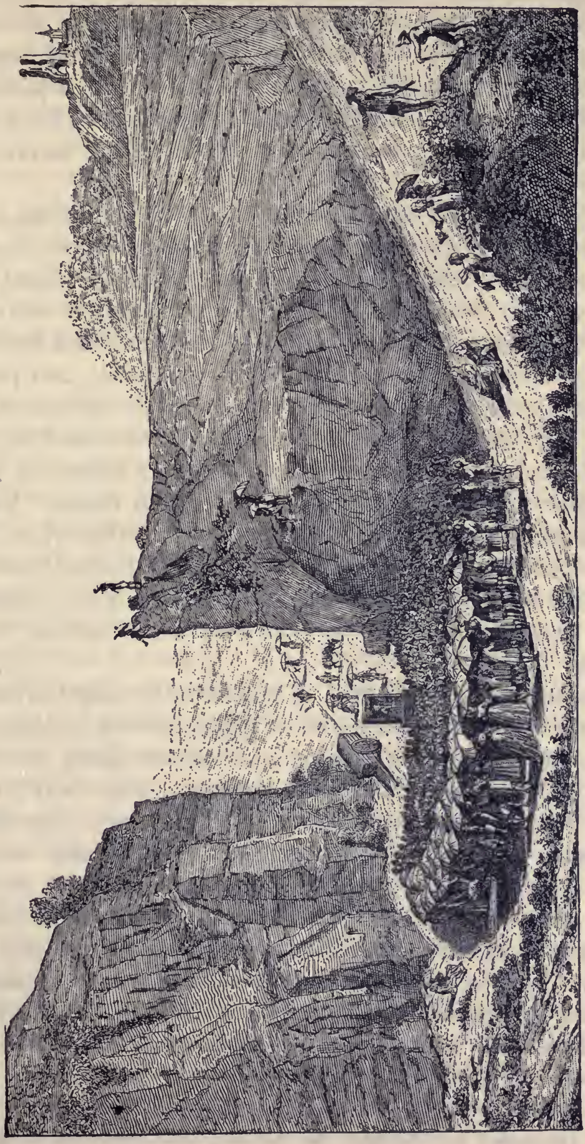
A profoundly discontented class

The combined demand for reform increased as time went on and swelled in volume and in intensity. The voice of the people spoke with no uncertain sound.

Such was the situation. On the eve of the Revolution Frenchmen enjoyed no equality of status or opportunity but privileges of the most varied kinds divided them from each other.

They also enjoyed no liberty. Religious liberty was lacking. Since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 Protestantism had been outlawed. It was a crime punishable with hard labor to practise that religion. Under Louis XVI the persecution of Protestants was in fact suspended, but it might be resumed

Restrictions upon religious liberty



PROTESTANT WORSHIP IN THE WILDERNESS
After an anonymous engraving.

at any moment. Protestant preaching was forbidden and consequently could occur only in secret or in lonely places. Jews were considered foreigners and as such were tolerated, but their position was humiliating. Catholics were required by law to observe the requirements and usages of their religion, communion, fast days, Lent. The Church was absolutely opposed to toleration and because of this incurred the animosity of Voltaire.

Restrictions upon intellectual liberty

There was no liberty of thought, or at least, of the expression of it. Every book, every newspaper article must be submitted to the censor for approval before publication, and no printer might print without permission. Even when published in conformity with these conditions books might be seized and burned by the police, editions destroyed when possible, and publishers, authors, readers might be prosecuted and fined or imprisoned. Let no one think that the mere fact that Rousseau, Voltaire, and the other authors of the day were able to get their thoughts before the public proves that liberty existed in practice, even if not in theory. Voltaire knew imprisonment for what he wrote and was virtually exiled during long years of his life. The censorship was applied capriciously but it was applied sufficiently often, and prosecutions were sufficiently numerous to justify the statement that liberty was lacking in this sphere of life.

Restrictions upon civil liberty

There was no individual liberty. The authorities might arrest any one whom they wished and keep him in prison as long as they chose without assigning reasons and without giving the victim any chance to prove his innocence. There was no such thing as a Habeas Corpus law. There was a large number of state prisons, the most famous being the Bastille, and many of their occupants were there by reason of the *lettres de cachet*, or orders for arbitrary arrest, one of the most odious and hated features of the Old Régime. Ministers and their subordinate officials used these letters freely. Nobles easily obtained them, sometimes the place for the name being left blank for them to fill in. Sometimes, even, they were sold. Thus there was abundant opportunity to use them to pay off merely personal grudges. Malesherbes once said to Louis XVI, "No citizen of your realm is sure of not seeing his liberty sacrificed to private spite, the spirit of revenge: for no one is so great as to be safe from the hatred of a minister, so little as to be unworthy of that of a clerk." *Lettres de cachet* were also used as a measure of family discipline, to buttress the authority of the head of the family, which was quite as absolute as it is in the Orient. A father could have his wife imprisoned or his children, even though they were adults. Mirabeau had this experience even when he was already widely known as a writer on public affairs.

Political liberty lacking

Nor was there political liberty. The French did not have the right to hold public meetings or to form associations or societies. And of course, as we have seen, they did not elect any assemblies to control the royal government. Liberties which had been in vogue in England for centuries, which were the priceless heritage of the English race on both sides of the Atlantic, were unknown in France.

In view of all these facts it is not strange that Liberty and Equality became the battle cry of the Revolution, embodying the deepest aspirations of the nation.

The French Revolution has been frequently ascribed to the influence of the "philosophers" or writers of the eighteenth century. This is putting the cart before the horse, not the usual or efficient way of insuring progress. The manifold ills from which the nation suffered only too palpably were the primary cause of the demand for a cure.

Influence of literary men

Nevertheless it was a fact of great importance that all the conditions described above, and many others, were criticised through the century by a group of brilliant writers, whose exposition and denunciation gave vocal expression on a vast scale to the discontent, the indignation, and the longing of the age. Literature was a lusty and passionate champion of reform, and through it a flood of new ideas swept over France. Many of these ideas were of foreign origin, German, American, above all English; many were of native growth. Literature was political, and never was there such a raking criticism, from every angle, of prevalent ideas. It was skeptical and expressed the greatest contempt for the traditional — that is, for the very basis on which France uneasily rested. It was analytical, and ideas and institutions and methods were subjected to the most minute and exhaustive examination. No cranny of sequestered abuse or folly was left unexplored by these eager and inquisitive and irreverent minds, on whom the past hung lightly. Literature was optimistic, and never did a nation witness so luxuriant or tropical a growth

The critical philosophy of the eighteenth century

of Utopias and dreams. Rarely has any body of writing been so charged and surcharged with freshness and boldness and reckless confidence. Appealing to reason, appealing to the emotions, it ran up and down the gamut of human nature, playing with ease and fervor upon the minds and hearts of men, in every tone, with every accent. It was a literature of criticism, of denunciation, of ingenious or futile suggestions for a fairer future. Sparkling, vehement, satirical, scientific in form, it breathed revolt, detestation, but it breathed also an abounding faith in the infinite perfectibility of man and his institutions. It was destructive, as has often been said. It was constructive, too, a characteristic which has not so often been noted. These books, which issued in great profusion from the facile pens and teeming brains of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Quesnay, and many others, stirred the intellectual world to its depths. They accelerated the circulation of multifarious ideas on politics, religion, society, business. They constituted great historic acts. They crystallized in brilliant and sometimes blinding formulas and theorems whole philosophies of the state and of society. In such compact and manageable form they made the tour of France and began the tour of Europe.

Both destructive and constructive in its effects

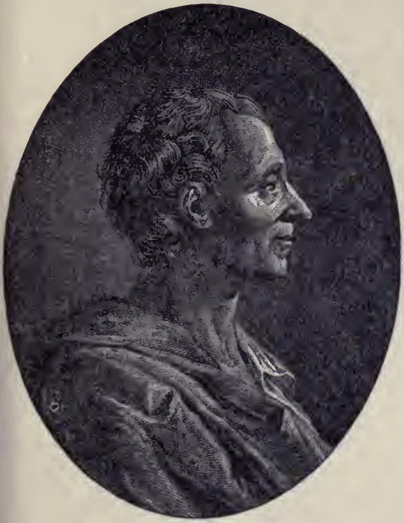
The volume of this inflammable literature was large, its impetus tremendous. It exhaled the love of liberty, the craving for justice. Liberal ideas penetrated more and more deeply into the public mind. A vast fermentation, an incessant and fearless discussion of existing evils and their remedies prepared the way for coming events which were to prove of momentous character.

For three generations the fire of criticism and satire rained upon the foundations of the French monarchy. The campaign was opened by Montesquieu, a member of the nobility of the robe, a lawyer of eminence, a judge of the Parlement of Bordeaux. His great work, the product of twenty years of labor, was his *Spirit of Laws*, published in 1748. It had an immediate and immense success. Twenty-two editions issued from the press in eighteen months. It was a study in political philosophy, an analysis of the various forms of government known to men, a cold and balanced judgment of their various peculiarities, merits, and defects. Tearing aside the veil of mystery which men had thrown about their institutions, disregarding contemptuously the claim of a divine origin, of a sacrosanct and inviolable qual-

Montesquieu (1689–1755)

"The Spirit of Laws"

ity inherent in their very nature, Montesquieu examined the various types with the same detachment and objectivity which a botanist shows in the study of his specimens. Two or three leading ideas emerged from the process. One was that the English government was on the whole the best, since it guaranteed personal liberty to all citizens. It was a monarchy which was limited in power, and controlled by an assembly which represented the people of England — in other words what, in the language of modern political science, is called a constitutional monarchy. Montesquieu also emphasized the necessity in any well-regulated state of separating carefully the three powers of government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. In the French monarchy all were blended and fused in the single person of the king, and were subject to no earthly control — and, as a matter of fact, to no divine control that was perceptible. These conceptions of a constitutional as preferable to an absolute monarchy, and of the necessity of providing for a separation of the three powers, have dominated all the constitutions France has had since 1789 and have exerted an influence far beyond the boundaries of that country. Propounded by a studious judge, in language that was both grave and elegant, Montesquieu's masterpiece was a storehouse of wisdom, destined to be provocative of much thought, discussion, and action, both in France and elsewhere.



MONTESQUIEU
From the engraving by B. L. Henriquez after the picture at the Académie Française.

Praises constitutional monarchy

Voltaire (1694–1778)

Very different, but even more memorable, was the work of Voltaire, one of the master minds of European history, whose name has become the name of an era. We speak of the Age of Voltaire as we speak of the Age of Luther and of Erasmus. Voltaire stands for the emancipation of the intellect. His significance to his times is shown in the title men gave him — King Voltaire. The world has not often seen a freer or more intrepid spirit. Supremely gifted for a life of letters, Voltaire proved himself an accomplished poet, historian, dramatist, even scientist, for he was not a specialist, but versatility was his forte. Well known at the age of twenty-three, he died at the age of eighty-four in a veritable delirium of applause, for his exit from the world was an amazing apotheosis. World-renowned he melted into world history.

VOLTAIRE
From the bust by Houdon.

An impassioned champion of freedom

He had not trod the primrose path of dalliance but had been a warrior all his life, for multifarious and generally honorable causes. With many weaknesses of character, of which excessive vanity was one, he was a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night for all who enlisted in the fight for the liberation of mankind. He had personally experienced the oppression of the Old Régime and he hated it with a deep and abiding hatred. He had more than once been thrown into prison by the odious arbitrary *lettres de cachet* because he had incurred the enmity of the great. A large part of his life had been spent in exile because he was not safe in France. By his prodigious intellectual activity he had amassed a large fortune and had become one of the powers of Europe. Show him a case of arbitrary injustice, a case of religious persecution hounding an innocent man to an awful death — and there were such cases — and you would see him taking the field,

His hatred of every form of tyranny

aflame with wrath against the authors of the monstrous deed. It was literally true in the age of Voltaire that the pen was far mightier than the sword. His style has been superlatively praised and cannot be praised too highly. Clear, pointed, supple, trenchant, it was a Damascus blade. He was never tiresome, he was always interesting, and he was generally instructive. The buoyancy of his spirit was shown in everything he wrote. A master of biting satire and of pulverizing invective, he singled out particularly for his attention the hypocrisies and cruelties and bigotries of his age and he raked them with a rapid and devastating fire. This brought him into conflict with the State and the Church. He denounced the abuses and iniquities of the laws and the judicial system, of arbitrary imprisonment, of torture. Voltaire was not a careful and sober student, like Montesquieu. In an age which had no journalism he was the most brilliant and mordant of journalists, writing as he listed, on the events or problems of his day. The variety and piquancy of his writings were astonishing.

His remarkable literary gifts

Voltaire was not primarily a political thinker. He attacked individual abuses in the state and he undermined the respect for authority, but he evidently was satisfied with monarchy as an institution. His ideal of government was a benevolent despotism. He was not a democrat. He would rather be ruled by one lion than by a hundred rats, was the way in which he expressed his preference.

The Church was his *bête noire*, as he considered it the gloomy fastness of moldering superstitions, the enemy of freedom of thought, the persecutor of innocent men who differed from it, as the seat of intolerance, as the supporter of all kinds of narrow and bigoted prejudices. Voltaire was not an atheist. He believed in God, but he did not believe in the Christian or in the Hebrew God, and he hated the Roman Catholic Church and all its works and dealt it many redoubtable blows. In eighteenth-century France the Church, as we have seen, presented plenty of vulnerable sides for his fiery shafts. Voltaire's work was not constructive but destructive. His religious faith was vague at best and not very vital. He scorned all formal creeds.

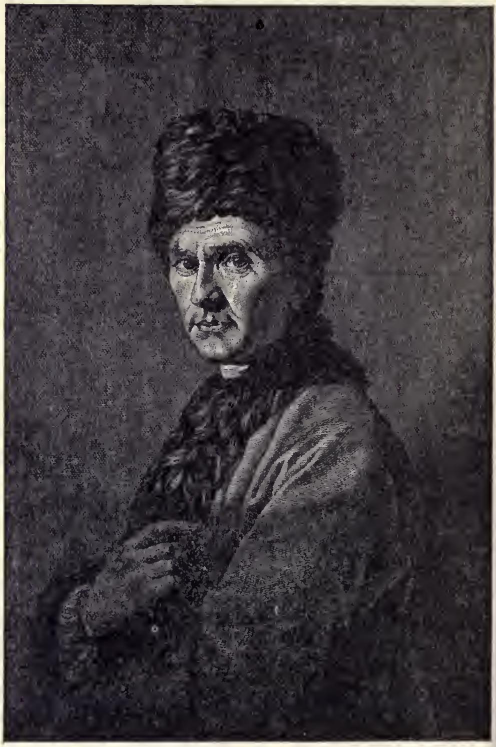
Voltaire's vehement attacks upon the Church

Very different in tone and tendency was the work of another author, Jean Jacques Rousseau. In Voltaire we have the dry, white light of reason thrown upon the dark places of the world. In Rousseau we have reason, or rather logic, suffused and powerfully refracted with emotion. If the former was primarily engaged in the attempt to destroy, the latter was constructive, imaginative, prophetic. Rousseau was the creator of an entire political system; he was the confident theorist of a new organization of society. Montesquieu and Voltaire desired political reforms in the interest of individual liberty, desired the end of tyranny. But Rousseau swept far beyond them, wishing a total reorganization of society, because no amount of patching and renovating could make the present system tolerable, because nothing less would render liberty possible. He wrote a magic prose, rich, sonorous, full of melancholy, full of color, of musical cadences, of solemn and pensive eloquence. The past had no power over him; he lacked completely the historical sense. The past, indeed, he despised. It was to him the enemy *par excellence*, the cause of all the multiplied ills from which humanity was suffering and must free itself. Angry with the world as it was — his own life had been hard — he, the son of a Genevan watchmaker, had wandered here and there practising different trades, valet, music-teacher, tutor — he had known misery and had no personal reason for thinking well of the world and its boasted civilization. In his first work he propounded his fundamental thesis that man, naturally good and

Rousseau (1712–1778)

Rousseau's lack of the historical sense

Civilization the enemy



Jean Jacques Rousseau
From an engraving by J. E. Nochez after A. Ramsay.

just and happy, had been corrupted and degraded by the very thing he called civilization. Therefore sweep civilization aside, and on the ground freed from its artificial and baneful conventions and institutions erect the idyllic state.

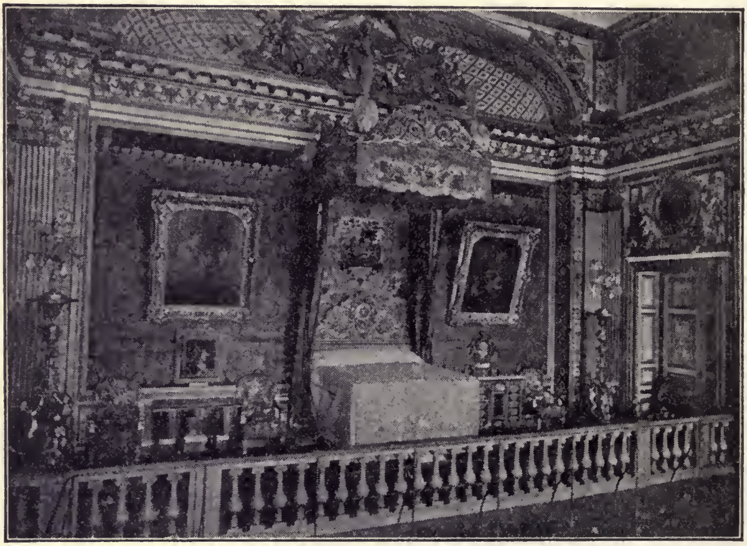
"The Social Contract"

Rousseau's principal work was his *Social Contract*, one of the most famous and in its results one of the most influential books ever written. Opening with the startling statement that "man was born free and is everywhere in chains," he proceeded to outline, by pure abstract reasoning, and with a lofty disregard of all that history had to teach and all that psychology revealed of the nature of the human mind, a purely ideal state, which was in complete contrast to the one in which he lived. Society rests only upon an agreement of the persons who compose it. The people are sovereign, not any individual, nor any class. All men are free and equal. The purpose of any government should be to preserve the rights of each. Rousseau did not at all agree with Montesquieu, whose praise of the English form of government as insuring personal liberty he considered fallacious. "The English think themselves free," he said, "but they are mistaken, for they are free only at the moment in which they elect the members of Parliament." As soon as these are chosen, the people are slaves, they are nothing, since the members of Parliament are rulers, not the people. Only when the next election comes round will they be free again, and then only for another moment. Rousseau repudiated the representative system of government and demanded that the people make the laws themselves directly. Government must be government by majorities. The majority may make mistakes, nevertheless it is always right — a dark saying. Rousseau's state made no provision for safeguarding any rights of the minority which the majority might wish to infringe. The harmful feature of his system was that it rendered possible a tyranny by a majority over a minority quite as complete and odious and unrestrained as any tyranny of a king could be. But two of his ideas stood out in high relief — the sovereignty of the people and the political equality of all citizens, two democratic principles which were utterly subversive of the states of Europe as then constituted. These principles powerfully influenced the course of the Revolution and have been preached with fervor and denounced with passion by rival camps ever since. They have made notable progress in the world since

Criticises the English form of government

Rousseau's extreme democratic principles

Rousseau gave them thrilling utterance, but they have still much ground to traverse before they gain the field, before the reign of democracy everywhere prevails.



The King's Bedchamber at Versailles

Critics of the prevailing economic system

There were many other writers who, by attacking this abuse and that, contributed powerfully to the discrediting, the sapping of the Old Régime. A conspicuous group of them busied themselves with economic studies and theories, enunciating principles which, if applied, would revolutionize the industrial and commercial life of the nation by sweeping away the numerous and formidable restrictions which hampered it and which permeated it with favoritism and privilege, and by introducing the maximum of liberty in commerce, in industry, in agriculture, just as the writers whom we have described enunciated principles which would revolutionize France politically and socially.

All this seed fell upon fruitful soil. Remarkable was to be the harvest as we shall shortly see.

The Revolution was not caused by the philosophers, but by the conditions and evils of the national life and by the mistakes of the government. Nevertheless these writers were a factor in the Revolution, for they educated a group of leaders, instilled into them certain decisive doctrines, furnished them with phrases, formulas, and arguments, gave a certain tone and cast to their minds, imparted to them certain powerful illusions, encouraged an excessive hopefulness which was characteristic of the movement. They did not cause the Revolution, but they exposed the causes brilliantly, focused attention upon them, compelled discussion, and aroused passion.

The influence of the writers of the eighteenth century

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CHAPTER III

BEGINNINGS OF THE REVOLUTION

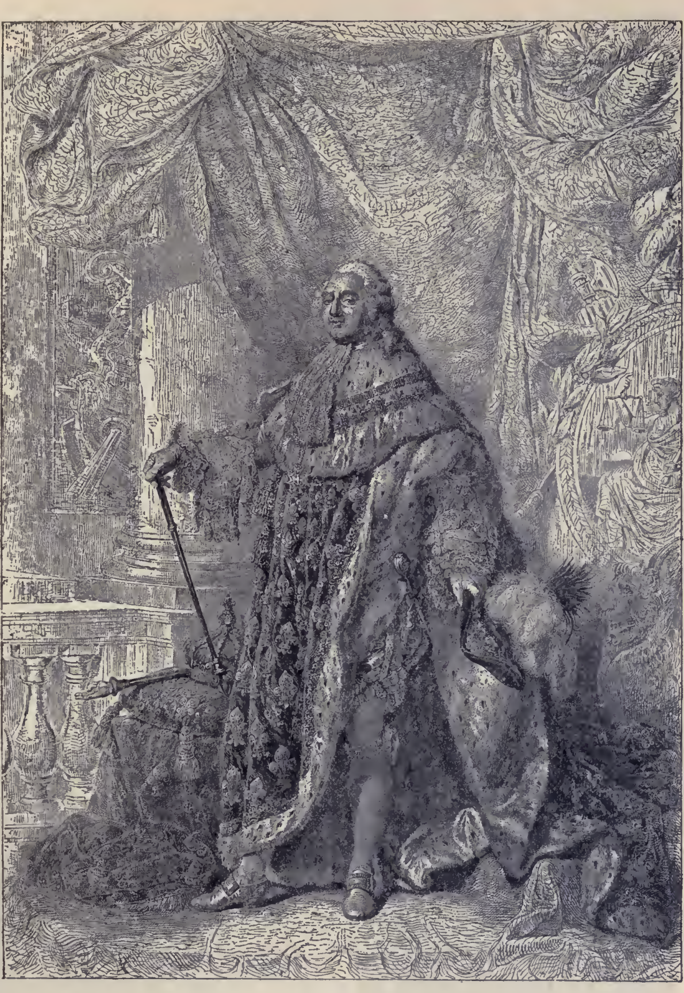
Under Louis XVI the financial situation of France became more and more serious, until it could no longer be ignored. The cost of the participation in the American Revolution, added to the enormous debt inherited from the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV and to the excessive and unregulated expenditures of the state and the wastefulness of the court, completed the derangement of the national finances and foreshadowed bankruptcy. In the end this crisis forced the monarch to make an appeal to the people by summoning their representatives.

The critical condition of the national finances

But before taking so grave a step, the consequences of which were incalculable, the government tried various expedients less drastic, which, however, for various reasons, failed. Louis XVI was the unhappy monarch under whom these long accumulating ills culminated. The last of the rulers of the Old Régime, his reign covered the years from 1774 to 1792. It falls into three periods, a brief one of attempted reform (1774–1776) and then a relapse for the next twelve years into the traditional methods of the Bourbon monarchy, and after that the hurricane.

Louis XVI (1754–1793)

During his youth no one thought that Louis would ever be monarch, so many other princes stood between him and the throne that his succession was only a remote contingency. But owing to an unprecedented number of deaths in the direct line this contingency became reality. Louis mounted the throne, from which eighteen years later, by a strange concourse of events, he was hurled. He had never been molded for the high and dangerous office. He was but twenty years old and the Queen, Marie Antoinette, but nineteen when they heard of the death of Louis XV, and instinctively both expressed the same thought, "How unhappy are we. We are too young to rule." The new King was entirely untrained in the arts of government. He was good, well-intentioned, he had a high standard of morality and duty, a genuine desire to serve his



Louis XVI
From the engraving by Nargeot, after the painting by Callet.

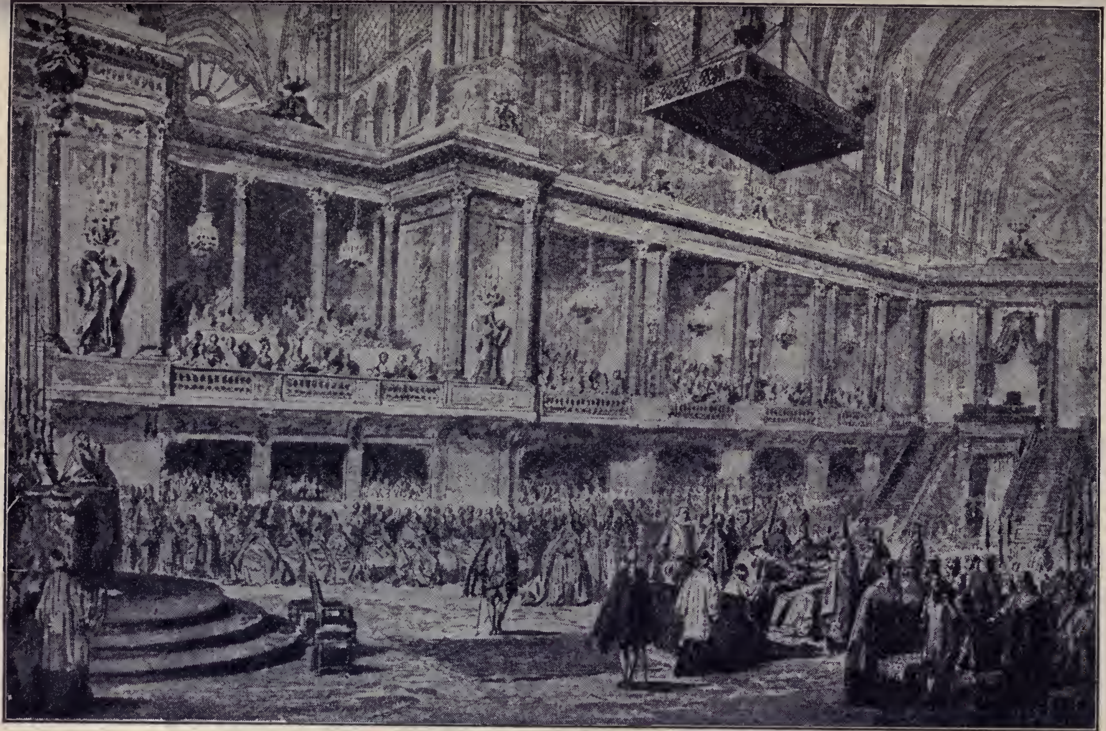
Character of Louis XVI

people. But his mind lacked all distinction, his education had been poor, his processes of thought were hesitating, slow, uncertain. Awkward, timid, without elegancies or graces of mind or body, no king could have been less to the manner born, none could have seemed more out of place in the brilliant, polished, and heartless court of which he was the center. This he felt himself, as others felt it, and he often regretted, even before the Revolution, that he could not abdicate and pass into a private station which would have been far more to his taste. He was an excellent horseman, he was excessively fond of hunting, he practised with delight the craft of locksmith. He was ready to listen to the advice of wiser men, but, and this was his fatal defect, he was of feeble will. He had none of the masterful qualities necessary for leadership. He was quite unable to see where danger lay and where support was to be found. He was not unintelligent, but his intelligence was unequal to his task. He had no clear conception of either France or Europe. He was a poor judge of men, yet was greatly influenced by them. He gave way now to this influence, which might be good, now to that, which might be bad. He was, by nature, like other princes of his time, a reforming monarch, but his impulses in this direction were intermittent. Necker said on one occasion, "You may lend a man your ideas, you cannot lend him your strength of will." "Imagine," said another, "trying to keep a dozen oiled ivory balls touching. I think you couldn't do it." So it was with the King's ideas. At the beginning of his reign Louis XVI was subject to the influence of Turgot, one of the wisest of statesmen. Later he was subject to the influence of the Queen — to his own great misfortune and also to that of France.

His lack of qualities of leadership

The influence of women was always great in France under the Bourbon monarchy, and Marie Antoinette was no exception to the rule. Furthermore that influence was frequently disastrous and here again in the case of the last queen of the Old Régime there was no exception. If the King proved inferior to his position, the Queen proved no less inferior to hers. She was the daughter of the great Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and she had been married to Louis XVI in the hope that thus an alliance would be cemented between the two states which had so long been enemies. But, as many Frenchmen disliked everything about this alliance, she was unpopular and exposed to much malevolent criticism from the moment she set foot in France. She was beautiful, gracious, and vivacious. She possessed in large measure some of the very qualities the King so conspicuously lacked. She had a strong will, power of rapid decision, a spirit of initiative, daring. But she was lacking in wisdom, in breadth of judg-

Marie Antoinette (1755–1793)



The Coronation of Louis XVI, in the Cathedral of Rheims, 1775
After an engraving by Moreau.

ment; she did not understand the temperament of the French people or the spirit of the times. Born to the purple, her outlook upon life did not transcend that of the small and highly privileged class to which she belonged.

Her defective education

She had grown up in Vienna, one of the gayest capitals of Europe. Her education was woefully defective. When she came to France to become the wife of Louis XVI, she hardly knew how to write. She had had tutors in everything, but they had availed her little. She was willful and proud, unthinking and extravagant, intolerant of disagreeable facts, frivolous, impatient of all restraint, fond of pleasure, and of those who ministered unto it. She committed many indiscretions both in her conduct and in the kind of people she chose to have about her. Because of these she was grossly calumniated and misjudged.

Her indiscretion and her unpopularity

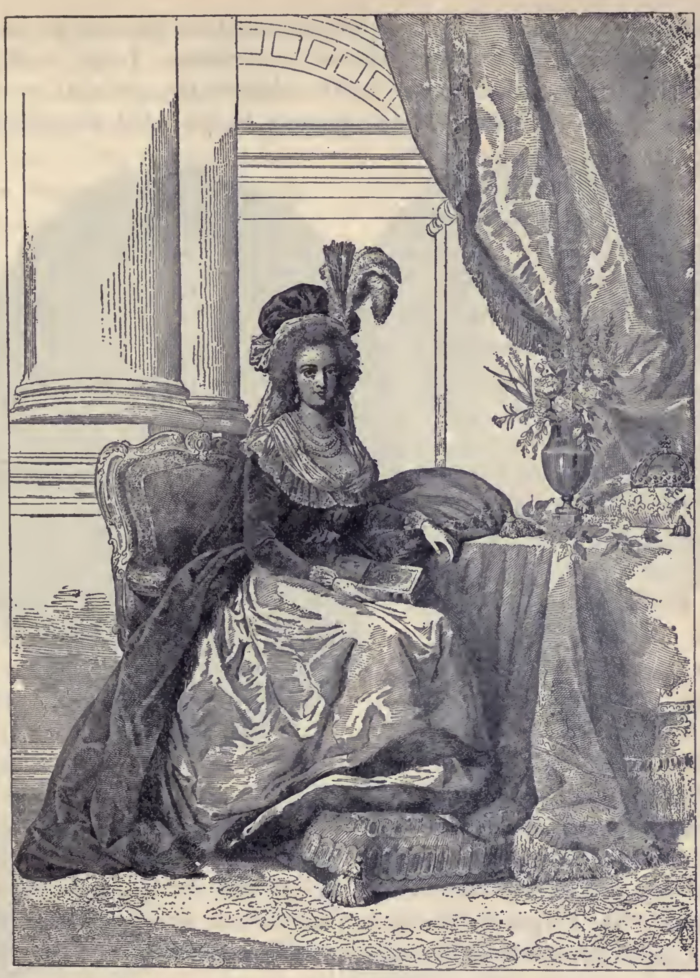
Marie Antoinette was the center of a group of rapacious people who benefited by existing abuses, who were opposed to all reform. Quite unconsciously she helped to aggravate the financial situation and thus to hasten the catastrophe.

Turgot, controller of finance (1774–1776)

At the beginning of his reign Louis intrusted the management of finances to a man of rare ability and courage, Turgot. Turgot had been intendant of one of the poorest provinces of France. By applying there the principles of the most advanced economists, which may be summed up as demanding the utmost liberty for industry and trade, the abolition of all artificial restrictions and all minute and vexatious governmental regulations, he had made his province prosperous. He now had to face the problem of the large annual deficit. The continuance of annual deficits could mean nothing else than ultimate bankruptcy. Turgot announced his program to the King in the words, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no more borrowing." He hoped to extricate the national finances by two processes, by effecting economies in expenditures, and by developing public wealth so that the receipts would be larger. The latter object would be achieved by introducing the régime of liberty into agriculture, industry, and commerce.

Turgot's financial policy

Turgot was easily able to save many millions by suppressing useless expenditures, but in so doing he offended all who enjoyed those sinecures, and they flew to arms. The trade in foodstuffs was hopelessly and dangerously hampered by all sorts of artificial and pernicious legislation

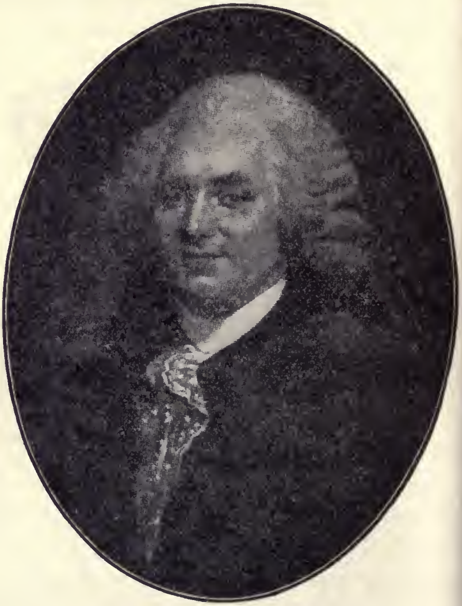


Marie Antoinette
From the engraving by Geile after the painting by Vigée le Brun.

Turgot's economic reforms

and interference by the state. All this he swept aside, introducing free trade in grain. A powerful class of speculators was thus offended. He abolished the trade guilds, which restricted production by limiting the number of workers in each line, and by guarding jealously the narrow, inelastic monopolies they had established. Their abolition was desirable, but all the masters of the guilds and corporations became his bitter enemies. Turgot abolished an odious tax, the royal *corvée*, which required the peasants to work without pay on the public roads. Instead, he provided that all such work should be paid for and that a tax to that end should be levied upon all landowners, whether belonging to the privileged or the unprivileged classes. The former were resolved that this should not be, this odious equality of all before the tax-collector. Thus all those who battened and fattened off the old system combined in merciless opposition to Turgot and, reinforced by the *parlements* particularly, and by Marie Antoinette, they brought great pressure upon the King to dismiss the obnoxious minister. Louis yielded to the vehement importunities of the Queen and dismissed the ablest supporter the throne had. Both monarchs were grievously at fault, the King for his lack of will, the Queen for her willfulness. "M. Turgot and I are the only persons who love the people," said Louis XVI, but he did not prove his love by his acts. A few days earlier Turgot had written him, "Never forget, your Majesty, that it was weakness which brought Charles I to the block."

His enemies force his dismissal

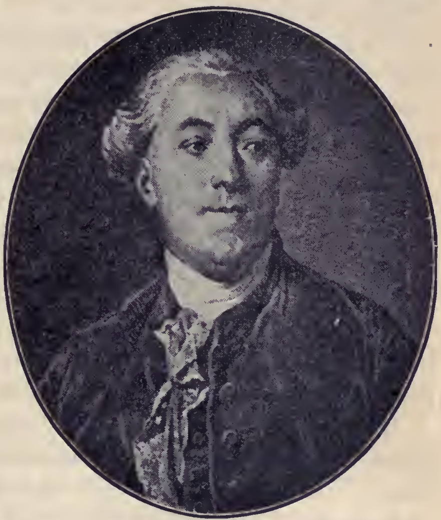


TURGOT
After a pastel by Joseph Ducreux.

Necker, director of the finances (1776–1781)

This incident threw a flood of light upon the nature of the Old Régime. All reformers were given warning by the fall of Turgot. No changes that should affect the privileged classes! As the national finances could be made sound only by reforms which would affect those classes, there was no way out. Reform was blocked. Necker, a Genevan banker, succeeded Turgot.

He was a man who had risen by his own efforts from poverty to great wealth. He, too, encountered opposition the instant he proposed economies. He took a step which infuriated the members of the court. He published a financial report, showing the income and the expenditures of the state. This had never been done before, secrecy having hitherto prevailed in such matters. The court was indignant that such high mysteries should be revealed to the masses, particularly as the report showed just how much went annually in pensions to the courtiers, as free gifts for which they rendered no services whatever. For such unconscionable audacity Necker was overthrown, the King weakly yielding once more to pressure.



NECKER
After the drawing by J. S. Duplessis.

This time the court took no chances, but secured a minister quite according to the heart's desire, in Calonne. No minister of finance could be more agreeable. Calonne's purpose was to please, and please he did, for a while. The wand of Prospero was not more felicitous in its enchantments. The members of the court had only to make their wishes known to have them gratified.

Calonne, controller general (1783–1787)

Calonne, a man of charm, of wit, of graceful address, had also a philosophy of the gentle art of spending which was highly appreciated by those about him. "A man who wishes to borrow must appear to be rich, and to appear rich he must dazzle by spending freely." Money flowed like water during these halcyon times. In three years, in a time of profound peace, Calonne borrowed nearly $300,000,000.

It seemed too good to be true, and it was, by far. The evil days drew nigh for an accounting. It was found in August, 1786, that the treasury was empty and that there were no more fools willing to loan to the state. It was a rude awakening from a blissful dream. But Calonne now showed, what he had not shown before, some sense. He proposed a general tax which should fall upon the nobles as well as upon the commoners. It was therefore his turn to meet the same opposition from the privileged classes which Turgot and Necker had met. He, too, was balked, and resigned.

His successor, Loménie de Brienne, encountered a similar fate. As there was nothing to do but to propose new taxes, he proposed them. The *parlement* of Paris immediately protested and demanded the convocation of the States-General, asserting the far-reaching principle that taxes can only be imposed by those who are to pay them. The King attempted to overawe the *parlement*, which, in turn, defied the King.

Summoning of the States-General

All this, however, was no way to fill an empty treasury. Finally the government yielded and summoned the States-General to meet in Versailles on May 1, 1789. A new chapter, of incalculable possibilities, was opened in the history of France. Necker was recalled to head the ministry, and preparations for the coming meeting were made.

The States-General a feudal institution

The States-General, or assembly representing the three estates of the realm, the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners, was an old institution in France, but one that had never developed as had the parliament of England. The last meeting, indeed, had been held 175 years before. The institution might have been considered dead. Now, in a great national crisis, it was revived, in the hope that it might pull the state out of the deplorable situation into which the Bourbon monarchy had plunged it. But the States-General was a thoroughly feudal institution and France was tired of feudalism. Its organization no longer conformed to the wishes or needs of the nation. Previously each one of the three estates had had an equal number of delegates, and the delegates of each estate had met separately. It was a three-chambered body, with two of the chambers consisting entirely of the privileged classes. There was objection to this now, since, with two against one, it left the nation exactly where it had been, in the power of the privileged classes. They could veto anything that the third estate alone wanted; they could impose anything they chose upon the third estate, by their vote of two to one. In other words, if organized as hitherto, they could prevent all reform which in any way affected themselves, and yet such reform was an absolute necessity. Con-

Method of voting in the States-General

sulted on this problem the *parlement* of Paris pronounced in favor of the customary organization; in other words, itself a privileged body, it stood for privilege. The *parlement* immediately became as unpopular as it had previously been popular, when opposing the monarch.

The third estate given double membership

Necker, now showing one of his chief characteristics which was to make him impossible as a leader in the new era, half settled the question and left it half unsettled. He, like the King, lacked the power of decision. He was a banker, not a statesman. It was announced that the third estate should have as many members as the two other orders combined. Whether the three bodies should still meet and vote separately was not decided, but was left undetermined. But of what avail would be the double membership of the third estate — representing more than nine-tenths of the population — unless all three met together, unless the vote was by individuals, not by chambers; by head, as the phrase ran, and not by order. In dodging this question Necker was merely showing his own incapacity for strong leadership and was laying up abundant trouble for the immediate future.

The opening of the States-General, May 5, 1789

The States-General met on May 5, 1789. There were about 1,200 members, of whom over 600 were members of the third estate. In reality, however, that class of the population had a much larger representation as, of the 300 representatives elected by the clergy, over 200 were parish priests or monks, all commoners by origin and, to a considerable extent, in sympathy. Each of the three orders had elected its own members. At the same time the voters, and the vote was nearly universal, were asked to draw up a formal statement of their grievances and of the reforms they favored. Fifty or sixty thousand of these *cahiers* have come down to us and present a vivid and instructive criticism of the Old Régime, and a statement of the wishes of each order. On certain points there was practical unanimity on the part of clergy, nobles, and commoners. All ascribed the ills from which the country suffered to arbitrary, uncontrolled government, all talked of the necessity of confining the government within just limits by establishing a *constitution* which should define the rights of the king and of the people, and which should henceforth be binding upon all. Such a constitution must guarantee individual liberty, the right to think and speak and write, — henceforth

The cahiers or memorials of grievances

The cahiers express the desire of the nation for a constitution

no *lettres de cachet* nor censorship. In the future the States-General should meet regularly at stated times, and should share the law-making power and alone should vote the taxes, and taxes should henceforth be paid by all. The clergy and nobility almost unanimously agreed in their *cahiers* to relinquish their exemptions, for which they had fought so resolutely only two years before. On the other hand, the third estate was willing to see the continuance of the nobility with its rights and honors. The third estate demanded the suppression of feudal dues. There was in their *cahiers* no hint of a desire for a violent revolution. They all expressed a deep affection for the King, gratitude for his summoning of the States-General, faith that the worst was over, that now, in a union of all hearts, a way would easily be discovered out of the unhappy plight in which the nation found itself.

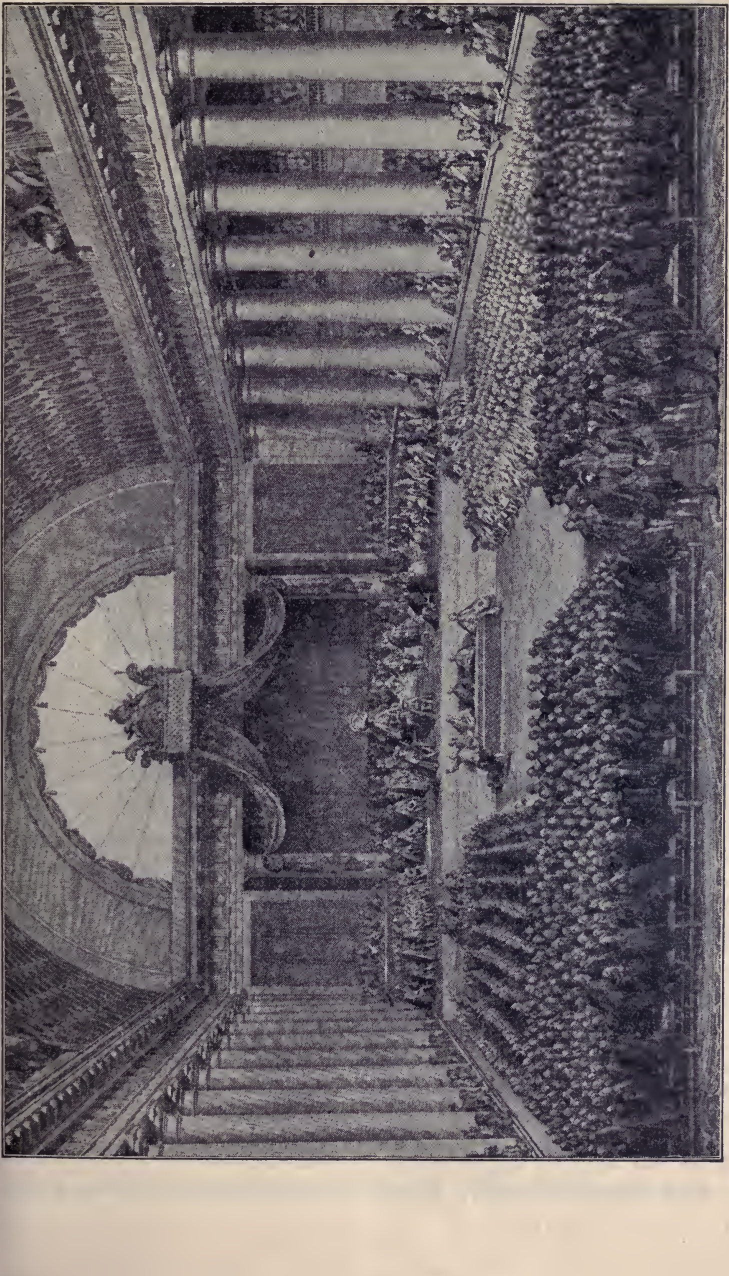
General optimism of the people

An immense wave of hopefulness swept over the land. This optimism was based on the fact that the King, when consenting to call the States-General, had at the same time announced his acceptance of several important reforms, such as the periodical meeting of the States-General, its control of the national finances, and guarantees for the freedom of the individual. But the King's chief characteristic, as we have seen, was his feebleness of will, his vacillation. And from the day the deputies arrived in Versailles to the day of his violent overthrow this was a fatal factor in the history of the times. In his speech opening the States-General on May 5, the King said not a word about the thought that was in every one's mind, the making of a constitution. He merely announced that it had been called together to bring order into the distracted finances of the country. Necker's speech was no more promising. The government, moreover, said nothing about whether the estates should vote by order or by head. The crux of the whole matter lay there, for on the manner of organization and procedure depended entirely the outcome. The government did not come forward with any programme, even in details. It shirked its responsibility and lost its opportunity.

The indecision of the King

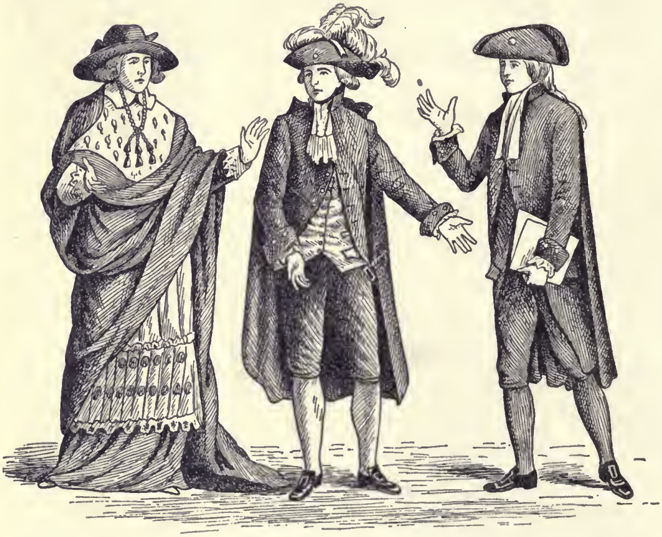
Struggle over the question of organization

A needless but very serious crisis was the result. The public was disappointed and apprehensive. Evidently the recent liberalism of the King had evaporated or he was under a pressure which he had no strength to withstand. A conflict between the orders began on May 6 which lasted until the end of June and which ended in embittering relations which at the out-



The Opening of the States-General
After an engraving by Moreau.

set had seemed likely to be cordial. Should the voting be by order or by member, should the assembly consist of three chambers or of one? The difficulty arose in the need of verifying the credentials of the members. The nobles proceeded to verify as a separate chamber, by a vote of 188 to 47; the clergy did the same, but by a smaller majority, 133 to 114. But the third estate refused to verify until it should be decided that the three orders were to meet together in one indivisible assembly. This was a matter of life or death with it, or at least of power or impotence. Both sides stood firm, the government allowed things to drift, angry passions began to develop. Until organized the States-General could do no business, and no organization could be effected until this crucial question was settled. Week after week went by and the dangerous deadlock continued. Verification in common would mean the abandonment of the class system, voting by member and not by order, and the consequent preponderance of the third estate, which considered that it had the right to preponderate as representing over nine-tenths of the population. Fruitless attempts to win the two upper orders by inviting them to join the third estate were repeatedly made. Finally the third estate announced that



Costumes of the Three Orders

Shall there be three chambers or only one?

on June 11 it would begin verification and the other orders were invited for the last time. Then the parish priests began to come over, sympathizing with the commoners rather than with the privileged class of their own order. Finally on June 17 the third estate took the momentous step of declaring itself the National Assembly, a distinctly revolutionary proceeding.

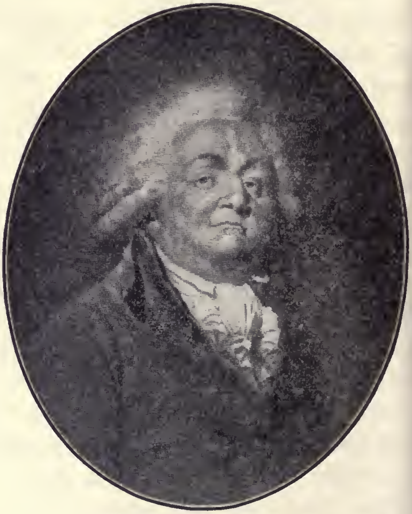
The King now, under pressure from the court, made a decision, highly unwise in itself and foolishly executed. When, on June 20, the members of the third estate went to their usual meeting place they found the entrance blocked by soldiers. They were told that there was to be a special royal session later and that the hall was closed in order that necessary arrangements might be made for it, a pretext as miserable as it was vain. What did this action mean? No one knew, but every one was apprehensive that it meant that the assembly itself, in which such earnest hopes had centered, was to be brought to an untimely end and the country plunged into greater misery than ever by the failure of the great experiment. For a moment the members were dismayed and utterly distracted. Then, as by a common impulse, they rushed to a neighboring building in a side street, which served as a tennis court. There a memorable session occurred, in the large, unfinished hall. Lifting their president, the distinguished astronomer, Bailly, to a table, the members surged about him, ready, it seemed, for extreme measures. There they took the famous Tennis Court Oath. All the deputies present, with one single exception, voted "never to separate, and to reassemble wherever circumstances shall require until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established."

The Tennis Court Oath

On the 23d occurred the royal session on which the privileged classes counted. The King pronounced the recent acts of the third estate illegal and unconstitutional, and declared that the three orders should meet separately and verify their credentials. He rose and left the hall while outside the bugles sounded around his coach. The nobility, triumphant, withdrew from the hall; the clergy also. But in the center of the great chamber the third estate remained, in gloomy silence. This was one of the solemn, critical moments of history. Suddenly the master of ceremonies advanced, resplendent in his official costume. "You have heard the King's orders," he said. "His Majesty requests the deputies of the third estate to withdraw." Behind the grand master, at the door, soldiers were seen. Were

The royal session of June 23

they there to clear the hall? The King had given his orders. To leave the hall meant abandonment of all that the third estate stood for; to remain meant disobedience to the express commands of the King and probably severe punishment.



MIRABEAU

From an engraving by Fiesinger after a drawing by J. Guérin.

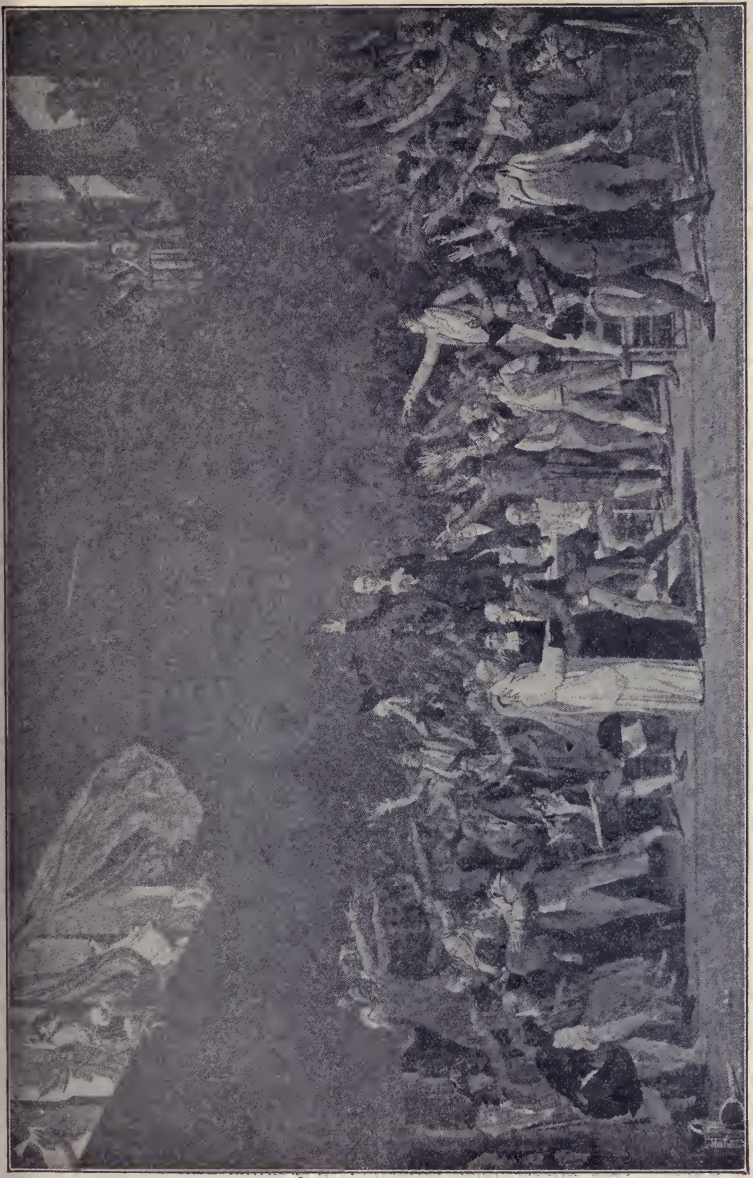
Defiance of the King expressed by Mirabeau

The occasion brought forth its man. Mirabeau, a noble whom his fellow nobles had refused to elect to the States-General and who had then been chosen by the third estate, now arose and advanced impetuously and imperiously toward the master of ceremonies, de Brézé, and with thunderous voice exclaimed, "Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people and that we shall not leave except at the point of the bayonet." Then on motion of Mirabeau it was voted that all persons who should lay violent hands on any members of the National Assembly would be "infamous and traitors to the nation and guilty of capital crime." De Brézé reported the defiant eloquence to the King. All eyes were fixed upon the latter. Not knowing what to do he made a motion indicating weariness, then said: "They wish to remain, do they? Well, let them."

The King yields

Two days later a majority of the clergy and a minority of the nobility came over to the Assembly. On June 27 the King commanded the nobility and clergy to sit with the third estate in a single assembly. Thus the question was finally settled, which should have been settled before the first meeting in May. The National Assembly was now complete. It immediately appointed a committee on the constitution. The National Assembly, accomplished by this fusion of the three estates, adopted the title Constituent Assembly because of the character of the work it had to do.

No sooner was this crisis over than another began to develop. A



The Tennis Court Oath
After the painting by David.

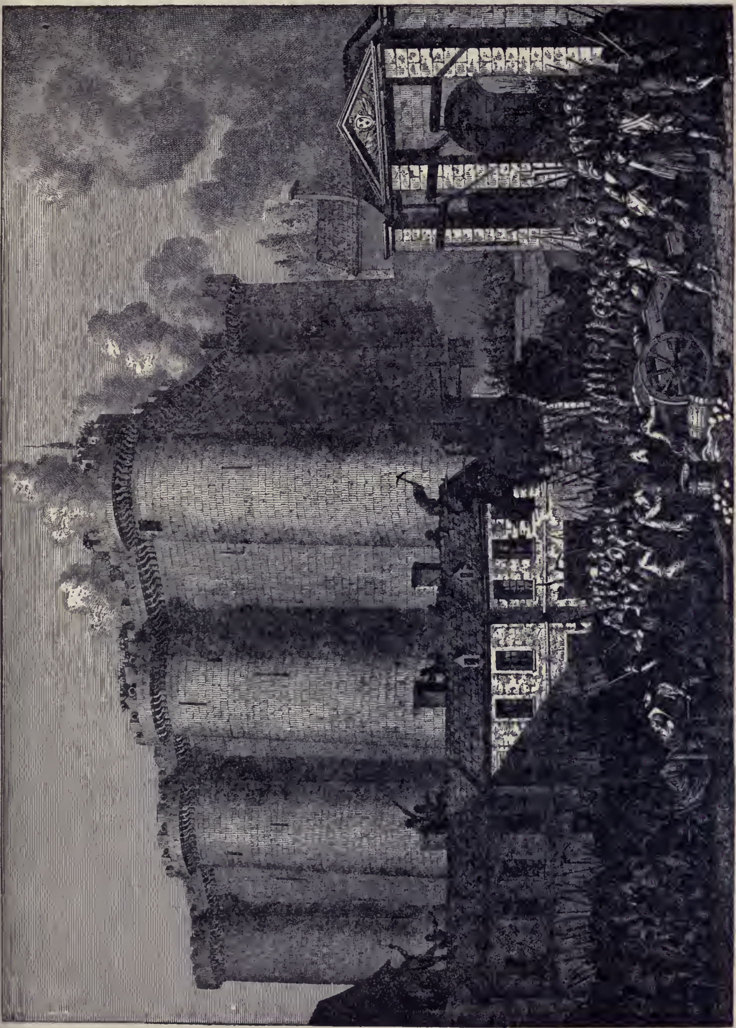
second attempt was made by the King, again inspired by the court, to suppress the Assembly or effectively to intimidate it, to regain the ground that had been lost. Considerable bodies of soldiers began to appear near Versailles and Paris. They were chiefly the foreign mercenaries, or the troops from frontier stations, supposedly less responsive to the popular emotions. On July 11 Necker and his colleagues, favorable to reform, were suddenly dismissed and Necker was ordered to leave the country immediately. What could all this mean but that reaction and repression were coming and that things were to be put back where they had been? The Assembly was in great danger, yet it possessed no physical force. What could it do if troops were sent against it?

The existence of the Assembly threatened

The violent intervention of the city of Paris saved the day and gave the protection which the nation's representatives lacked, assuring their continuance. The storming of the Bastille was an incident which seized instantly the imagination of the world, and which was disfigured and transfigured by a mass of legends that sprang up on the very morrow of the event. The Bastille was a fortress commanding the eastern section of Paris. It was used as a state prison and had had many distinguished occupants, among others Voltaire and Mirabeau, thrown into it by *lettres de cachet.* It was an odious symbol of arbitrary government and it was also a strong fortress which these newly arriving troops might use. There was a large discontented and miserable class in Paris; also a lively band of radical or liberal men who were in favor of reform and were alarmed and indignant at every rumor that the Assembly on which such hopes were pinned was in danger. Paris was on the side of the Assembly, and when the news of the dismissal of Necker arrived it took fire. Rumors of the most alarming character spread rapidly. Popular meetings were addressed by impromptu and impassioned orators. The people began to pillage the shops where arms were to be found. Finally they attacked the Bastille and after a confused and bloody battle of several hours the fortress was in their hands. They had lost about 200 men, killed or wounded. The crowd savagely murdered the commander of the fortress and several of the Swiss Guard. Though characterized by these and other acts of barbarism, nevertheless the seizure of the Bastille was everywhere regarded in France and abroad as the triumph of liberty. Enthusiasm was widespread. The Fourteenth of

Paris comes to the rescue

The storming of the Bastille, July 14



The Storming of the Bastille, July 14, 1789
Drawing by Prieur, engraved by Berthault.

July was declared the national holiday and a new flag, the tricolor, the red, white, and blue, was adopted in place of the old white banner of the Bourbons, studded with the fleur-de-lis. At the same time, quite spontaneously, Paris gave itself a new form of municipal government, superseding the old royal form, and organized a new military force, the National Guard, which was destined to become famous. Three days later Louis XVI came to the capital and formally ratified these changes.

Meanwhile similar changes were made all over France. Municipal governments on an elective basis and national guards were created everywhere in imitation of Paris. The movement extended to rural France.

Popular outbreaks against feudalism

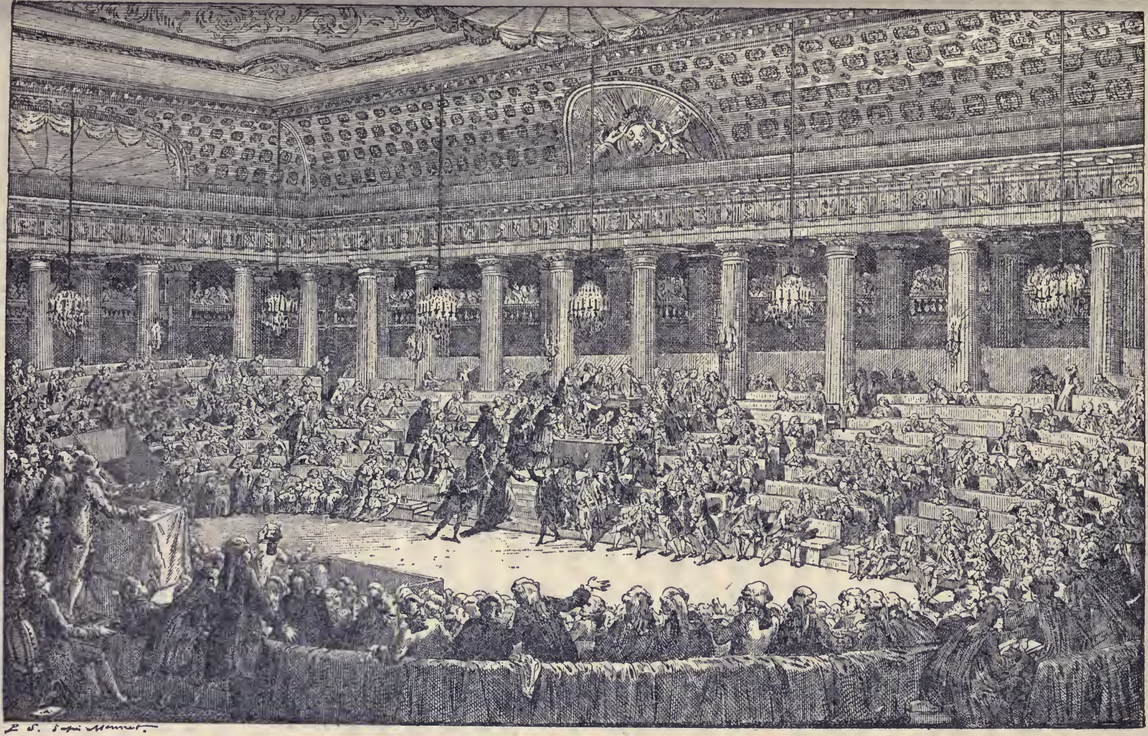
There the peasants, impatient that the Assembly had let two months go by without suppressing the feudal dues, took things into their own hands. They turned upon their oppressors and made a violent "war upon the châteaux," destroying the records of feudal dues if they could find them or if the owners gave them up; if not, frequently burning the châteaux themselves in order to burn the odious documents. Day after day in the closing week of July, 1789, the destructive and incendiary process went on amid inevitable excesses and disorders. In this method feudalism was abolished — not legally but practically. It remained to be seen what the effect of this victory of the people would be upon the National Assembly.

The night session of August 4

Its effect was immediate and sensational. On the 4th of August, a committee on the state of the nation made a report, describing the incidents which were occurring throughout the length and breadth of the land, châteaux burning, unpopular tax-collectors assaulted, millers hanged, lawlessness triumphant. It was night before the stupefying report was finished. Suddenly at eight o'clock in the evening, as the session was about to close, a nobleman, the Viscount of Noailles, rushed to the platform. The only reason, he said, why the people had devastated the châteaux was the heavy burden of the seignorial dues, odious reminders of feudalism. These must be swept away. He so moved and instantly another noble, the Duke d'Aiguillon, next to the King the greatest feudal lord in France, seconded the motion. A frenzy of generosity seized the Assembly.

Privilege laid low

Noble vied with noble in the enthusiasm of renunciation. The Bishop of Nancy renounced the privileges of his order. Parish priests renounced their fees. Judges discarded their distinctions. Rights of chase, rights of tithes went by the board. Representatives



THE SESSION OF AUGUST 4
After a drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

of the cities and provinces gave up their privileges, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, Languedoc. A veritable delirium of joy swept in wave after wave over the Assembly. All night long the excitement continued amid tears, embraces, rapturous applause, a very ecstasy of patriotic abandonment, and by eight in the morning thirty decrees, more or less, had been passed and the most extraordinary social revolution that any nation has known had been voted. The feudal dues were dead. Tithes were abandoned; the guilds, with their narrow restrictions, were swept away; no longer were offices to be purchasable, but henceforth all Frenchmen were to be equally eligible to all public positions; justice was to be free; provinces and individuals were all to be on the same plane. Distinctions of class were abolished. The principle of equality was henceforth to be the basis of the state.

A social revolution

Years later participants in this memorable session, in which a social revolution was accomplished or at least promised, spoke of it with excitement and enthusiasm. The astonishing session was closed with a Te Deum in the chapel of the royal palace, at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Paris, and Louis XVI, who had had no more to do with all this than you or I, was officially proclaimed by the Assembly the "Restorer of French Liberty."

Louis XVI proclaimed the "Restorer of French liberty"

Thus was the dead weight of an oppressive, unjust past lifted from the nation's shoulders. Grievances, centuries old, vanished into the night. That it needed time to work out all these tumultuous and rapturous resolutions into clear and just laws was a fact ignored by the people, who regarded them as real legislation, not as a programme merely sketched, to be filled in slowly in detail. Hence when men awoke to the fact that not everything was what it seemed, that before the actual application of all these changes many adjustments must or should be made, there was some friction, some disappointment, some impatience. The clouds speedily gathered again. Because a number of nobles and bishops had in an outburst of generosity relinquished all their privileges, it was not at all certain that their action would be ratified by even the majority of their orders and it was indeed likely that the contrary would prove true. The contagion might not extend beyond the walls of the assembly hall. And many even of those who had shared the fine enthusiasm of that stirring session might feel differently on the morrow. This proved to be the case, and

Reaction threatened once more

soon two parties appeared, sharply differentiated, the upholders of the revolution thus far accomplished and those who wished to undo it and to recover their lost advantages. The latter were called counter-revolutionaries. From this time on they were a factor, frequently highly significant, in the history of modern France. Although after the Fourteenth of July the more stiff-necked and angry of the courtiers, led by the Count of Artois, brother of the King, had left the country and had begun that "emigration" which was to do much to embroil France with Europe, yet many courtiers still remained and, with the powerful aid of Marie Antoinette, played upon the feeble monarch. The Queen, victim of slanders and insults, was temperamentally and intellectually incapable of understanding or sympathizing with the reform movement. She stiffened under the attacks, her pride was fired, and she did what she could to turn back the tide, with results highly disastrous to herself and to the monarchy. Another feature of the situation was the subterranean intriguing, none the less real because difficult accurately to describe, of certain individuals who thought they had much to gain by troubling the waters, such as the Duke of Orleans, cousin of the King, immensely wealthy and equally unscrupulous, who nourished the scurvy ambition of overthrowing Louis XVI and of putting the House of Orleans in place of the House of Bourbon. All through the Revolution we find such elements of personal ambition or malevolence, anxious to profit by fomenting the general unrest. At every stage in this strange, eventful history we observe the mixture of the mean with the generous, the insincere with the candid, the hypocritical and the oblique with the honest and the patriotic. It was a web woven of mingled yarn.

Renewed intrigues of the court

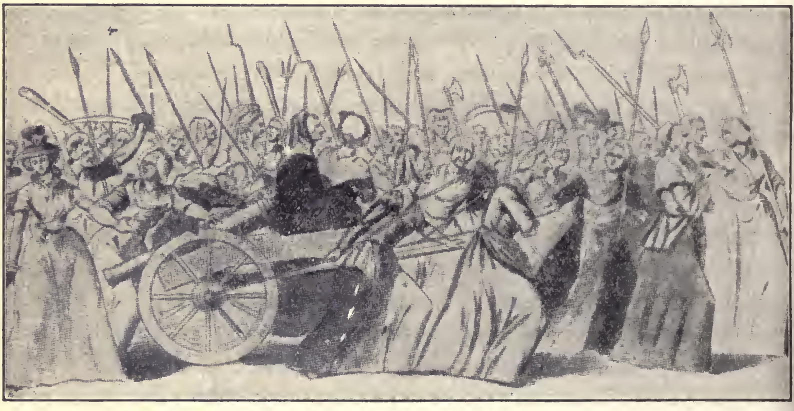
Intrigues of the Duke of Orleans

Such were some of the possible seeds of future trouble. In addition, increasing the general sense of anxiety and insecurity, was the fact that two months went by and yet the King did not ratify or accept the decrees of August 4, which, without his acceptance, lacked legal force. Certain articles of the constitution had been already drafted, and these, too, had not yet received the royal sanction. Was the King plotting something, or were the plotters about him getting control of him once more? The people lived in an atmosphere of suspicion; also thousands and thousands of them were on the point of starvation, and the terror of famine reinforced the terror of suspicion.

The attitude of Louis XVI inspires alarm

Out of this wretched condition of discontent and alarm was born another of the famous incidents of the Revolution. Early in October rumors reached Paris that at a banquet offered at Versailles to some of the crack regiments which had been summoned there the tricolor had been stamped upon, that threats had been made against the Assembly, and that the Queen, by her presence, had sanctioned these outrages.

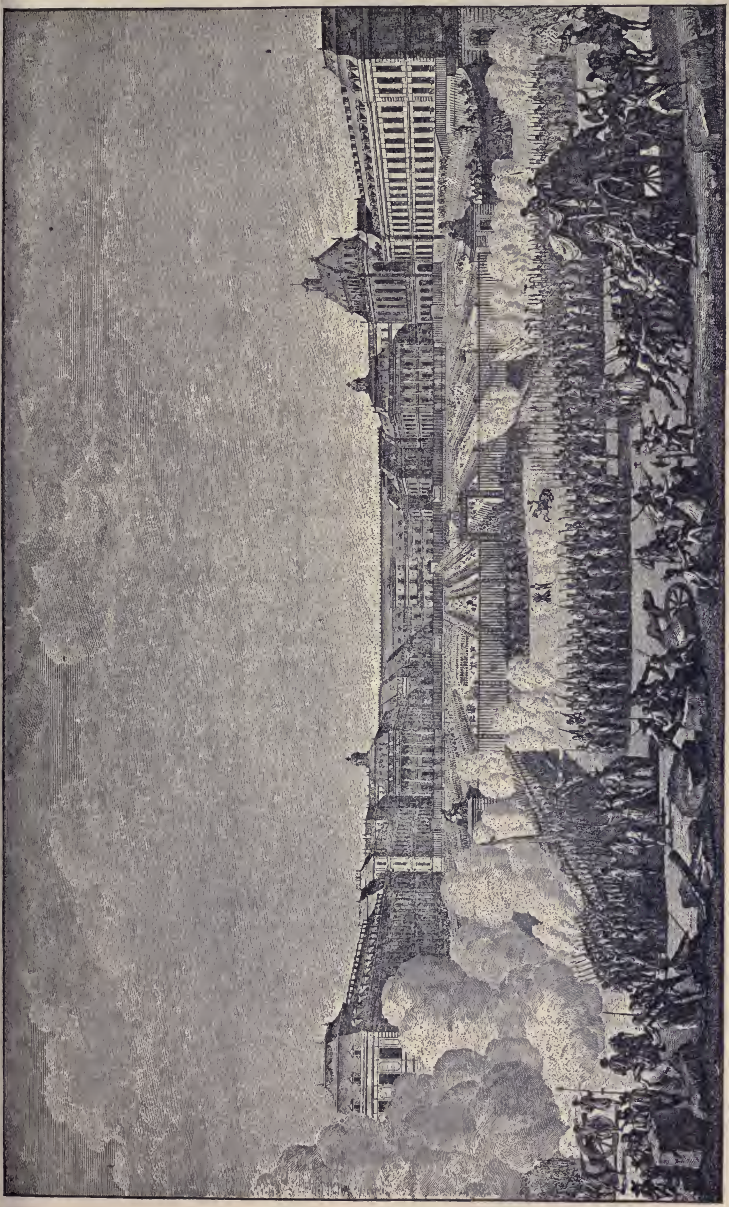
Popular suspicion aroused



The March of the Women to Versailles, October 5, 1789
After an anonymous water-color.

On October 5 several thousand women of the people, set in motion in some obscure way, started to march to Versailles, drawing cannon with them. It was said they were going to demand the reduction of the price of bread and at the same time to see that those who had insulted the national flag should be punished. They were followed by thousands of men, out of work, and by many doubtful characters. Lafayette, hastily gathering some of the Guards, started after them. That evening the motley and sinister crowd reached Versailles and bivouacked in the streets and in the vast court of the royal palace. All night long obscure preparations as for a battle went on. On the morning of the 6th the crowd forced the gates, killed several of the guards, and invaded the palace, even reaching the entrance to the Queen's apartments. The Queen fled to the apartments of the King for safety. The King finally appeared on a balcony, surrounded by members of his family, addressed the crowd, and promised

The march of the women to Versailles



The Palace of Versailles on October 6, 1789
Drawing by Prieur, engraved by Berthault

them food. The outcome of this extraordinary and humiliating day was that the King was persuaded to leave the proud palace of Versailles and go to Paris to live in the midst of his so-called subjects. At two o'clock the grim procession began. The entire royal family, eight persons, packed into a single carriage, started for Paris, drawn at a walk, surrounded by the women, and by bandits who carried on pikes the heads of the guards who had been killed at the entrance to the palace. "We are bringing back the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's son!" shouted the women. At eleven o'clock that night Louis XVI was in the Tuileries.

The royal family forced to leave Versailles

Ten days later the Assembly followed. The King and the Assembly were now under the daily supervision of the people of Paris. In reality they were prisoners. Versailles was definitely abandoned. From this moment dates the great influence of the capital. A single city was henceforth always in position to dominate the Assembly. The people could easily bring their pressure to bear for they were admitted to the thousand or more seats in the gallery of the Assembly's hall of meeting and they considered that they had the freedom of the place, hissing unpopular speakers, vociferating their wishes. Those who could not get in congregated outside, arguing violently the measures that were being discussed within. Now and then some one would announce to them from the windows how matters were proceeding in the hall. Shouts of approval or disapproval thus reached the members from the vehement audience outside.

The government removed to Paris

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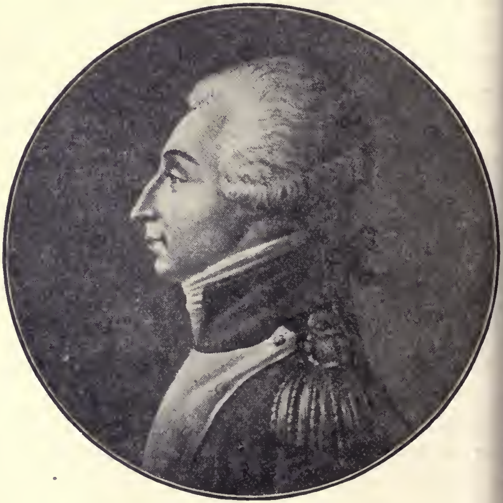
CHAPTER IV

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

The States-General which met in May, 1789, had in June adopted the name National Assembly. This body is also known as the Constituent Assembly, as its chief work was the making of a constitution. It had begun work upon the constitution while still in Versailles and the first fruit of its labors was the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a statement of the rights which belong to men because they are human beings, which are not the gift of any government. The Declaration was drawn up in imitation of American usage. Lafayette, a hero of the American Revolution, and now a prominent figure in the French, brought forward a draft of a declaration just before the storming of the Bastille. He urged two chief reasons for its adoption; first it would present the people with a clear conception of the elements of liberty, which, once understanding, they would insist upon possessing; and, secondly, it would be an invaluable guide for the Assembly in its work of elaborating the constitution. All propositions could be tested by comparison with its carefully defined principles. It would be a guarantee against mistakes or errors by the Assembly

The Declaration of the Rights of Man

Proposed by Lafayette



LAFAYETTE
From an engraving by Lavachez, after Duplessis-Bertaux

itself. Another orator paid a tribute to America, explaining why "the noble idea of this declaration, conceived in another hemisphere" ought to be transplanted to France. Opponents of the proposal declared it useless and harmful because bound to distract the members from important labors, as tending to waste time on doubtful generalizations, as leading to hair-splitting and endless debate, when the Assembly's attention ought to be focused on the pressing problems of legislation and administration. The Assembly took the side of Lafayette and, after intermittent discussion, composed the notable document in August, 1789. As a result of the events of October 5, described above, the King accepted it. The Declaration, which has been called "the most remarkable fact in the history of the growth of democratic and republican ideas" in France, as "the gospel of modern times," was not the work of any single mind, nor of any committee or group of leaders. Its collaborators were very numerous. The political discussions of the eighteenth century furnished many of the ideas and even some of the phrases. English and American example counted for much. The necessities of the national situation were factors of importance.

Discussion concerning the Declaration

The Declaration a composite product

The National Assembly has often been severely criticised for devoting time, in a period of crisis, to a Declaration which the critics in the same breath pronounce a tissue of abstractions, of doubtful philosophical theories, topics for everlasting discussion. "A tourney of metaphysical speculations" is what one writer calls it. But a study of the situation shows that the idea of a declaration and the idea of a constitution were indissolubly connected. The one was essential to the other in a country which had no historic principles of freedom. French liberty could not from the nature of the case, like English liberty, slowly broaden down from precedent to precedent. It must begin abruptly and with a distinct formulation. After the enunciation of the principles would naturally come their conversion into fact.

Necessity of the Declaration

The Declaration of the Rights of Man laid down the principles of modern governments. The men who drew up that document believed these principles to be universally true and everywhere applicable. They did not establish rights — they merely declared them. Frenchmen well knew that they were composing a purely dogmatic text. But that such a text was extremely useful they believed. And the reason why they believed this was that they had a profound faith in the power of truth, of reason. This was, as Michelet pointed out long ago, the essential originality of the Constituent Assembly, this "singular faith in the power of ideas," this firm belief that "once formed and formulated in law the truth was invincible." These political dogmas seemed to the members of the Assembly so true that they thought they had only to proclaim them to insure their efficiency in the actual conduct of governments. These men believed that they were inaugurating a new phase in the history of humanity, that, by solemnly formulating the creed of the future, they were rendering an inestimable service, not to France alone but to the world. Though America had set an example, it was felt that France could "perfect" it for the other hemisphere and that the new declaration might perhaps have the advantage over the other of making "a loftier appeal to reason and of clothing her in a purer language."

Importance attached to the Declaration by the National Assembly

The seventeen articles of this creed asserted that men are free and equal, that the people are sovereign, that law is an expression of the popular will, and that in the making of it the people may participate, either directly, or indirectly through their representatives, and that all officials possess only that authority which has been definitely given them by law. All those liberties of the person, of free speech, free assembly, justice administered by one's peers, which had been worked out in England and America were asserted. These principles were the opposite of those of the Old Régime. If incorporated in laws and institutions they meant the permanent abolition of that system.

Contents of the Declaration

As a matter of fact the expectation that the Declaration would constitute a new evangel for the world has not proved so great an exaggeration as the optimism of its authors and the pessimism of its critics would prompt one to think. When men wish anywhere to recall the rights of man it is this French document that they have in mind. The Declaration long ago passed beyond the frontiers of France. It has been studied, copied, or denounced nearly everywhere. It has been an indisputable factor in the political and social evolution of modern Europe. During the past century, whenever a nation has aspired to liberty, it has sought its principles in the Declaration. "It has found there," says a recent writer, "five or six formulas as trenchant as mathematical propositions, true as the truth itself, intoxicating as a vision of the absolute."

Widespread influence of the Declaration

The Declaration was, of course, only an ideal, a goal toward which society should aim, not a fulfilment. It was a list of principles, not the realization of those principles. It was a declaration of rights, not a guarantee of rights. The problem of how to guarantee what was so succinctly declared has filled more than a century of French history, and is still incompletely solved. We shall now see how far the Assembly which drafted this Declaration was willing or able to go in applying its principles in the constitution, of which it was the preamble.

The new Constitution

The constitution was only slowly elaborated. Some of its more fundamental articles were adopted in 1789. But numerous laws were passed in 1790 and 1791, which were really parts of the constitution. Thus it grew piece by piece. Finally all this legislation was revised, retouched, and codified into a single document, which was accepted by the King in 1791. Though sometimes called the Constitution of 1789, it is more generally and more correctly known as the Constitution of 1791. It was the first written constitution France had ever had. Framed under very different conditions from those under which the constitution of the United States had been framed only a short time before, it resembled the work of the Philadelphia Convention in that it was conspicuously the product of the spirit of compromise. With the exception of the vigorous assertions of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was prefixed to it, the document was marked by as great a moderation as was consistent with the comprehensive changes that were demanded by the overwhelming public opinion, as represented in the *cahiers*. It is permeated through and through with two principles, the sovereignty of the people, all governmental powers issuing from their consent and will, and the separation of the powers sharply from each other, of the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches, a division greatly emphasized by Montesquieu as the sole method of insuring liberty.

The fundamental principles

Establishes a constitutional monarchy

The form of government was to be monarchical. This was in conformity with the wishes of the people as expressed in the *cahiers*, and with the feelings of the Constituent Assembly. But whereas formerly the king had been an absolute, henceforth he was to be a limited, a constitutional ruler. Indicative of the profound difference between these two conceptions, his former title, King of France and of Navarre, now gave way to that of King of the French. Whereas formerly he had taken what he chose out of the national treasury for his personal use, now he was to receive a salary or civil list of the definite amount — and no more — of 25,000,000 francs. He was to appoint the ministers or heads of the cabinet departments, but he was forbidden to select members of the legislature for such positions. The English system of parliamentary government was deliberately avoided because it was believed to be vicious in that ministers could bribe or influence the members of Parliament to do their will, which might not at all be the will of the people. Ministers were not even to be permitted to come before the legislature to defend or explain their policies.

The powers of the King

A departure from the principle of the separation of powers, in general so closely followed, was shown in the granting of the veto power to the king. The king, who had hitherto made the laws, was now deprived of the law-making power, but he could prevent the immediate enforcement of an act passed by the legislature. There was much discussion over this subject in the Assembly. Some were opposed to any kind of a veto; others wanted one that should be absolute and final. The Assembly compromised and granted the king a suspensive veto, that is, he might prevent the application of a law voted by two successive legislatures, namely, for a possible period of four years. If the third legislature should indicate its approval of the law in question, then it was to be put into operation whether the king assented or not.

The question of the veto

The king was to retain the conduct of foreign affairs. He was to appoint and receive ambassadors, was to be the head of the navy and army, and was to appoint to higher offices. The Assembly at first thought of leaving him the right to make peace and war, then, fearing that he might drag the nation into a war for personal or dynastic and not national purposes, it decided that he might propose peace or war, but that the legislature should decide upon it.

The legislative power was given by the Constitution of 1791 to a single assembly of 745 members, to be elected for a term of two years. Several of the deputies desired a legislature of two chambers, and cited the example of England and America. But the second chamber in England was the House of Lords, and the French, who had abolished the nobility, had no desire to establish an hereditary chamber. Moreover the English system was based on the principle of inequality. The French were founding their

The constitution creates a Legislature

new system upon the principle of equality. Even among the nobles themselves there was opposition to a second chamber — the provincial nobility fearing that only the court nobles would be members of it. On the other hand, the Senate of the United States was a concession to the states-rights feeling, a feeling which the French wished to destroy by abolishing the provinces and the local provincial patriotism, by thoroughly unifying France. Thus the plan of dividing the legislature into two chambers was deliberately rejected, for what seemed good and sufficient reasons.

The Legislature to consist of a single chamber

How was this legislature to be chosen? Here we find a decided departure from the spirit and the letter of the Declaration, which had asserted that all men are equal in rights. Did not this mean universal suffrage? Such at least was not the opinion of the Constituent Assembly, which now made a distinction between citizens, declaring some *active*, some *passive*. To be considered an *active* citizen one must be at least twenty-five years of age and must pay annually in direct taxes the equivalent of three days' wages. This excluded the poor from this class, and the number was large. It has been estimated that there were somewhat over 4,000,000 *active* citizens and about 3,000,000 *passive*.

Citizens active and citizens passive

The active citizens alone had the right to vote. But even they did not vote directly for the members of the legislature. They chose electors at the ratio of one for every 100 active citizens. These electors must meet a much higher property qualification, the equivalent of from 150 to 200 days' wages in direct taxes. As a matter of fact this resulted in rendering eligible as electors only about 43,000 individuals. These electors chose the members of the legislature, the deputies. They also chose the judges under the new system. Thus the Constituent Assembly, so zealous in abolishing old privileges, was, in defiance of its own principles, establishing new ones. Political rights in the new state were made the monopoly of those who possessed a certain amount of property. There was no property qualification required for deputies. Any active citizen was eligible, but as the deputies were elected by the propertied men, they would in all probability choose only propertied men — the electors would choose from their own class.

The legislature elected indirectly by the voters

The judicial power was completely revolutionized. Hitherto judges had bought their positions, which carried with them titles and privileges and which they might pass on to their sons. Henceforth all judges, of whatever rank in the hierarchy, were to be elected by the electors described above. Their terms were to range from two to four years. The jury, something hitherto absolutely unknown to modern France, was now introduced for criminal cases. Hitherto the judge had decided all cases.

An elective judiciary

For purposes of administration and local government a new system was established. The old thirty-two provinces were abolished and France was divided into eighty-three departments of nearly uniform size. The departments were divided into arrondissements, these into cantons, and these into municipalities or communes. These are terms which have ever since been in vogue.

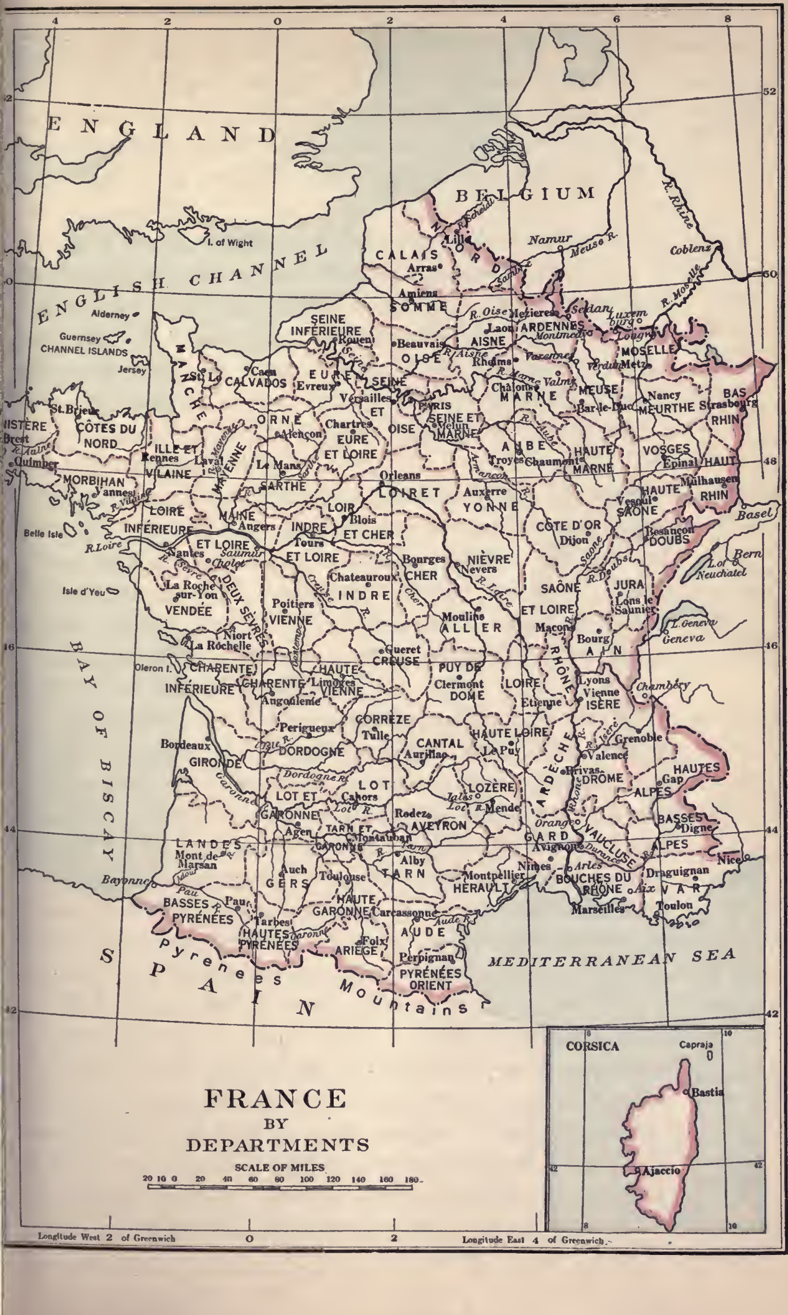
France divided into departments

France, from being a highly centralized state, became one highly decentralized. Whereas formerly the central government was represented in each province by its own agents or office-holders, the intendants and their subordinates, in the departments of the future the central government was to have no representatives. The electors, described above, were to choose the local departmental officials. It would be the business of these officials to carry out the decrees of the central government. But what if they should disobey? The central government would have no control over them, as it would not appoint them and could neither remove nor discipline them.

France decentralized

The Constitution of 1791 represented an improvement in French government; yet it did not work well and did not last long. As a first experiment in the art of self-government it had its value, but it revealed inexperience and poor judgment in several points which prepared trouble for the future. The executive and the legislature were so sharply separated that communication between them was difficult and suspicion was consequently easily fostered. The king might not select his ministers from the legislature, he might not, in case of a difference of opinion with the legislature, dissolve the latter, as the English king could do, thus allowing the voters to decide between them. The king's veto was not a weapon strong enough to protect him from the attacks of the legislature, yet it was enough to irritate the legislature, if used. The distinction between active and passive citizens was in plain and flagrant defiance of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and inevitably created a discontented class. The administrative

Defects of the Constitution



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R. Moselle
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R. Oise
Mezieres
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ARDENNES
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AISNE
R. Aisne
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MOSELLE
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Metz
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VOSGES
Epinal
HAUT RHIN
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Sèvre
La Roche sur-Yon
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Isle d'Yeu
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NIÈVRE
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R. Loire
Saône
R. Doubs
SAÔNE ET LOIRE
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Tulle
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ARDÈCHE
Privas
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Grenoble
Valence
DRÔME
R. Rhône
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Avignon
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BASSES ALPES
Digne
Nice
LANDES
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Adour
Bayonne
TARN ET GARONNE
Montauban
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GERS
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Toulouse
HÉRAULT
Montpellier
GARD
Nimes
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BOUCHES DU RHÔNE
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Marseilles
Draguignan
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Foix
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FRANCE
BY
DEPARTMENTS

decentralization was so complete that the efficiency of the national government was gone. France was split up into eighty-three fragments and the coördination of all these units, their direction toward great national ends in response to the will of the nation as a whole, was rendered extremely difficult, and in certain crises impossible.

Weakness of the central government

The work of reform carried out by the Constituent Assembly was on an enormous scale, immensely more extensive than that of our Federal Convention. We search history in vain for any companion piece. It is unique. Its destructive work proved durable and most important. Much of its constructive work, however, proved very fragile. Mirabeau expressed his opinion in saying that "The disorganization of the kingdom could not be better worked out."

The work of Constituent Assembly very extensive

There were other dangerous features of the situation which inspired alarm and seemed to keep open and to embitter the relations of various classes and to foster opportunities for the discontented and the ambitious. The legislation concerning the Church proved highly divisive in its effects. It began with the confiscation of its property; it was continued in the attempt profoundly to alter its organization.

Its legislation concerning the Church

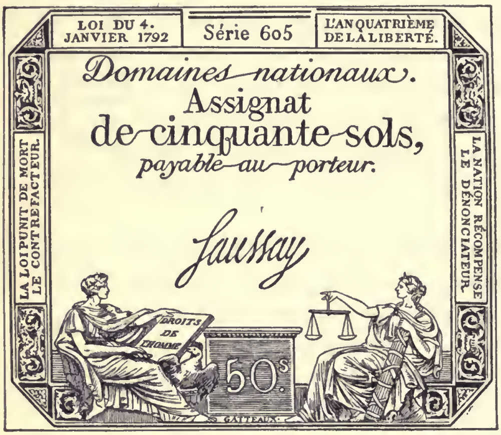
The States-General had been summoned to provide for the finances of the country. As the problem grew daily more pressing, as various attempts to meet it proved futile, as bankruptcy was imminent, the Assembly finally decided to sell for the state the vast properties of the Church. The argument was that the Church was not the owner but was merely the administrator, enjoying only the use of the vast wealth which had been bestowed upon it by the faithful, but bestowed for public, national purposes, namely, the maintenance of houses of worship, schools, hospitals; and that if the state would otherwise provide for the carrying out of the intentions of these numerous benefactors, it might apply the property, which was the property of the nation, not of the Church as a corporation, to whatever uses it might see fit. Acting on this theory a decree was passed by the Assembly declaring these lands *national*. They constituted perhaps a fourth or a fifth of the territory of France and represented immense wealth, amply sufficient, it was believed, to set the public finances right.

The lands of the Church declared national property

The assignats or paper money

Rapid depreciation of the assignats

The Constituent Assembly fails to solve the financial problem


LOI DU 4. JANVIER 1792
Série 605
L'AN QUATRIÈME DE LA LIBERTÉ.
Domaines nationaux.
Assignat
de cinquante sols,
payable au porteur.
LA LOI PUNIT DE MORT LE CONTREFACTEUR.
LA NATION RÉCOMPENSE LE DÉNONCIATEUR.
DROITS DE L'HOMME
50s
GATTEAUX

An Assignat

Redrawn from a photograph.

But such property could only be used if converted into money and that would be a slow process, running through years. The expedient was devised of issuing paper money, as the government needed it, against this property as security. This paper money bore the name of *assignats*. Persons receiving such *assignats* could not demand gold for them, as in the case of most of our paper money, but could use them in buying these lands. There was value, therefore, behind these paper emissions. The danger in the use of paper money, however, always is the inclination, so easy to yield to, to issue far more paper than the value of the property behind it. This proved a temptation which the revolutionary assemblies did not have strength of mind or will to resist. At first the *assignats* were issued in limited quantities as the state needed the money, and the public willingly accepted them. But later larger and larger emissions were made, far out of proportion to the value of the national domains. This meant the rapid depreciation of the paper. People would not accept it at its face value, as they had at first been willing to do. The value of the Church property was estimated in 1789 as 4,000,000,000 francs. Between 1789 and 1796 over 45,000,000,000 of *assignats* were issued. In 1789 an *assignat* of 100 francs was accepted for 100 francs in coin. But by 1791 it had sunk from par to 82, and by 1796 to less than a franc. This was neither an honest nor an effective solution of the perplexing financial problem. It was evasion, it was in its essence repudiation. The Constituent Assembly did nothing toward solving the problem that had occasioned its meeting. It left the national finances in a worse welter than it had found them in.

Another piece of legislation concerning the Church, much more serious in its effects upon the cause of reform, was the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. By act of the Assembly the number of dioceses was reduced from 134 to 83, one for each department. The bishops and priests were henceforth to be elected by the same persons who elected the departmental officials. Once elected, the bishops were to announce the fact to the Pope who was not to have the right to approve or disapprove but merely to confirm. He was, then, to recognize them. If he refused, the ordinary courts could be invoked. The clergy were to receive salaries from the state, were, in other words to become state officials. The income of most of the bishops would be greatly reduced, that of the parish priests, on the other hand, would be considerably increased.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy

This law was not acceptable to sincere Catholics, since it altered by act of politicians an organization that had hitherto been controlled absolutely from within. Bishops and priests were to be elected like other officials — that is Protestants, Jews, free thinkers might participate in choosing the religious functionaries of the Catholic Church. Judges, who might, perhaps, be infidels, might yet play a decisive part. The Pope was practically ignored. His nominal headship was not questioned. His real power was largely destroyed. He would be informed of what was happening; his approval would not be necessary.

Opposition to this Civil Constitution

The Assembly voted that all clergymen must take an oath to support this Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Only four of the 134 bishops consented to do so. Perhaps a third of the parish priests consented. Those who consented were called the juring, those who refused, the non-juring or refractory clergy. In due time elections were held as provided by the law and those elected were called the constitutional clergy. France witnessed the spectacle of two bodies of priests, one non-juring, chosen in the old way, the other elected by the voters indirectly. The scandal was great and the danger appalling, for religious discord was introduced into every city and hamlet. Faith supported the one body, the state supported the other — and the state embarked upon a long, gloomy, and unsuccessful struggle to impose its will in a sphere where it did not belong.

Religious discord

Most fatal were the consequences. One was that it made the position of Louis XVI, a sincere Catholic, far more difficult and exposed him to the charge of being an enemy of the Revolution, if he hesitated in his support of measures which he could not and did not approve. Another was that it provoked in various sections, notably in Vendée, the most passionate civil war France had ever known. Multitudes of the lower clergy, who had favored and greatly helped the Revolution so far, now turned against it for conscience' sake. We cannot trace in detail this lamentable chapter of history. Suffice it to say that the Constituent Assembly made no greater or more pernicious mistake. The Church had, as the issue proved, immense spiritual influence over the peasants, the vast bulk of the population. Henceforth there was a divided allegiance — allegiance to the State, allegiance to the Church. Men had to make an agonizing choice. The small counter-revolutionary party of the nobles, hitherto a staff of officers without an army, was now reinforced by thousands and millions of recruits, prepared to face any sacrifices. And worldly intriguers could draw on this fund of piety for purposes which were anything but pious. The heat generated by politics is sufficient. There was no need of increasing the temperature by adding the heat of religious controversy. French Revolution or eternal damnation, such was the hard choice placed before the devout.

The non-juring clergy become enemies of the Revolution

The counter-revolutionary party immensely augmented

"I would rather be King of Metz than remain King of France in such a position," said Louis XVI, as he signed the decree requiring an oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, "but this will end soon." The meaning of which remark was that the King was now through with his scruples, that he was resolved to call the monarchs of Europe to his aid, that he was determined to escape from this coil of untoward events which was binding him tighter and tighter, threatening soon to strangle him completely. The idea of a royal flight was not new. Marie Antoinette had thought of it long before. Mirabeau had counseled it under certain conditions which, however, were no longer possible. The nobles who had fled from France, some of them after the fall of the Bastille, more of them after the war upon the châteaux, hung upon the fringes of the kingdom, in Belgium, in Piedmont, and particularly in the petty German states that lined the fabled banks of the Rhine, eager to have the King come to them, eager to embroil Europe with France, that thus they might return to Paris with the armies that would surely be easily

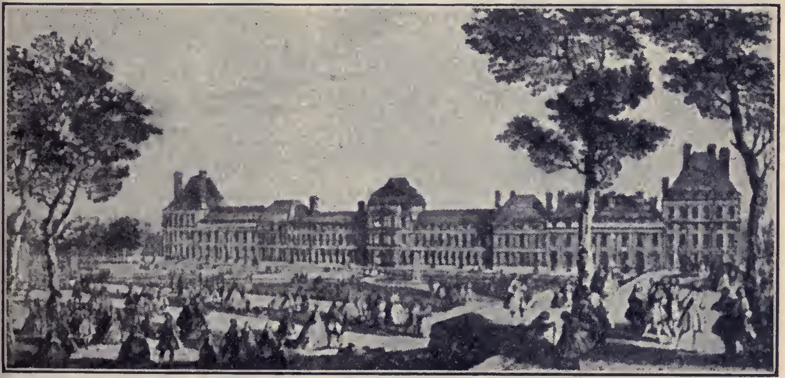
Lamentable effect upon Louis XVI

Shall the King flee?

victorious, and set back the clock to where it stood in 1789, incidentally celebrating that happy occurrence by miscellaneous punishment of all the notable revolutionists, so that henceforth imaginative spirits would hesitate before again laying impious hands upon the Lord's anointed, upon kings by divine right, upon nobles reposing upon rights no less sacred, upon the holy clergy. The Count of Artois, the proud and empty-headed brother of the King, one of the first to emigrate, had said: "We shall return within three months." As a matter of fact he was to return only after twenty-three years, a considerable miscalculation, pardonable, no doubt, in that extraordinary age in which every one miscalculated.

The court party plots vengeance and treason

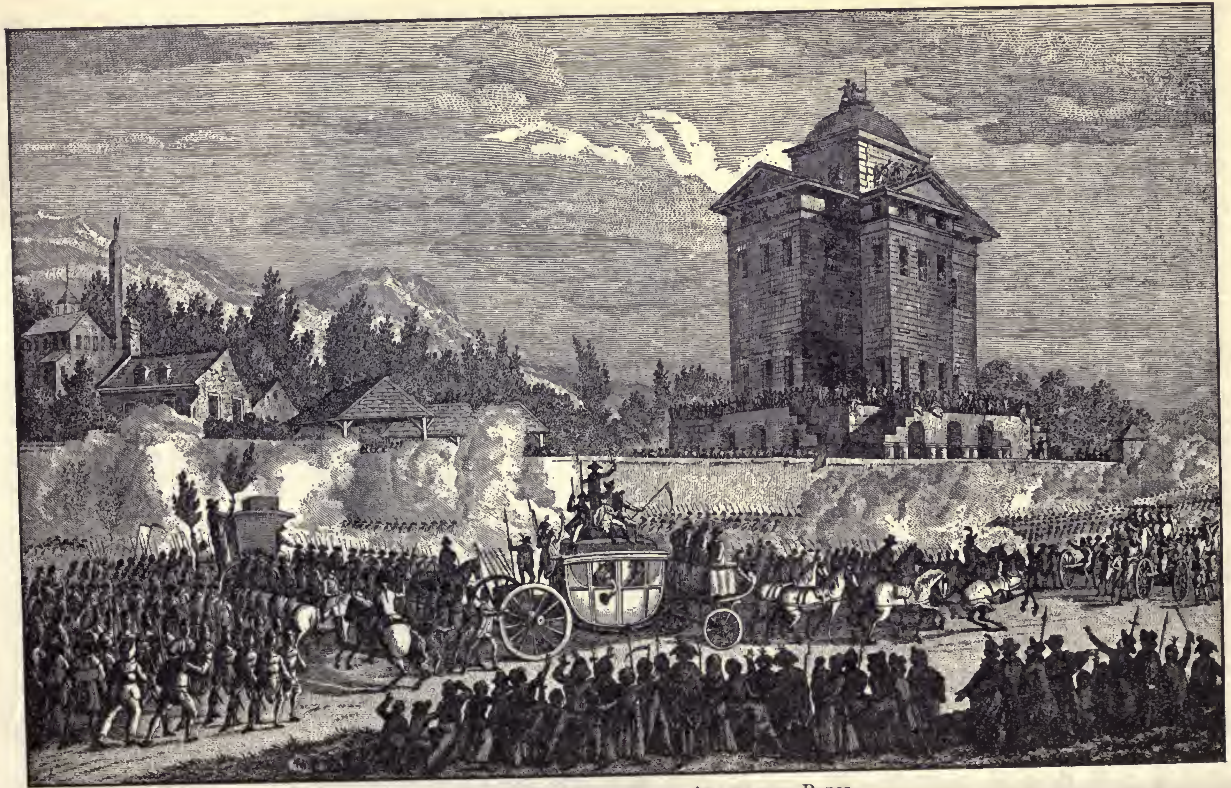
Louis XVI, wounded in his conscience, now planned to escape from Paris, to go to the eastern part of France, where there were French troops on which he thought he could rely. Then, surrounded by faithful adherents, he could reassume the kingly rôle and come back to Paris, master of the situation.



THE TUILERIES
After an engraving by J. Rigaud.

Disguised as a valet the King, accompanied by the Queen, disguised as a Russian lady, escaped from the Tuileries in the night of June 20, 1791, in a clumsy coach. All the next day they rolled over the white highways of Champagne under a terrible sun, reaching at about midnight the little village of Varennes, not far from the frontier. There they were recognized and arrested. The National

The flight to Varennes



THE RETURN FROM VARENNES. ARRIVAL IN PARIS
From a Dutch engraving.

Assembly sent three commissioners to bring them back. The return was for these two descendants of long lines of kings a veritable ascent of Calvary. Outrages, insults, jokes, ignominies of every kind were hurled at them by the crowds that thronged about them in the villages through which they passed — a journey without rest, uninterrupted, under the annihilating heat, the suffocating dust of June. Reaching Paris they were no longer overwhelmed with insults, but were received in glacial silence by enormous throngs who stood with hats on, as the royal coach passed by. The King was impassive but "our poor Queen," so wrote a friend, "bowed her head almost to her knees." Rows of National Guards stood, arms grounded, as at funerals. At seven o'clock that night they were in the Tuileries once more. Marie Antoinette had in these few days of horror grown twenty years older. Her hair had turned quite white, "like the hair of a woman of seventy."

Effect of the King's flight

The consequences of this woeful misadventure were extremely grave. Louis XVI had shown his real feelings. The fidelity of his people to him was not entirely destroyed but was irremediably shaken. They no longer believed in the sincerity of his utterances, his oaths to support the Constitution. The Queen was visited with contumely, being regarded as the arch-conspirator. The throne was undermined. A republican party appeared. Before this no one had considered a republic possible in so large a country as France. Republics were for small states like those of ancient Greece or medieval Italy. Even the most violent revolutionists, Robespierre, Danton, Marat, were, up to this time, monarchists. Now, however, France had a little object lesson. During the absence of the King, the government of the Assembly continued to work normally. In the period following, during which Louis XVI was suspended from the exercise of his powers, government went on without damage to the state. A king was evidently not indispensable. It has been correctly stated that the flight to Varennes created the republican party in France, a party that has had an eventful history since then, and has finally, after many vicissitudes, established its régime.

Creates a republican party

But this republican party was very small. The very idea of a republic frightened the Constituent Assembly, even after the revelation of the faithlessness of the King. Consequently, in a revulsion of feeling, the Assembly, after a little, restored Louis XVI to his position, finished the Constitution, accepted his oath to support it, and on

September 30, 1791, this memorable body declared its mission fulfilled and its career at an end.

A self-denying ordinance

The National Assembly before adjournment committed a final and unnecessary mistake. In a mood of fatal disinterestedness it voted that none of its members should be eligible to the next legislature or to the ministry. Thus the experience of the past two years was thrown away and the new constitution was intrusted to hands entirely different from those that had fashioned it.

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CHAPTER V

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The Constitution was now to be put into force. France was to make the experiment of a constitutional monarchy in place of the old absolute monarchy, gone forever. In accordance with the provisions of the document a legislature was now chosen. Its first session was held October 1, 1791. Elected for a two-year term, it served for less than a single year. Expected to inaugurate an era of prosperity and happiness by applying the new principles of government in a time of peace, to consolidate the monarchy on its new basis, it was destined to a stormy life and to witness the fall of the monarchy in irreparable ruin. A few days before it met Paris, adept, as always, in the art of observing fittingly great national occasions, had celebrated "the end of the Revolution." The Old Régime was buried. The new one was now to be installed.

The Legislative Assembly (October 1, 1791–September 20, 1792)

But the Revolution had not ended. Instead, it shortly entered upon a far more critical state. The reasons for this unhappy turn were grave and numerous. They were inherent in the situation, both in France and in Europe. Would the King frankly accept his new position, with no mental reservations, with no secret determinations, honestly, entirely? If so, and if he would by his conduct convince his people of his loyalty to his word, of his intention to rule as a constitutional monarch, to abide by the reforms thus far accomplished, with no thought of upsetting the new system, then there was an excellent chance that the future would be one of peaceful development, for France was thoroughly monarchical in tradition, in feeling, and in conviction. The Legislative Assembly was as monarchical in its sentiments as the Constituent had been. But if the King's conduct should arouse the suspicion that he was intriguing to restore the Old Régime, that his oaths were insincere, then the people would turn against him and the experiment of a constitutional monarchy would be

The Legislative Assembly favorable to the monarchy

hazarded. France had no desire to be a republic, but it had a fixed and resolute aversion to the Old Régime.

Growing distrust of Louis XVI

Inevitably, since the flight to Varennes, suspicion of Louis XVI was widespread. The suspicion was not dissipated by wise conduct on his part, but was increased in the following months to such a pitch that the revolutionary fever had no chance to subside but necessarily mounted steadily. The King's views were inevitably colored by his hereditary pretensions. Moreover, as we have seen, the religious question had been injected into the Revolution in so acute a form that his conscience as a Catholic was outraged. It was this that strained to the breaking point the relations of the Legislative Assembly and Louis XVI. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy gave rise to a bitter and distressing civil war. In the region known as La Vendée several thousand peasants, led by the refractory or non-juring priests, rose against the elected, constitutional priests and drove them out of the pulpits and churches. When the National Guards were sent among them to enforce the law they flew to arms against them, and civil war began.

Rebellion in the Vendée

Decree against the non-juring priests

The Assembly forthwith passed a decree against the refractory priests, which only made a bad matter worse. They were required to take the oath to the Civil Constitution within a week. If they refused they would be considered "suspicious" characters, their pensions would be suppressed, and they would be subject to the watchful and hostile surveillance of the government. Louis XVI vetoed this decree, legitimately using the power given him by the Constitution. This veto, accompanied by others, offended public opinion, and weakened the King's hold upon France. It would have been better for Louis had he never been given the veto power, since every exercise of it placed him in opposition to the Assembly and inflamed party passions.

Louis XVI vetoes this decree

The other decrees which he vetoed concerned the royal princes and the nobles who had emigrated from France, either because they no longer felt safe there, or because they thought that by going to foreign countries they might induce their rulers to intervene in French affairs and restore the Old Régime. This was wanton playing with fire. For the effect on France might be the very opposite of that intended. It might so heighten and exasperate popular feeling that the monarchy would be in greater danger than if left alone. This emigration, mostly of the privileged classes, had begun on the morrow of the storming of the Bastille. The Count d'Artois, younger brother of Louis XVI, had left France on July 15, 1789. The emigration became important in 1790, after the decree abolishing all titles of nobility, a decree that deeply wounded the pride of the nobles, and it was accelerated in 1791, after the flight to Varennes and the suspension of the King. It was later augmented by great numbers of non-juring priests and of bourgeois, who put their fidelity to the Catholic Church above their patriotism.

The royalist emigration

It has been estimated that during the Revolution a hundred and fifty thousand people left France in this way. Many of them went to the little German states on the eastern frontier. There they formed an army of perhaps twenty thousand men. The Count of Provence, brother of Louis XVI, was the titular leader and claimed that he was the Regent of France on the ground that Louis XVI was virtually a prisoner. The *émigrés* ceaselessly intrigued in the German and other European courts, trying to instigate their rulers to invade France, particularly the rulers of Austria and Prussia, important military states, urging that the fate of one monarch was a matter that concerned all monarchs, for sentimental reasons and for practical, since, if the impious revolution triumphed in France, there would come the turn of the other kings for similar treatment at the hands of rebellious subjects. In 1791 the *émigrés* succeeded in inducing the rulers of Austria and Prussia to issue the Declaration of Pillnitz announcing that the cause of Louis XVI was the cause of all the monarchs of Europe. This Declaration was made conditional upon the coöperation of all the countries and, therefore, it was largely bluster and had no direct importance. It was not sufficient to bring on war. But it angered France and increased suspicion of the King. The Legislative Assembly passed two decrees, one declaring that the Count of Provence would be deprived of his eventual rights to the throne if he did not return to France within two months, the other declaring that the property of the *émigrés* would be confiscated and that they themselves would be treated as enemies, as guilty of treasonable conspiracy, if their armaments were not dispersed by January 1, 1792; also stating that the French princes and public officials who had emigrated should be likewise regarded as con-

Treasonable intrigues of the émigrés

The Declaration of Pillnitz, August 27, 1791

Decrees against the émigrés

spiring against the state and would be exposed to the penalty of death, if they did not return by the same date.

Louis XVI vetoes these decrees

Louis XVI vetoed these decrees. He did, however, order his two brothers to return to France. They refused to obey out of "tenderness" for the King. The Count of Provence, who had a gift for misplaced irony and impertinence, saw fit to exercise it in his reply to the Assembly's summons. If this was not precisely pouring oil upon troubled waters, it was precisely adding fuel to a mounting conflagration, perhaps a natural mode of action for those who are dancing on volcanoes. Prudent people prefer to do their dancing elsewhere.

Gathering war clouds

More serious were the war clouds that were rapidly gathering. At the beginning of the Revolution nothing seemed less likely than a conflict between France and Europe. France was pacifically inclined, and there were no outstanding subjects of dispute. Moreover the rulers of the other countries were not at all anxious to intervene. They were quite willing to have France occupied exclusively with domestic problems, as thus the field would be left open for their intrigues. They were meditating the final partition of Poland and wished to be left alone while they committed that crowning iniquity. But gradually they came to see the menace to themselves in the new principles proclaimed by the French, principles of the sovereignty of the people and of the equality of all citizens. Their own subjects, particularly the peasants and the middle classes, were alarmingly enthusiastic over the achievements of the French. If such principles should inspire the same deeds as in France, the absolute monarchy of Louis XVI would not be the only one to suffer a shock.

Just as the sovereigns were being somewhat aroused from this complacent indifference in regard to their neighbor's principles, a change was going on in France itself, where certain parties were beginning to proclaim their duty to share their happiness with other peoples, in other words, to conduct a propaganda for their ideas outside of France. They were talking of the necessity of warring against tyrants, and of liberating peoples still enslaved.

Thus on both sides the temper was becoming warlike. When such a mood prevails it is never difficult for willing minds to find sufficient pretexts for an appeal to arms. Moreover each side had a definite and positive grievance. France, as we have seen, viewed with displeasure and concern the formation of the royalist armies on her eastern borders, with the connivance, or at least the consent, of the German princes. On the other hand the German Empire had a direct grievance against France. When Alsace became French in the seventeenth century, a number of German princes possessed lands there and were, in fact, feudal lords. They still remained princes of the German Empire, and their territorial rights were guaranteed by the treaties. Only they were at the same time vassals of the King of France, doing homage to him and collecting feudal dues, as previously. When the French abolished feudal dues as we have seen, August 4, 1789, they insisted that these decrees applied to Alsace as well as to the rest of France. The German princes protested and asserted that the decrees were in violation of the Treaties of Westphalia. The German Diet espoused their cause. The Constituent Assembly insisted upon maintaining its laws, in large measure, but offered to modify them. The Diet refused, demanding the revocation of the obnoxious laws and the restoration of the feudal dues in Alsace. The controversy was full of danger for the reason that there were many people, both in France and in the other countries, who were anxious for war and who would use any means they could to bring it about. The gale was gathering that was to sweep over Europe in memorable devastation for nearly a quarter of a century.

Causes of friction between France and the German Empire

Controversy over the decrees of August 4, 1789

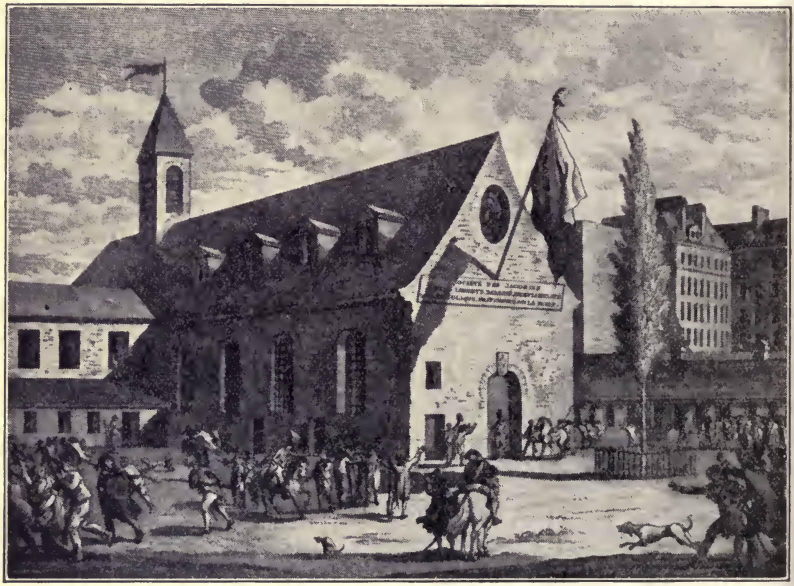
The Legislative Assembly was composed of inexperienced men, because of the self-denying ordinance passed in the closing hours of the Constituent Assembly. Yet this Assembly was vested by the new Constitution with powers vastly overshadowing those left with the King. Nevertheless it was suspicious of him, as it had no control over the ministry and as it was the executive that directed the relations with foreign countries.

There were, moreover, certain new forces in domestic politics of which the world was to hear much in the coming months. Certain political clubs began to loom up threateningly as possible rivals even of the Assembly. The two most conspicuous were the Jacobin and the Cordelier clubs. These had originated at the very beginning of the Revolution, but it was under the Legislative Assembly and its successor that they showed their power.

The rise of political clubs

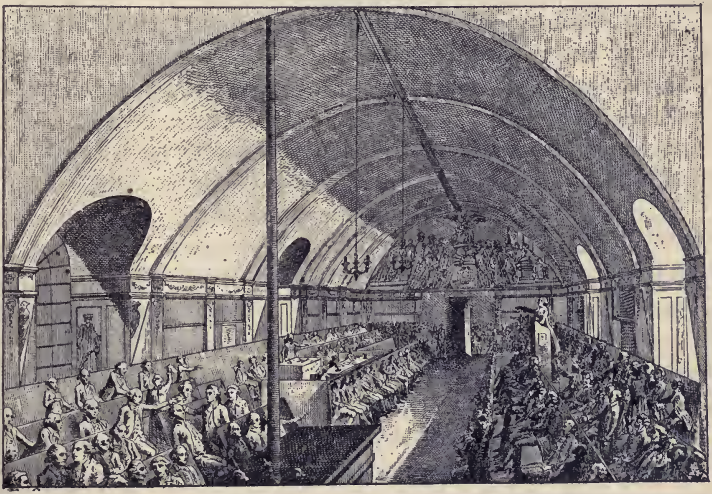
The Jacobin Club was destined to the greater notoriety. It was composed of members of the Assembly and of outsiders, citizens of Paris. As a political club the members held constant sessions and debated with great zeal and freedom the questions that were before the Assembly. Its most influential leader at this time was Robespierre, a radical democrat but at the same time a convinced monarchist, a vigorous opponent of the small republican party which had appeared momentarily at the time of the epoch-making flight to Varennes. The Jacobin Club grew steadily more radical as the Revolution progressed and as its more conservative members dropped out or were eliminated. It also rapidly extended its influence over all France. Jacobin clubs were founded in over 2,000 cities and villages. Affiliated with the mother club in Paris, they formed a vast network, virtually receiving orders from Paris, developing great talent for concerted action. The discipline that held this voluntary organization together was remarkable and rendered it capable of great and decisive action. It became a sort of state within the state and, moreover, within a state which was as de-

The Jacobin Club



The Jacobin Club
From a Dutch engraving, after Duplessis-Bertaux.

centralized and ineffective as it was itself highly centralized and rapid and thorough in its action. The Jacobin Club gradually became a rival of the Assembly itself and at times exerted a preponderant influence upon t, yet the Assembly was the legally constituted government of all France.



A Session at the Jacobin Club
After an anonymous engraving.

The Cordelier Club

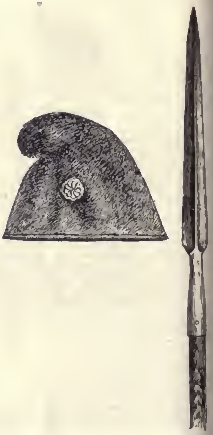
The Cordelier Club was still more radical. Its membership was derived from a lower social scale. It was more democratic. Moreover, since the flight to Varennes it was the hotbed of republicanism. Its chief influence was with the working classes of Paris, men who were enthusiastic supporters of the Revolution, anxious to have it carried further, easily inflamed against any one who was accused as an enemy, open or secret, of the Revolution. These men were crude and rude but tremendously energetic. They were the stuff of which mobs could be made, and they had in Danton, a lawyer, with a power of downright and epigrammatic speech, an able, astute, and ruthless leader. The Cordelier Club, unlike the Jacobin, was limited to Paris; it had no branches throughout the departments. Like the Jacobins the Cordeliers contracted the habit of bringing physical pressure to bear upon the Government, of seeking to impose their will upon that of the representatives of the nation, the King and the Assembly.

The Clubs and the Legislative Assembly

Here then were redoubtable machines for influencing the public. They would support the Assembly as long as its conduct met their wishes, but they were self-confident and self-willed enough to oppose it and to try to dominate it on occasion. Both were enthusiastic believers in the Revolution; both were lynx-eyed and keen-scented for any hostility to the Revolution, willing to go to any lengths to uncover and to crush those who should try to undo the reforms thus far accomplished. Both were suspicious of the King.

Growth of a radical temper among the people

They had inflammable material enough to work upon in the masses of the great capital of France. And these masses were, as the months went by, becoming steadily more excitable and exalted in temper. They worshipped liberty frantically and they expressed their worship in picturesque and sinister ways. They considered themselves, called themselves the true "patriots," and, like all fanatics, they were highly jealous and suspicious of their more moderate fellow-citizens. The new wine, which was decidedly heady, was fermenting dangerously in their brains. They displayed the revolutionary colors, the tricolor cockade, everywhere and on all occasions. They adopted and wore the *bonnet rouge* or red-cap, which resembled the Phrygian cap of antiquity, the cap worn by slaves after their emancipation. This was now, as it had been then, the symbol of liberty.



Liberty Cap and Pike

The Sansculottes

This is the period, too, when we hear of the planting of liberty poles or trees everywhere amid popular acclamation and with festivities calculated to intensify the new-born democratic devotion. Even in dress the new era had its radical innovations and symbolism. The *Sansculottes* now set the style. They were the men who abandoned the old style short breeches, the culottes, and adopted the long trousers hitherto worn only by workingmen and therefore a badge of social inferiority.

Such then was the new quality in the atmosphere, such were the new players who were grouped around the margins of the scene. Their influence was felt all through its year of fevered history by the Legislative Assembly, the lawful government of France. These men were all aglow with the great news announced in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, that the people are sovereign here below and that no divinity doth hedge about a king — that was sheer claptrap which had imposed on mankind quite long enough. Now that France was delivered from this sorry hallucination, now that the darkness was dispelled, let the new principles be fearlessly applied!

Increasing radicalism of the Legislative Assembly

The reaction of all this upon the Legislative Assembly was pronounced. One of the first actions of that Assembly was to abolish the terms, "Sire" and "Your Majesty," used in addressing the King. Another evidence that the new doctrine of the sovereignty of the people was not merely a rosy, yet unsubstantial, figment of the imagination, but was a definite principle intended to be applied to daily politics, was the fact that when dissatisfied with the Assembly, the people crowded into its hall more frequently, expressing their disapproval, voicing in unambiguous manner their desires, and the Assembly, which believed in the doctrine too, did not dare resent its application, did not dare assert its inviolability, as the representative of France, of law and order.

A vigorous and suspicious democracy in existence

The signs of the times, then, were certainly not propitious for those who would undo the work of the Revolution, who would restore the King and the nobles to the position they had once occupied and now lost. The pack would be upon them if they tried. The struggle would be with a rude and vigorous democracy in which reverence for the old had died, which was reckless of traditions, and was ready to suffer and more ready to inflict suffering, if attempts were made to thwart it. Anything that looked like treachery would mean a popular explosion. Yet this moment, so inopportune, was being used by the King and Queen in secret but suspected machinations with foreign rulers, with a view to securing their aid in the attempt to recover the ground lost by the monarchy; was being used by the emigrant nobles in Coblenz and Worms for counter-revolutionary intrigues and for warlike preparations. Their only safe policy was a candid and unmistakable recognition of the new régime, but this was precisely what they were intellectually and temperamentally incapable of appreciating. They were playing with fire. This was all the more risky as many of their enemies were equally willing to play with the same dangerous element.

The émigrés play with fire

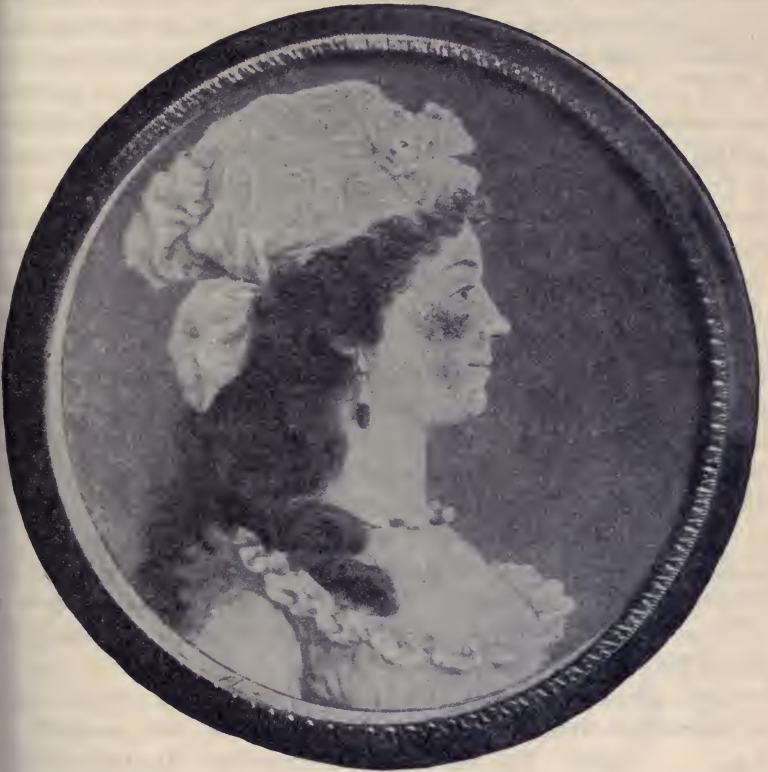
There was in the Legislative Assembly a group of men called the Girondists, because many of their leaders, Vergniaud, Isnard, Buzot and others, came from that section of France known as the Gironde, in the southwest of France. The Girondists have enjoyed a poetic immortality ever since imaginative histories of the Revolution issued from the pensive pen of the poet Lamartine, who portrayed them as pure and high-minded patriots caught in the swirl of a wicked world. The description was inaccurate. They were not disinterested martyrs in the cause of good government. They were a group of politicians whose discretion was not as conspicuous as their ambition. They paid for that vaulting emotion the price which it frequently exacts. They knew how to make their tragic exit from life bravely and heroically. They did not know, what is more difficult, how to make their lives wise and profitable to the world. They were a group of eloquent young men, led by a romantic young woman. For the real head of this group that had its hour upon the stage and then was heard no more in the deafening clamor of the later Revolution was Madame Roland, their bright particular star. Theirs was a bookish outlook upon the world. They fed upon Plutarch, and boundless was their admiration for the ancient Greeks and Romans. They were republicans because those glorious figures of the earlier time had been republicans; also because they imagined that, in a republic, they would themselves find a better chance to shine and to irradiate the world. Dazzled by these prototypes, they burned with the spirit of emulation. The reader must keep steadily in mind that the Girondists and the Jacobins were entirely distinct groups. They were, indeed, destined later to be deadly rivals and enemies.

The Girondists

Such were the personages who played their dissimilar parts in the hot drama of the times. The stage was set. The background was the whole fabric of the European state system, now shaking unawares. The action began with the declaration of war by France against Francis II, ruler of Austria, and nephew of Marie Antoinette, a declaration which opened a war which was to be European and world-wide, which was to last twenty-three long years, was to deform and twist the Revolution out of all resemblance to its early promise, was, as by-products, to give France a Republic, a Reign of Terror, a Napoleonic epic, a Bourbon overthrow and restoration, and was to end only with the catastrophic incident of Waterloo.

France declares war on Francis II, April 20, 1792

That war was precipitated by the French, who sent an ultimatum to the Emperor concerning the *émigrés*. Francis replied by demanding the restoration to the German princes in Alsace of their feudal rights, and in addition, the repression in France "of anything that might alarm other States." War was declared on April 20, 1792. It was desired by all the parties of the Legislative Assembly. Only seven members voted against it. The supporters of the King wanted it, believing that it would enable him to recover power once more by rendering him popular as the leader in a victorious campaign and by putting at his disposal a strong military force. Girondists and Jacobins wanted it for precisely the opposite reason, as



Madame Roland

A portrait taken from the cover of a bonbonnière in the Carnavalet Museum. From E. F. Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*

All parties in the Legislative Assembly in favor of war

likely to prove that Louis was secretly a traitor, in intimate relations with the enemies of France. This once established, the monarchy could be swept aside and a republic installed. Only Robespierre and a few others opposed it on the ground that war always plays into the hands of the rich and powerful, that the people, on the other hand, the poor, always pay for it and lose rather than gain, that war is never in the interest of a democracy. They were, however, voices crying in the wilderness. There was a widespread feeling that the war was an inevitable clash between democracy, represented by France under the new dispensation, and autocracy, represented by the House of Hapsburg, a conflict of two eras, the past and the future. The national exaltation was such that the people welcomed the opportunity to spread abroad, beyond the borders of France, the revolutionary ideas of liberty and equality which they had so recently acquired and which they so highly prized. The war had some of the characteristics of a religious war, the same mental exaltation, the same dogmatic belief in the universal applicability of its doctrines, the same sense of duty to preach them everywhere; by force, if necessary.

Robespierre's opposition to the war

This war was a startling and momentous turning-point in the history of the Revolution. It had consequences, some of which were foreseen, most of which were not. It reacted profoundly upon the French and before it was over it compromised their own domestic liberty and generated a military despotism of greater efficiency than could be matched in the long history of the House of Bourbon.

The war a turning-point in modern history

First and foremost among the effects of the war was this: it swept the illustrious French monarchy away and put the monarchs to death. The war began disastrously. Instead of easily conquering Belgium, which belonged to Francis II, as they had confidently expected to, the French suffered severe reverses. One reason was that their army had been badly disorganized by the wholesale resignation or emigration of its officers, all noblemen. Another was the highly treasonable act of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, who informed the Austrians of the French plan of campaign. This treason of their sovereigns was not known to the French, but it was suspected, and it was none the less efficacious. At the same time that French armies were being driven back, civil war, growing out of the religious dissensions, was threatening in France.

At the beginning the French suffer reverses

The Assembly, facing these troubles, indignantly passed two decrees, one ordering the deportation to penal colonies of all refractory or nonjuring priests, the other providing for an army of 20,000 men for the protection of Paris.

The King vetoes two decrees of the Assembly

Louis XVI vetoed both measures. Then the storm broke. The Jacobins inspired and organized a great popular demonstration against the King, the object being to force him to sign the decrees. Out from the crowded workingmen's quarters emerged, on June 20, 1792, several thousand men, wearing the *bonnet rouge*, armed with pikes and carrying standards with the Rights of Man printed on them. They went to the hall of the Assembly and were permitted to march through it, submitting a petition in which the pointed statement was made that the will of 25,000,000 people could not be balked by the will of one man. After leaving the hall the crowd went to the Tuileries, forced open the gates and penetrated to the King's own apartments. The King for three hours stood before them, in the recess of a window, protected by some of the deputies. The crowd shouted, "Sign the decrees!" "Down with the priests!" One of the ringleaders of the demonstration, a butcher called Legendre, gained a notoriety that has sufficed to preserve his name from oblivion to this day, by shouting at the King, "Sir, you are a traitor, you have always deceived us, you are deceiving us still. Beware, the cup is full." Louis XVI refused to make any promises. His will, for once, did not waver. But he received a *bonnet rouge* and donned it and drank a glass of wine presented him by one of the crowd. The crowd finally withdrew, having committed no violence, but having subjected the King of France to bitter humiliation.

Insurrection of June 20, 1792

Louis XVI remains firm

The Duke of Brunswick's manifesto (July 11, 1792)

Immediately a wave of indignation at this affront and scandal swept over France and it seemed likely that, after all, it might redound to the advantage of Louis, increasing his popularity by the sympathy it evoked. But shortly other events supervened and his position became more precarious than ever. Prussia joined Austria in the war and the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the coalition armies, as he crossed the frontiers of France, issued a manifesto which aroused the people to a fever pitch of wrath. This manifesto had really been written by an *émigré* and it was redolent of the concentrated rancor of his class. The manifesto ordered the

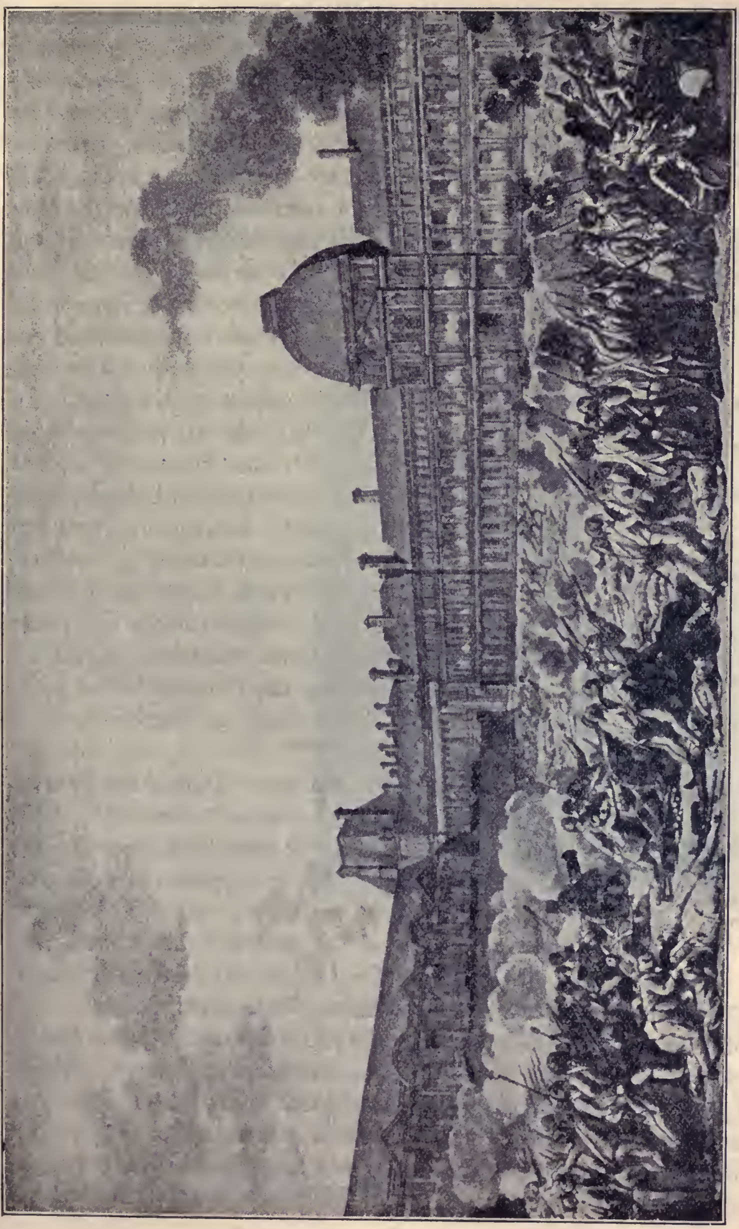
French to restore Louis XVI to complete liberty of action. It went further and virtually commanded them to obey the orders of the monarchs of Austria and Prussia. It announced that any national guards who should resist the advance of the allies would be punished as rebels and it wound up with the terrific threat that if the least violence or outrage should be offered to their Majesties, the King, the Queen, and the royal family, if their preservation and their liberty should not be immediately provided for, they, the allied monarchs, would "exact an exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance," namely, the complete destruction of the city of Paris.

Such a threat could have but one reply from a self-respecting people. It nerved them to incredible exertions to resent and repay the insult. Patriotic anger swept everything before it.

The insurrection of August 10, 1792

The first to suffer was the person whom the manifesto had singled out for special care, Louis XVI, now suspected more than ever of being the accomplice of these invaders who were breathing fire and destruction upon the French for the insolence of managing their own affairs as they saw fit. On August 10, 1792, another, and this time more formidable, insurrection, occurred in Paris. At nine in the morning the crowd attacked the Tuileries. At ten the King and the royal family left the palace and sought safety in the Assembly. There they were kept in a little room, just behind the president's chair, and there they remained for more than thirty hours. While the Assembly was debating, a furious combat was raging between the troops stationed to guard the Tuileries and the mob. Louis XVI, hearing the first shots, sent word to the guards to cease fire, but the officer who carried the command did not deliver it as long as he thought there was a chance of victory. The Swiss Guards were the heroes and the victims of that dreadful day. They defended the palace until their ammunition gave out and then, receiving the order to retire, they fell back slowly, but were soon overwhelmed by their assailants and 800 of them were shot down. The vengeance of the mob was frenzied. They themselves had lost hundreds of men. No quarter was given. More than 5,000 people were killed that day. The Tuileries was sacked and gutted. A sallow-complexioned young artillery officer, out of service, named Napoleon Bonaparte, was a spectator of this scene, from which he learned a few lessons which were later of value to him.

The Tuileries sacked



THE ATTACK UPON THE TUILERIES, AUGUST 10, 1792
Drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

The deeds of August 10 were the work of the Revolutionary Commune of Paris. The former municipal government had been illegally overthrown by the Jacobins who had then organized a new government which they entirely controlled. The Jacobins, the masters of Paris, had carefully prepared the insurrection of August 10 for the definite purpose of overthrowing Louis XVI. The menaces of the Duke of Brunswick had merely been the pretext. Now began that systematic dominance of Paris in the affairs of France which was to be brief but terrible. At the end of the insurrection the Commune forced the Legislative Assembly to do its wishes. Under this imperious and entirely illegal dictation the Assembly voted that the King should be provisionally suspended. This necessitated the making of a new constitution as the Constitution of 1791 was monarchical. The present assembly was a merely legislative body, not competent to alter the fundamental law. Therefore the Legislative Assembly, although its term was only half expired, decided to call a Convention to take up the matter of the constitution. Under orders from the Paris Commune it issued the decree to that effect and it made a further important decision. For elections to the Convention it abolished the property suffrage, established by the Constitution of 1791, and proclaimed universal suffrage. France thus, on August 10, 1792, became a democracy.

The Revolutionary Commune of Paris

The suspension of the King

A Constitutional Convention called

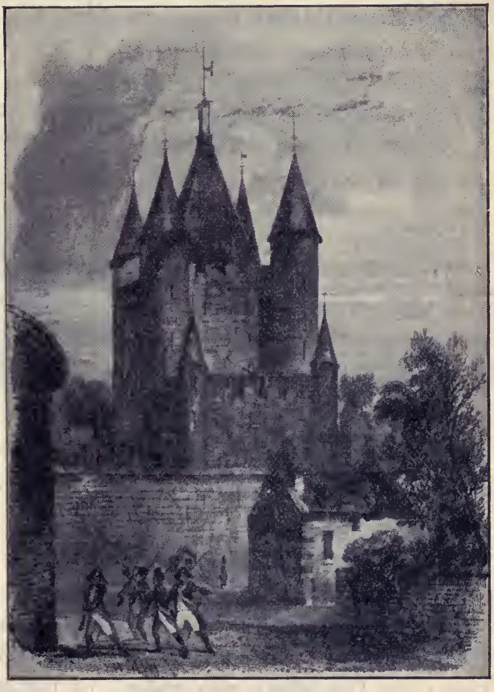
Universal suffrage proclaimed

The executive of France was thus overthrown. During the interval before the meeting of the Convention a provisional executive council, with Danton at the head, wielded the executive power, influenced by the Commune. The Assembly had merely voted the suspension of Louis XVI. The Commune, in complete disregard of law and in defiance of the Assembly, imprisoned the King and Queen in the Temple, an old fortress in Paris. The Commune also arrested large numbers of suspected persons.

The Commune imprisons the King

This Revolutionary Commune or City Council of Paris was henceforth one of the powerful factors in the government of France. It, and not the Legislative Assembly, was the real ruler of the country between the suspension of the King on August 10 and the meeting of the Convention, September 20. It continued to be a factor, sometimes predominant, even under the Convention. For nearly two years, from August, 1792, until the overthrow of Robespierre on July 27, 1794, the Commune was one of the principal forces in politics. It signalized its advent by suppressing the freedom of the press, one of the precious conquests of the reform movement, by defying the committees of the Assembly when it chose, and by carrying through the infamous September Massacres, which left a monstrous and indelible stain upon the Revolution. The Commune was the representative of the lower classes and of the Jacobins. Its leaders were all extremely radical, and some were desperate characters who would stop at nothing to gain their ends.

The Commune destroys the freedom of the press

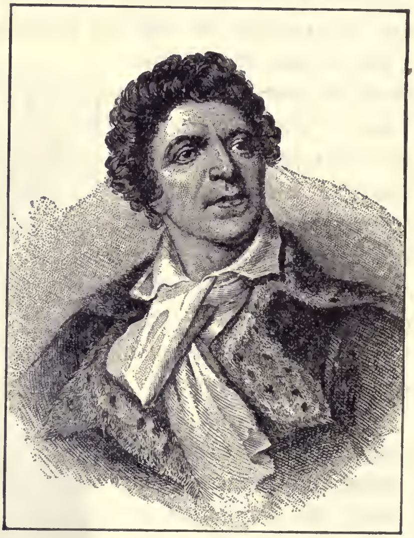


THE PRISON OF THE TEMPLE
After an anonymous engraving.

The September Massacres grew out of the feeling of panic which seized the population of Paris as it heard of the steady approach of the Prussians and Austrians under the Duke of Brunswick. Hundreds of persons, suspected or charged with being real accomplices of the invaders, were thrown into prison. Finally the news reached Paris that Verdun was besieged, the last fortress on the road to the capital. If that should fall, then the enemy would have but a few days' march to accomplish and Paris would be theirs. The Commune and the Assembly made heroic exertions to raise and forward troops to the exposed position. The Commune sounded the tocsin or general alarm from the bell towers, and unfurled a gigantic black flag from the City Hall bearing the inscrip-

The Commune organizes the September Massacres

tion, "The Country is in Danger." The more violent members began to say that before the troops were sent to the front the traitors within the city ought to be put out of the way. "Shall we go to the front, leaving 3,000 prisoners behind us, who may escape and murder our wives and children?" they asked. The hideous spokesman and inciter of the foul and cowardly slaughter was Marat, one of the most bloodthirsty characters of the time. The result was that day after day from September 2 to September 6 the cold-blooded murder of non-juring priests, of persons suspected or accused of "aristocracy," went on, without trial, the innocent and the guilty, men and women. The butchery was systematically done by men hired and paid by certain members of the Commune. The Legislative Assembly was too terrified itself to attempt to stop the infamous business nor could it have done so, had it tried. Nearly 1,200 persons were thus savagely hacked to pieces by the colossal barbarism of those days.



MARAT

Attitude of the Legislative Assembly

One consequence of these massacres was to discredit the cause of the Revolution. Another was to precipitate a sanguinary struggle between the Girondists who wished to punish the "Septembrists" and particularly their instigator, Marat, and the Jacobins, who either defended them or assumed an attitude of indifference, urging that France had more important work to do than to spend its time trying to avenge men who were after all "aristocrats." The struggles between these factions were to fill the early months of the Convention which met on September 20, 1792, the elections having taken place under the gloomy and terrifying impressions produced by the September Massacres. On the same day, September 20, the Prussians were stopped in their onward march at

Effects of the September Massacres

Valmy. They were to get no farther. The immediate danger was over. The tension was relieved.

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CHAPTER VI

THE CONVENTION

Achievements of the Convention

The third Revolutionary assembly was the National Convention, which was in existence for three years, from September 20, 1792, to October 26, 1795. Called to draft a new constitution, necessitated by the suspension of Louis XVI, its first act was the abolition of monarchy as an institution. Before its final adjournment three years later it had drafted two different constitutions, one of which was never put in force, it had established a republic, it had organized a provisional government with which to face the appalling problems that confronted the country, it had maintained the integrity and independence of the country, threatened by complete dissolution, and had decisively defeated a vast hostile coalition of European powers. In accomplishing this gigantic task it had, however, made a record for cruelty and tyranny that left the republic in deep discredit and made the Revolution odious to multitudes of men.

France proclaimed a republic (September 22, 1792)

Party struggles in the Convention

On September 21, 1792, the Convention voted unanimously that "royalty is abolished in France." The following day it voted that all public documents should henceforth be dated from "the first year of the French Republic." Thus unostentatiously did the Republic make its appearance upon the scene, "furtively interjecting itself between the factions," as Robespierre expressed it. There was no solemn proclamation of the Republic, merely the indirect statement. As Aulard observes, the Convention had the air of saying to the nation, "There is no possibility of doing otherwise." Later the Republic had its heroes, its victims, its martyrs, but it was created in the first instance simply because there was nothing else to do. France had no choice in the matter. It merely accepted an imperative situation. A committee was immediately appointed to draw up a new constitution. Its work, however, was long postponed, for the Convention was distracted by a frenzied quarrel that broke out immediately between two parties, the Girondists and Jacobins. The latter party was often called the Mountain, because of the raised seats its members occupied. It is not easy to define the differences between these factions, which were involved in what was fundamentally a struggle for power. Both were entirely devoted to the Republic. Between the two factions there was a large group of members, who swung now this way and now that, carrying victory or defeat as they shifted their votes. They were the center, the Plain or the Marsh, as they were called because of the location of their seats in the convention hall.

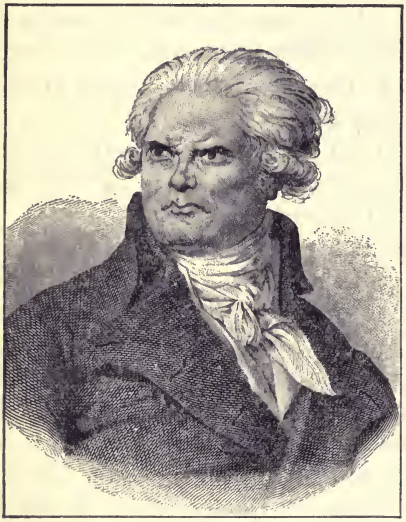
The Girondists

The Jacobins

On one point, the part that the city of Paris should be permitted to play in the government, the difference of opinion was sharp. The Girondists represented the departments and insisted that Paris, which constituted only one of the eighty-three departments into which France was divided, should have only one eighty-third of influence. They would tolerate no dictatorship of the capital. On the other hand the Jacobins drew their strength from Paris. They considered Paris the brain and the heart of the country, a center of light to the more backward provinces; they believed that it was the proper and predestined leader of the nation, that it was in a better position than was the country at large to appreciate the significance of measures and events, that it was, as Danton said, "the chief sentinel of the nation." The Girondists were anxious to observe legal forms and processes; they disliked and distrusted the frequent appeals to brute force. The Jacobins, on the other hand, were not so scrupulous. They were rude, active, forceful, indifferent to law, if law stood in the way. They were realists and believed in the application of force wherever and whenever necessary. Indeed their great emphasis was always put upon the necessity of the state. That justified everything. In other words anything was legitimate that might contribute to the safety or greatness of the Republic, whether legal or not.

Danton

But the merely personal element was even more important in dividing and envenoming these groups. The Girondists hated the three leaders of the Jacobins, Robespierre, Marat, and Danton. Marat and Robespierre returned the hatred, which was thus easily fanned to fever heat. Danton, a man of coarse fiber but large mould, above the pettiness of jealousy and pique, thought chiefly and instinctively only of the cause, the interest of the country at the given moment. He had no scruples but he had a keen sense for the practical and the useful. He was anxious to work with the Girondists, anxious to smooth over situations, to avoid extremes, to subordinate persons to measures, to ignore the spirit of faction and intrigue, to keep all republicans working together in the same harness for the welfare of France. His was the spirit of easy-going compromise. But he met in the Girondists a stern, unyielding opposition. They would have nothing to do with him, they would not coöperate with him, and they finally ranged him among their enemies, to their own irreparable harm and to his.



DANTON
From an engraving by J. Caron, after the painting by David.

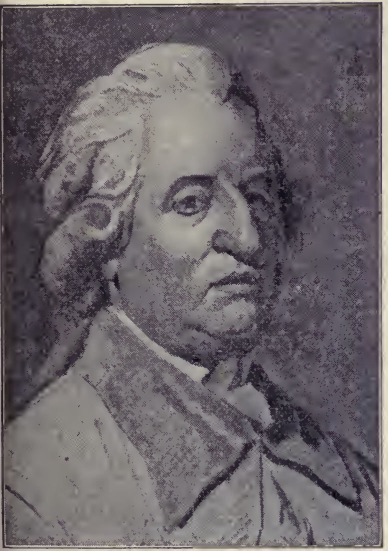
The contest between these two parties grew shriller and more vehement every day, ending in a life and death struggle. It began directly after the meeting of the Convention, in the discussion as to what should be done with Louis XVI, now that monarchy was abolished and the monarch a prisoner of state.

Louis XVI and the Revolution

The King had unquestionably been disloyal to the Revolution. He had given encouragement to the *émigrés* and had entered into the hostile plans of the enemies of France. After the meeting of the Convention a secret iron box, fashioned by his own hand, had been discovered in the Tuileries containing documents which proved beyond question his treason. Ought he to have the full punishment of a traitor or had he been already sufficiently punished, by the repeated indignities to which he had been subjected, by imprisonment, and by the loss of his throne? Might not the Convention stay its hand, refrain from exacting the full measure of satisfaction from one so sorely visited and for whom so many excuses lay in the general goodness of his character and in the extraordinary perplexities of his position, perplexities which might have baffled a far wiser person, at a time when the men of clearest vision saw events as through a glass, darkly? But mercy was not in the hearts of men, particularly of the Jacobins, who considered Louis the chief culprit and unworthy of consideration. The Jacobins at first would not hear even of a trial. Robespierre demanded that the King be executed forthwith by a mere vote of the Convention, and Saint-Just, a satellite of Robespierre, recalled that "Cæsar was despatched in the very presence of the Senate without other formality than twenty-two dagger strokes." But Louis was given a trial, a trial, however, before a packed jury, which had already shown its hatred of him, before men who were at the same time his accusers and his judges. The trial lasted over a month, Louis himself appearing at the bar, answering the thirty-three questions which were put to him and which covered his conduct during the Revolution. His statements were considered unsatisfactory. Despite the eloquent defense of his lawyer the Convention voted on January 15, 1793, that "Louis Capet" was "guilty of conspiracy against the liberty of the Nation and of a criminal attack upon the safety of the state." The vote was unanimous, a few abstaining from voting but not one voting in the negative. Many of the Girondists then urged that the sentence be submitted to the people for their final action. Robespierre combatted this idea with vigor, evidently fearing that the people would not go the whole length. This proposition was voted down by 424 votes against 283.

The Jacobins demand immediate execution without trial

The trial of Louis XVI



Last Portrait of Louis XVI
After a crayon by Ducreux, three days before the execution.

What should be the punishment? Voting on this question began at eight o'clock in the evening of January 16, 1793. During twenty-four hours the 721 deputies present mounted the platform one after the other, and announced their votes to the Convention. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 17th the vote was completed. The president announced the result. Number voting 721; a majority 361. For death 387; against death, or for delay 334.

The execution of the King

On Sunday, January 21, the guillotine was raised in the square fronting the Tuileries. At ten o'clock Louis mounted the fatal step with courage and composure. He was greater on the scaffold than he had been upon the throne. He endeavored to speak. "Gentlemen, I am innocent of that of which I am accused. May my blood assure the happiness of the French." His voice was drowned by a roll of drums. He died with all the serenity of a profoundly religious man.

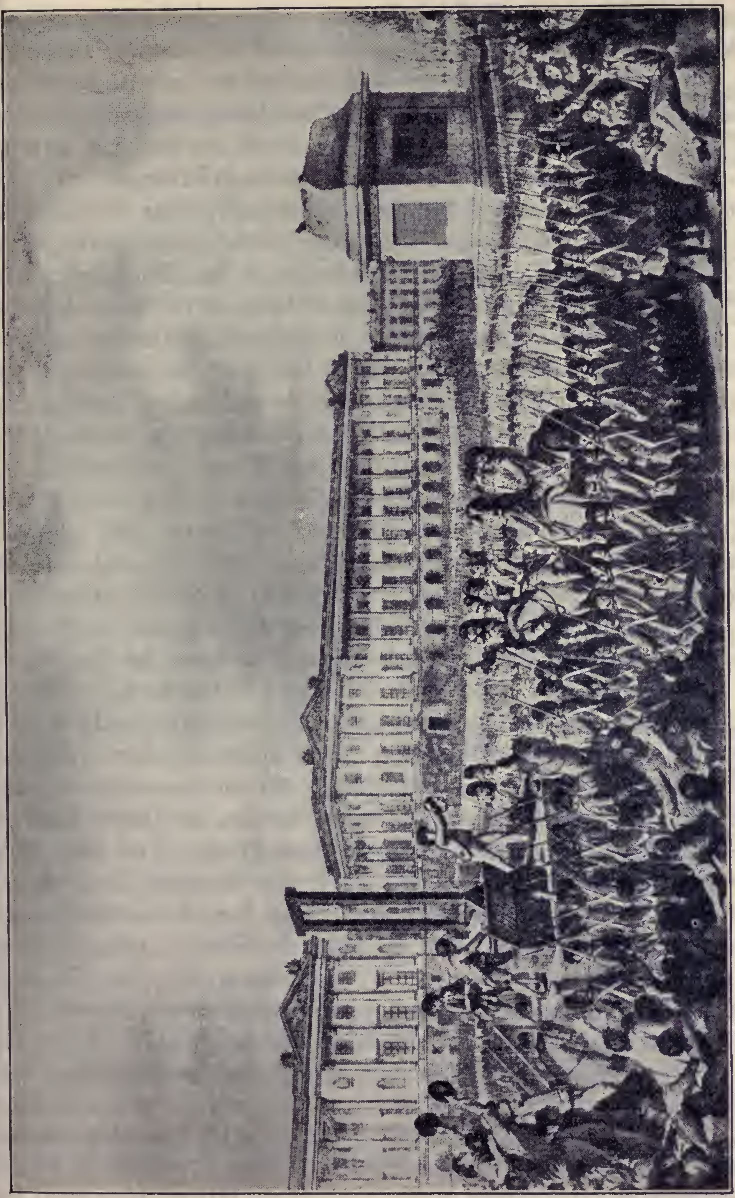
Consequences of the execution of Louis XVI

The immediate consequence of the execution was a formidable increase in the number of enemies France must conquer if she was to live, and an intensification of the passions involved. France was at war with Austria and Prussia. Now England, Russia, Spain, Holland, and the states of Germany and Italy entered the war against her, justifying themselves by the "murder of the King," although all had motives much more practical than this sentimental one. It was an excellent opportunity to gain territory from a country which was plainly in process of dissolution. Civil war, too, was added to the turmoil, as the peasants of the Vendée, 100,000 strong, rose against the Republic which was the murderer of the king and the persecutor of the church. Dumouriez, an able commander of one of the French armies, was plotting against the Convention and was shortly to go over to the enemy, a traitor to his country.

The Convention creates machinery for strong government

The ground was giving way everywhere. The Convention stiffened for the fray, resolved to do or die, or both, if necessary. No government was ever more energetic or more dauntless. It voted to raise 300,000 troops immediately. It created a Committee of General Security, a Committee of Public Safety, a Revolutionary Tribunal, all parts of a machine that was intended to concentrate the full force of the nation upon the problem of national salvation and the annihilation of the republic's enemies, whether foreign or domestic.

But while it was doing all this the Convention was floundering in the bog of angry party politics. Discussion was beginning its work of dividing the republicans, preparatory to consuming them. The first struggle was between the Girondists and the Jacobins. The Girondists



The Execution of Louis XVI
After a drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

wished to punish the men who had been responsible for the September Massacres. They wished to punish the Commune for numerous illegal acts. They hated Marat and were able to get a vote from the Convention sending him before the Revolutionary Tribunal, expecting that this would be the end of him. Instead, he was acquitted and became the hero of the populace of Paris, more powerful than before and now wilder than ever in his denunciations. Sanguinary Marat, feline Robespierre, were resolved on the annihilation of the Girondists. Danton, thinking of France and loathing all this discord, when the nation was in danger, all this exaggeration of self, this contemptible carnival of intrigue, thinking that Frenchmen had enemies enough to fight without tearing each other to pieces, tried to play the peacemaker. But he had the fate that peacemakers frequently have. He accomplished nothing for France and made enemies for himself.

Republicans divided against themselves

The Girondists marked for destruction

The Commune, which supported the Jacobins, and which idolized Marat and respected Robespierre, intervened in this struggle, using, to cut it short, its customary weapon, physical force. It organized an insurrection against the Girondists, a veritable army of 80,000 men with sixty cannon. Marat, himself a member of the Convention, climbed to the belfry of the City Hall and with his own hand sounded the tocsin. This was Marat's day. He, self-styled Friend of the People, was the leader of this movement from the beginning to the end of the fateful June 2, 1793. The Tuileries, where the Convention sat, was surrounded by the insurrectionary troops. The Convention was the prisoner of the Commune, the Government of France at the mercy of the Government of Paris. The Commune demanded the expulsion of the Girondist leaders from the Convention. The Convention protested indignantly against the conduct of the insurgents. Its members resolved to leave the hall in a body. They were received with mock deference by the insurgents. The demand of their president that the troops disperse was bluntly refused until the Girondists who had been denounced should be expelled. The Convention was obliged to return to its hall conquered and degraded and to vote the arrest of twenty-nine Girondists. For the first time in the Revolution the assembly elected by the voters of France was mutilated. Violence had laid its hand upon the sovereignty of the people in the interest of the rule of

The insurrection of June 2, 1793

Girondist leaders expelled from the Convention

a faction. The victory of the Commune was the victory of the Jacobins, who, by this treason to the nation, were masters of the Convention.

France threatened with civil war

But not yet masters of the country. Indeed this high-handed crime of June 2 aroused indignation and resistance throughout a large section of France. Had the departments no rights which the Commune of Paris was bound to respect? The Girondists called the departments to arms against this tyrannical crew. They responded with alacrity, exasperated and alarmed. Four of the largest cities of France, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Caen, took up arms, and civil war, born of politics, added to the civil war born of religion in the Vendée, and to the ubiquitous foreign war, made confusion worse confounded. In all some sixty departments out of eighty-three participated in this movement, three-fourths of France. To meet this danger, to allay this strong distrust of Paris felt by the departments, to show them that they need not fear the dictatorship of the Commune, the Convention drafted in great haste the constitution which it had been summoned to make, but which it had for months ignored in the heat of party politics. And the Constitution of 1793, the second in the history of the Revolution, guarded so carefully the rights of the departments and the rights of the people that it made Parisian dictation impossible.

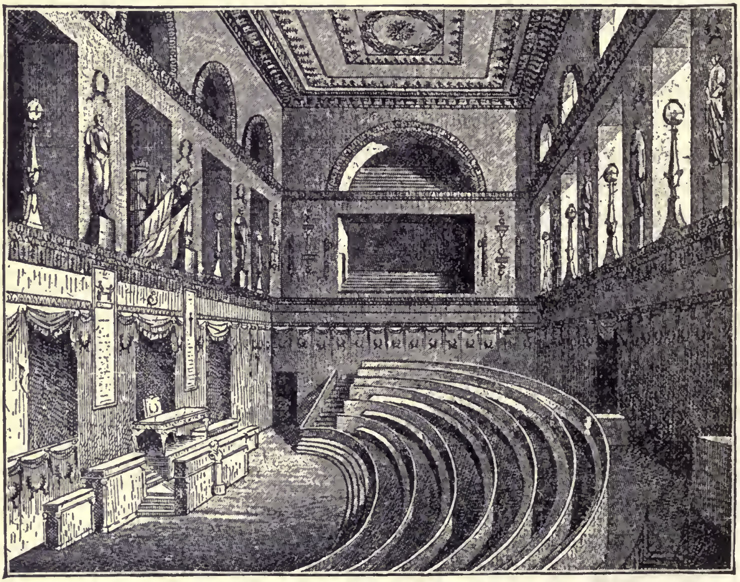
A new constitution hastily constructed

Provisions of the constitution of 1793

The Constitution of 1793 established universal suffrage. It also carried decentralization farther than did the Constitution of 1791, which had carried it much too far. The Legislature was to be elected only for a year, and all laws were to be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection before being put into force. This is the first appearance of the *referendum*. The executive was to consist of twenty-four members chosen by the legislature out of a list drawn up by the electors and consisting of one person from each department.

The constitution ratified by the people

This constitution worked like a charm in dissipating the distrust of the departments. Their rights could not be better safeguarded. Submitted to the voters the constitution was overwhelmingly ratified, over 1,000,000 votes in its favor, less than 12,000 in opposition. But this is the only way in which this constitution ever worked. So thoroughly did it decentralize the state, so weak did it leave the central government, that even those who had accepted it cordially saw that it could not be applied immediately, with foreign armies streaming into France from every direction. What was needed for the crisis, as every one saw, was a strong government. Consequently by general agreement the constitution was immediately suspended, as soon as it was made. The suspension was to be merely provisional. As soon as the crisis should pass it should be put into operation. Meanwhile this precious document was put into a box in the center of the convention hall and was much in the way.



The Hall of the Convention

To meet the crisis, to enable France to hew her way through the tangle of complexities and dangers that confronted her, a provisional government was created, a government as strong as the one provided by the constitution was weak, as efficient as that would have proved inefficient. The new system was frankly based on force, and it inaugurated a Reign of Terror which has remained a hissing and a by-word among the nations ever since. This provisional or revolutionary government was lodged in the Convention. The Convention was the sole nerve center whence shot forth to the farthest confines of the land the iron resolutions that beat down all opposition and fired all energies to a single end. The Convention was dictator, and it organized a government that was more absolute, more tyrannical, more centralized than the Bourbon monarchy, in its palmiest days, had ever dreamed of being. Montesquieu's sacred doctrine of the separation of powers, which the Constituent Assembly had found so excellent, was ignored.

A provisional government established

The machinery of this provisional government consisted of two important committees, appointed by the Convention, the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security; also of representatives on mission, of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and of the political clubs and committees of surveillance in the cities and villages throughout the country.

The Committee of Public Safety

The Committee of Public Safety consisted at first of nine, later of twelve members. Chosen by the Convention for a term of a month, they were, as a matter of fact, reëlected month after month, changes only occurring when parties changed in the Assembly. Thus Danton, upon whose suggestion the original committee had been created, was not a member of the enlarged committee, reorganized after the expulsion of the Girondists. He was dropped because he censured the acts of June 2, and his enemy Robespierre became the leading member. At first this committee was charged simply with the management of foreign affairs and of the army, but in the end it became practically omnipotent, directing the state as no single despot had ever done, intervening in every department of the nation's affairs, even holding the Convention itself, of which in theory it was the creature, in stern and terrified subjection to itself. Installing itself in the palace of the Tuileries, in the former royal apartments, it developed a prodigious activity, framing endless decrees, tossing thousands of men to the guillotine, sending thousands upon thousands against the enemies of France, guiding, animating, tyrannizing ruthlessly a people which had taken such pains to declare itself free, only to find its fragile liberties, so resoundingly affirmed in the famous Declaration, ground to powder beneath this iron heel. No men ever worked harder in discharging an enormous mass of business of every kind than did the members of the Committee of Public Safety. Hour after hour, around a green table, they listened to reports, framed decrees, appointed officials. Sometimes overcome with weariness they threw themselves on mattresses spread upon the floor of their committee room, snatched two or three hours of sleep, then roused themselves to the racking work again. Under them was the Committee of General Security whose business was really police duty, maintaining order throughout the country, throwing multitudes of suspected persons into prison, whence they emerged only to encounter another redoubtable organ of this government, the Revolutionary Tribunal.

The Committee of General Security

This Tribunal had been created at Danton's suggestion. It was an extraordinary criminal court, instituted for the purpose of trying traitors and conspirators rapidly. No appeal could be taken from its decisions. Its sentences were always sentences of death. Later, when Robespierre dominated the Committee of Public Safety, the number of judges was increased and they were divided into four sections, all holding sessions at the same time. Appointed by the Committee, the Revolutionary Tribunal servilely carried out its orders. It acted with a rapidity that made a cruel farce of justice. A man might be informed at ten o'clock that he was to appear before the Revolutionary Tribunal at eleven. By two o'clock he was sentenced, by four he was executed.

The Revolutionary Tribunal

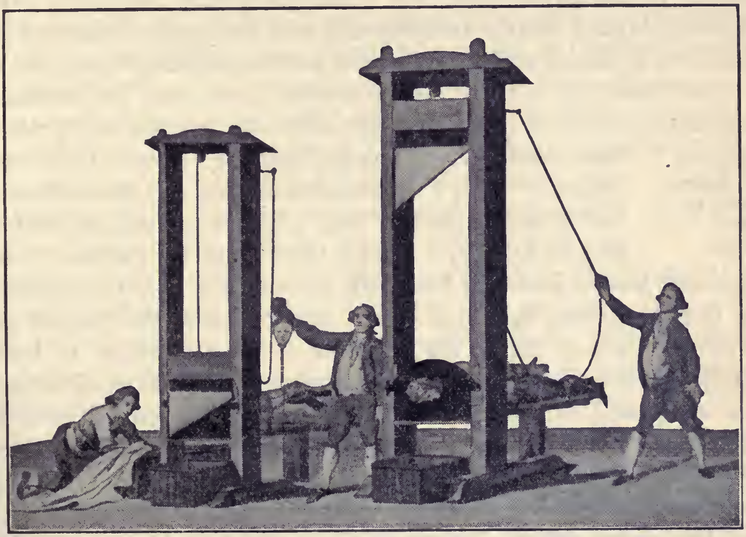
The Committee of Public Safety had another organ — the representatives on mission. These were members of the Convention sent, two to each department, and two to each army, to see that the will of the Convention was carried out. Their powers were practically unlimited. They could not themselves pronounce the sentence of death but a word from them was sufficient to send to the Revolutionary Tribunal any one who incurred their suspicion or displeasure.

Representatives on mission

There were other parts of this governmental machinery, wheels within wheels, revolutionary clubs, affiliated with the Jacobin Club in Paris, revolutionary committees of surveillance. Through them the will of the great Committee of Public Safety penetrated to the tiniest hamlet, to the remotest corner of the land. The Republic was held tight in this closely-woven mesh.

This machinery was created to meet a national need, of the most pressing character. The country was in danger, in direst danger, of submersion under a flood of invasion; also in danger of disruption from within. The authors of this system were originally men who appreciated the critical situation, who grasped facts as they were, who were resolute to put down every foreign and domestic enemy, and who thrilled the people with their appeals to boundless, self-sacrificing patriotism. Had this machinery been used in the way and for the purpose intended, it is not likely that it would have enjoyed the dismal, repellent reputation with posterity which it has enjoyed. France would have willingly endured and sanctioned a direct and strong government, ruthlessly subordinating personal happiness and even personal security to the needs of national welfare. No cause could be higher, and none makes a wider or surer appeal to men. But the system was not restricted to this end. It was applied to satisfy personal and party intrigues and rancors, it was used to further the ambitions of individuals, it was crassly distorted and debased. The system did not spring full blown from the mind of any man or any group. It grew piece by piece, now this item being added, now that. Those who fashioned it believed that only by appealing to or arousing one of the emotions of men, fear, could the government get their complete and energetic support. The success of

Purpose of this governmental machinery



THE GUILLOTINE
After a contemporary drawing.

A system based on fear

the Revolution could not be assured simply by love or admiration of its principles and its deeds — that was proved by events, the difficulties had only increased. There were too many persons who hated the Revolution. But even these had an emotion that could be touched, the sense of fear, horror, dread. That, too, is a powerful incentive to action. "Let terror be the order of the day," such was the official philosophy of the creators of this government, and it has given their system its name. Punish disloyalty swiftly and pitilessly and you create loyalty, if not from love, at least from fear, which will prove a passable substitute!

Activity of the Committee of Public Safety

The Committee of Public Safety and the Convention lost no time in striking a fast pace. To meet the needs of the war a general call for troops was issued. Seven hundred and fifty thousand men were secured. "What we need is audacity, and more audacity, and always audacity" was a phrase epitomizing this aspect of history, a phrase thrown out by Danton, a man who knew how to sound the bugle call, knew how to mint the passion of the hour in striking form and give it the impress of his dynamic personality. Carnot, one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety, performed herculean feats in getting this enormous mass of men equipped, disciplined, and officered. A dozen armies were the result and they were hurled in every direction at the enemies of France. Representatives of the Convention accompanied each general, demanding victory of him or letting him know that his head would fall if victory were not forthcoming. Some failed, even under this terrific incentive, this literal choice between victory or death, and they went to the scaffold. It was an inhuman punishment but it had tremendous effects, inspiring desperate energy. The armies made superhuman efforts and were wonderfully successful. A group of fearless, reckless, and thoroughly competent commanders emerged rapidly from the ranks. We shall shortly observe the reaction of these triumphant campaigns upon the domestic political situation.

Great citizen armies raised

While this terrific effort to hurl back the invaders of France was going on, the Committee of Public Safety was engaged in a lynx-eyed, comprehensive campaign at home against all domestic enemies or persons accused of being such. By the famous law of "suspects," every one in France was brought within its iron grip. This law was so loosely and vaguely worded, it indicated so many classes of individuals, that under its provisions practically any one in France

The law of "suspects"

could be arrested and sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal. All were guilty of treason, and punishable with death, who "having done nothing against liberty have nevertheless done nothing for it." No guilty, and also no innocent, man could be sure of escaping so elastic a law, or, if arrested, could expect justice from a court which ignored the usual forms of law, which, ultimately, deprived prisoners of the right to counsel, and which condemned them in batches. Yet the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which had seemed a new evangel to an optimistic world, had stated that henceforth no one should be arrested or imprisoned except in cases determined by law and according to the forms of law.

Terror the order of the day

A tree is judged by its fruits. Consider the results in this case. In every city, town, and hamlet of France arrests of suspected persons were made *en masse*, and judgment and execution were rendered in almost the same summary and comprehensive fashion. Only a few instances can be selected from this calendar of crime. The city of Lyons had sprung to the defense of the Girondists after their expulsion from the Convention on June 2. It took four months and a half and a considerable army to put down the opposition of this, the second city of France. When this was accomplished the Convention passed a fierce decree: "The city of Lyons is to be destroyed. Every house which was inhabited by the rich shall be demolished. There will remain only the homes of the poor, of patriots, and buildings especially employed for industries, and those edifices dedicated to humanity and to education." The name of this famous city was to be obliterated. It was henceforth to be known as the Liberated City (*Commune affranchie*). This savage sentence was not carried out, demolition on so large a scale not being easy. Only a few buildings were blown to pieces. But over 3,500 persons were arrested and nearly half of them were executed. The authorities began by shooting each one individually. The last were mowed down in batches by cannon or musketry fire. Similar scenes were enacted, though not on so extensive a scale, in Toulon and Marseilles.

Treatment of Lyons

Treatment of the Vendée

It was for the Vendée that the worst ferocities were reserved. The Vendée had been in rebellion against the Republic, and in the interest of counter-revolution. The people had been angered by the laws against the priests. Moreover the people of that section refused to fight in the Republic's armies. It was entirely legitimate for the government to crush this rebellion and it did so after an indescribably cruel war, in which neither side gave quarter. Carrier, the representative on mission sent out by the Convention, established a gruesome record for barbarity. He did not adopt the method followed by the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris which at least pretended to try the accused before sentencing them to death. This was too slow a process. Prisoners were shot in squads, nearly 2,000 of them. Drowning was resorted to. Carrier's victims were bound, put in boats, and the boats then sunk in the river Loire. Women and children were among the number. Even the Committee of Public Safety was shocked at Carrier's fiendish ingenuity and demanded an explanation. He had the insolence to pretend that the drownings were accidental. "Is it my fault that the boats did not reach their destination?" he asked. The number of bodies in the river was so great that the water was poisoned and for that reason the city government of Nantes forbade the eating of fish. Carrier was later removed by the Committee, but was not further punished by it, though ultimately he found his way to the guillotine.

Activities of the Revolutionary Tribunal

Meanwhile at Paris the Revolutionary Tribunal was daily sending its victims to the guillotine, after trials which were travesties of justice. Guillotines were erected in two of the public squares and each day saw its executions. Week after week went by, and head after head dropped into the insatiable basket. Many of the victims were *émigrés* or non-juring priests who had come back to France, others were generals who had failed of the indispensable victory and had been denounced as traitors. Others still were persons who had favored the Revolution at an earlier stage and had worked for it, but who had later been on the losing side in the fierce party contests which had rent the Convention. Nowadays political struggles lead to the overthrow of ministers. But in France, as in Renaissance Italy, they led to the death of the defeated party, or at least of its leaders. As the blood-madness grew in intensity, it was voted by the Convention, in order to speed up the murderous pace, that the Revolutionary Tribunal after hearing a case for three days might then decide it without further examination if it considered "its conscience sufficiently enlightened."

The Girondists were conspicuous victims. Twenty-one of them were guillotined on October 31, 1793, among them Madame Roland, who went to the scaffold "fresh, calm, smiling," according to a friend who saw her go. She had regretted that she "had not been born a Spartan or a Roman," a superfluous regret, as was shown by the manner of her death, "at only thirty-nine," words with which she closed the passionate *Memoirs* she wrote while in prison. Mounting the scaffold she caught sight of a statue of liberty. "O Liberty, how they've played with you!" she exclaimed.

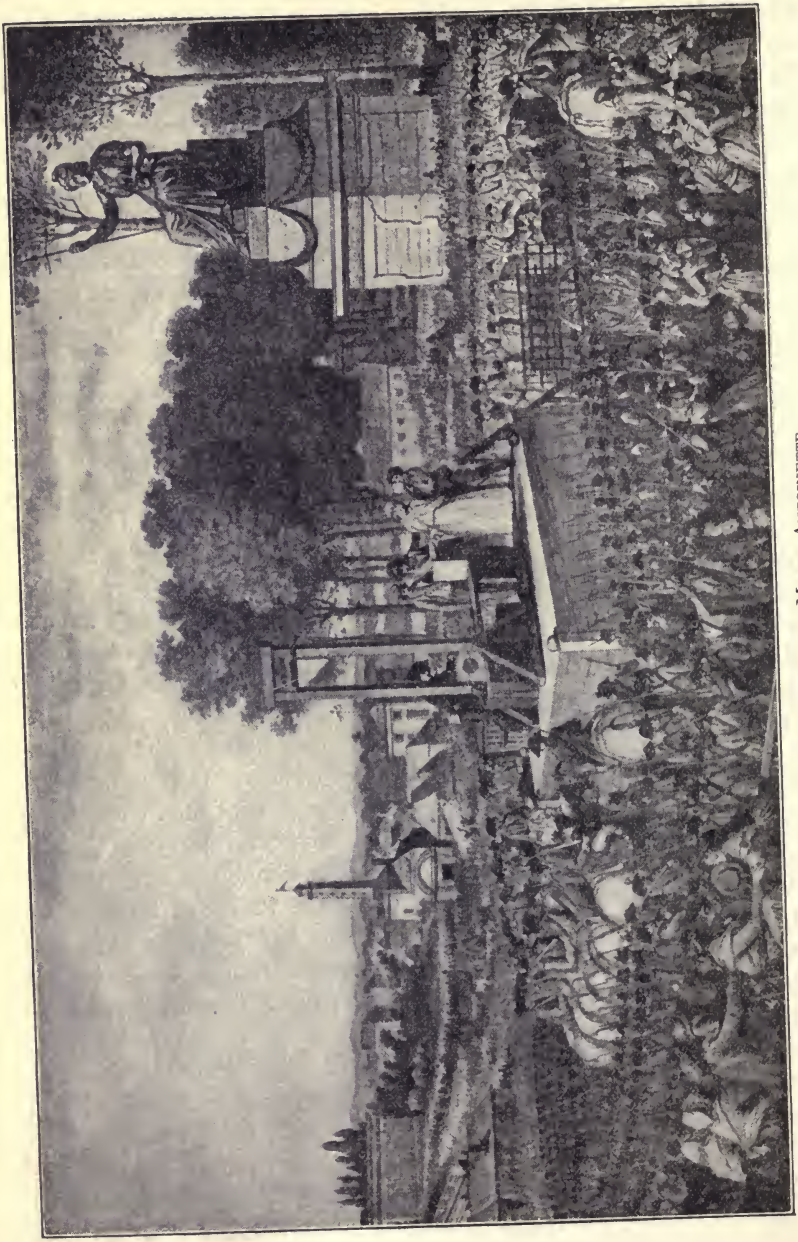
The execution of the Girondist leaders

She had been preceded some days before by Marie Antoinette, the daughter of an empress, the wife of a king, child of fortune and of misfortune beyond compare. The Queen had been subjected to an obscene trial, accused of indescribable vileness, the corruption of her son. "If I have not answered," she cried, "it is because nature herself rejects such a charge made against a mother: I appeal to all who are here." This woman's cry so moved the audience to sympathy that the officials cut the trial short, allowing the lawyers only fifteen minutes to finish. The Queen bore herself courageously. She did not flinch. She was brave to the end. Marie Antoinette has never ceased to command the sympathy of posterity, as her tragic story and the fall to which her errors partly led and the proud and noble courage with which she met her mournful fate have never ceased to move its pity and respect. She stands in history as one of its most melancholy figures.

The execution of Marie Antoinette (October 16, 1793)

Charlotte Corday, a Norman girl, who had stabbed the notorious Marat to death, thinking thus to free her country, paid the penalty with serenity and dignity. All through these months men witnessed a tragic procession up the scaffold's steps of those who were great by position or character or service or reputation; Bailly, celebrated as an astronomer and as the Mayor of Paris in the early Revolution; the Duke of Orleans, who had played a shameless part in the Revolution, having been demagogue enough to discard his name and call himself Philip Equality, and having infamously voted, as a member of the Convention, for the death of his cousin, Louis XVI; Barnave, next to Mirabeau one of the most brilliant leaders of the Constituent Assembly; and so it went, daily executions in Paris and still others in the provinces. Some fleeing the terror that walked by day and night, caught at bay, committed suicide, like Cordorcet, last of the philosophers, and gifted theorist of the Republic. Still others wandered through the countryside haggard, gaunt, and were finally shot down, as

The Reign of Terror



THE EXECUTION OF MARIE ANTOINETTE
After a drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

beasts of the field. Yet all this did not constitute "the Great Terror," as it was called. That came later.

Thus far there was at least a semblance or pretense of punishing the enemies of the Republic, the enemies of France. But now these odious methods were to be used as means of destroying political and personal enemies. Politics assumed the character and risks of war.

The Commune versus the Convention

We have seen that since August 10, 1792, there were two powers in the state, the Commune or Government of Paris and the Convention or Government of France, now directed by the Committee of Public Safety. These two had in the main coöperated thus far, overthrowing the monarchy, overthrowing the Girondists. But now dissension raised its head and harmony was no more. The Commune was in the control of the most violent party that the Revolution had developed. Its leaders were Hébert and Chaumette. Hébert conducted a journal, the *Père Duchesne*, which was both obscene and profane and which was widely read in Paris by the lowest classes. Hébert and Chaumette reigned in the City Hall, drew their strength from the rabble of the streets which they knew how to incite and hurl at their enemies. They were ultra-radicals, audacious, truculent. They constantly demanded new and redoubled applications of terror. For a while they dominated the Convention. Carrier, one of the Convention's representatives on mission, was really a tool of the Commune.

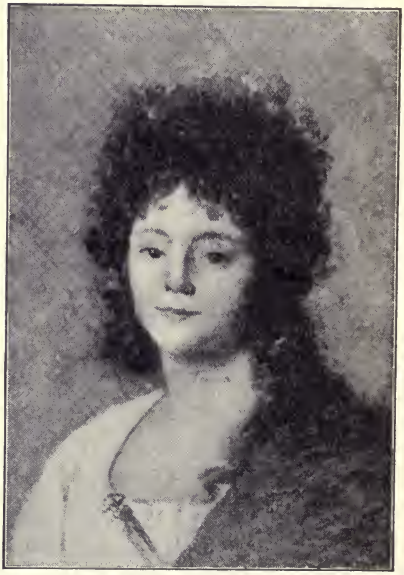
The extreme radicalism of the Commune

Attempted dechristianization of France

It was the Commune which now forced the Convention to attempt the dechristianization of France. For this purpose a new calendar was desired, a calendar that should discard Sundays, saints' days, religious festivals, and set up novel and entirely secular divisions of time. Henceforth the month was to be divided not into weeks, but into decades or periods of ten days. Every tenth day was to be the rest day. The days of the months were changed to indicate natural phenomena, July becoming Thermidor, or period of heat; April becoming Germinal, or budding time; November becoming Brumaire, or period of fogs. Henceforth men were to date, not from the birth of Christ, but from the birth of Liberty. The Year One of Liberty began September 21, 1792. The world was young again. The day was divided into ten hours, not twenty-four, and the ten were subdivided and subdivided into smaller units. This calendar was made obligatory. But great was the havoc created

A republican calendar

by the new chronology. Parents were required to instruct their children in the new method of reckoning time. But the parents had been brought up on the old system and experienced much difficulty in telling what time of day it was according to the new terminology. Watchmakers were driven to add another circle to the faces of their watches. One circle carried the familiar set of figures, the other carried the new. Thus was one difficulty partially conjured away. The new calendar lasted twelve years. It was frankly and intentionally anti-Christian. The Christian era was repudiated.



Mlle. Maillard, "Goddess of Reason"
After the painting by Garneray.

Campaign against "superstition"

More important was the attempt to improvise a new religion. Reason was henceforth to be worshipped, no longer the Christian God. A beginning was made in the campaign for dechristianization by removing the bells from the churches, "the Eternal's gewgaws," they were called, and by making cannon and coin out of them. Death was declared to be "but an eternal sleep" — thus Heaven, and Hell as well, was abolished. There was a demand that church spires be torn down "as by their domination over other buildings, they seem to violate the principle of equality," and many were consequently sacrificed. This sorry business reached its climax in the formal establishment by the Commune of Paris of the Worship of Reason. On November 10, 1793, the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame was converted into a "Temple of Reason." The ceremony of that day has been famous for a century and its fame may last another. A dancer from the opera, wearing the three colors of the republic, sat, as the Goddess of Reason, upon the Altar of Liberty, where formerly the Holy Virgin had been enthroned, and received the homage of her devotees. After this many other churches in Paris, and even in

The Worship of Reason

the provinces, were changed into Temples of Reason. The sacred vessels used in Catholic services were burned or melted down. In some cases the stone saints that ornamented, or at least diversified, the façades of churches, were thrown down and broken or burned. At Nôtre Dame in Paris they were boarded over, and thus preserved for a period when their contamination would not be feared or felt. Every tenth day services were held. They might take the form of philosophical or political discourses, or the form of popular banquets or balls.

Robespierre opposes the Hébertists

The proclamation of this Worship of Reason was the high-water mark in the fortunes of the Commune. The Convention had been compelled to yield, the Committee of Public Safety to acquiesce in conduct of which it did not approve. Robespierre was irritated, partly because he had a religion of his own which he preferred and which he wished in time to bring forward and impose upon France, partly because as a member of the great Committee he resented the existence of a rival so powerful as the Commune. The Hébertists had shot their bolt. Robespierre now shot his. In a carefully prepared speech he declared that "Atheism is aristocratic. The idea of a Supreme Being who watches over oppressed innocence and who punishes triumphant crime, is thoroughly democratic." He furtively urged on all attacks upon the blasphemous Commune, as when Danton declared, "These anti-religious masquerades in the Convention must cease."

Robespierre opposes the Dantonists

But Robespierre was the secret enemy of Danton as well, though for a very different reason. The Commune stood for the Terror in all its forms and demanded that it be maintained in all its vigor. On the other hand Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and their friends, ardent supporters of the Terror as long as it was necessary, believed that now the need for it had passed and wished its rigor mitigated and the system gradually abandoned. The armies of the Republic were everywhere successful, the invaders had been driven back, and domestic insurrections had been stamped out. Sick at heart of bloodshed now that it was no longer required, the Dantonists began to recommend clemency to the Convention.

The Committee of Public Safety was opposed to both these factions, the Hébertists and the Dantonists, and Robespierre was at the center of an intrigue to ruin both. The description of the machinations and manoeuvres which went on in the Convention cannot be undertaken here. To make them clear would require much space. It must suffice to say that first the Committee directed all its powers against the Commune and dared on March 13, 1794, to order the arrest of Hébert and his friends. Eleven days later they were guillotined. The rivalry of the Commune was over. The Convention was supreme. But the Committee had no desire to bring the Terror to an end. Several of its members saw their own doom in any lessening of its severity. Looking out for their own heads, they therefore resolved to kill Danton, as the representative of the dangerous policy of moderation. This man who had personified as no one else had done the national temper in its crusade against the allied monarchs, who had been the very central pillar of the state in a terrible crisis, who, when France was for a moment discouraged, had nerved her to new effort by the electrifying cry, "We must dare and dare again and dare without end," now fell a victim to the wretched and frenzied internecine struggles of the politicians because, now that the danger was over, he advocated, with his vastly heightened prestige, a return to moderation and conciliation. Terror as a means of annihilating his country's enemies he approved. Terror as a means of oppressing his fellow-countrymen, the crisis once passed, he deplored and tried to stop. He failed. The wheel was tearing around too rapidly. He was one of the tempestuous victims of the Terror. When he pleaded for peace, for a cessation of sanguinary and ferocious partisan politics, his rivals turned venomously, murderously against him. Conscious of his patriotism he did not believe that they would dare to strike him. A friend entered his study as he was sitting before the fire in revery and told him that the Committee of Public Safety had ordered his arrest. "Well, then, what then?" said Danton. "You must resist." "That means the shedding of blood, and I am sick of it. I would rather be guillotined than guillotine," he replied. He was urged to fly. "Whither fly?" he answered. "You do not carry your country on the sole of your shoe," and he muttered, "They will not dare, they will not dare."

The overthrow of the Commune

Danton advocates a return to moderate policies

But they did dare. The next day he was in prison. In prison he was heard to say, "A year ago I proposed the establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal. I ask pardon for it, of God and man." And again, "I leave everything in frightful confusion; not one of them understands anything of government. Robespierre will follow me. I drag down Robespierre. One had better be a poor fisherman than meddle with the governing of men." On the scaf-

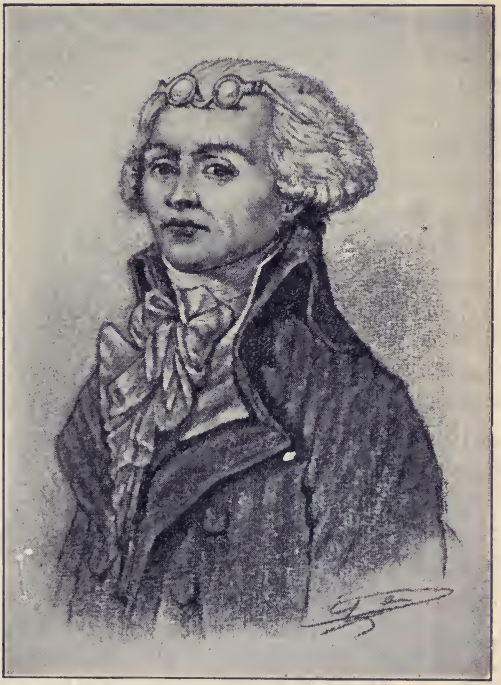
Arrest and execution of Danton

fold he exclaimed, "Danton, no weakness!" His last words were addressed to the executioner. "Show my head to the people; it is worth showing."

Robespierre dictator

The fall of Danton left Robespierre the most conspicuous person on the scene, the most influential member of the Convention and of the Committee of Public Safety. He was master of the Jacobins. The Commune was filled with his friends, anxious to do his bidding. The Revolutionary Tribunal was controlled and operated by his followers. For nearly four months, from April 5 to July 27, he was practically dictator.

A very singular despot for a people like the French. His qualities were not those which have characterized the leaders or the masses of that nation. The most authoritative French historian of this period, Aulard, notes this fact. As a politician Robespierre was "astute, mysterious, undecipherable." "What we see of his soul is most repellent to our French instincts of frankness and loyalty. Robespierre was a hypocrite and he erected hypocrisy into a system of government."



ROBESPIERRE
After a contemporary sketch attributed to Gérard.

Character of Robespierre

He had begun as a small provincial lawyer. He fed upon Rousseau, and was the narrow and anemic embodiment of Rousseau's ideas. He had made his reputation at the Jacobin Club, where he delivered speeches carefully retouched and finished, abounding in platitudes that pleased, entirely lacking in the fire, the dash, the stirring, impromptu phrases of a Mirabeau or a Danton. His style was correct, mediocre, thin, formal, academic. "Virtue" was his stock in trade and he made virtue odious by his everlasting talk of it, by his smug assumption of moral superiority, approaching even the hazardous pretension to perfection. He was forever singing his own praises with a lamentable lack of humor and of taste. "I have never bowed beneath the yoke of baseness and corruption," he said. He won the title of "The Incorruptible."

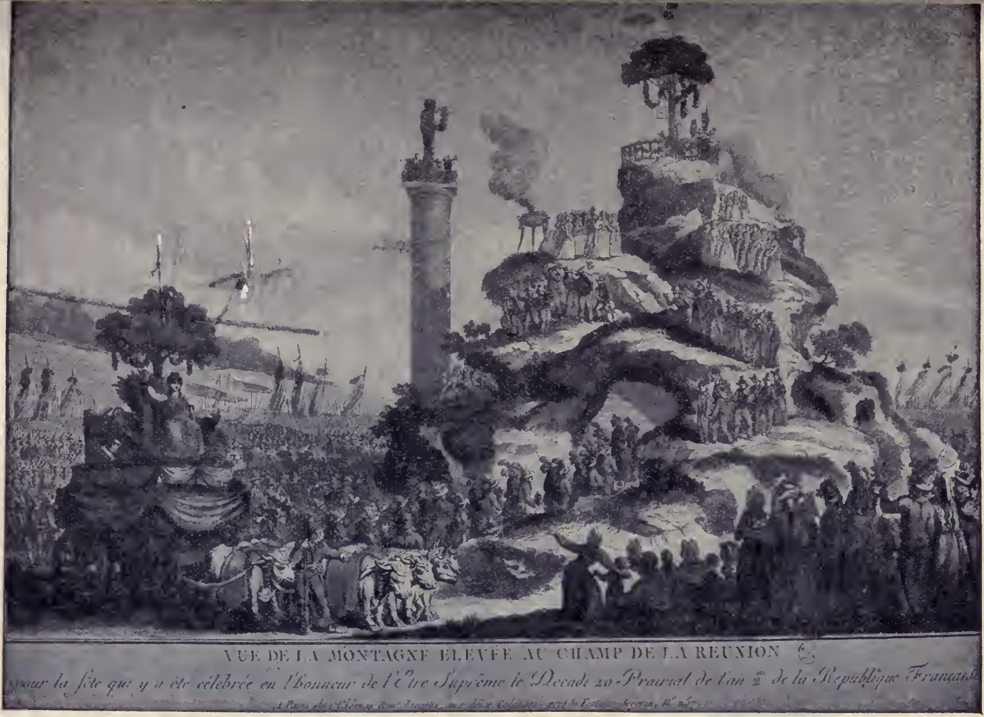
As a politician his policy had been to use up his enemies, and every rival was an enemy, by suggesting vaguely but opportunely that they were impure, corrupt, immoral, and by setting the springs in motion that landed them on the scaffold. He had himself stepped softly, warily, past the ambushes that lay in wait for the careless or the impetuous. By such processes he had survived and was now the man of the hour, immensely popular with the masses, and feared by those who disliked him. How would he use his power, his opportunity?

The "Reign of Virtue"

He used it, not to bring peace to a sadly distracted country, not to heal the wounds, not to clinch the work of the Revolution, but to attempt to force a great nation to enact into legislation the ideas of a highly sentimental philosopher, Rousseau. It was to be a Reign of Virtue. Robespierre's ambition was to make virtue triumphant, a laudable purpose, if the definition of virtue be satisfactory and the methods for bringing about her reign honorable and humane. But in this case they were not.

The Worship of the Supreme Being

Robespierre stands revealed, as he also stands condemned, by the two acts associated with his career as dictator, the proclamation of a new religion and the Law of Prairial altering for the worse the already monstrous Revolutionary Tribunal. Robespierre had once said in public, "If God did not exist we should have to invent Him." Fortunately for a man of such poverty of thought as he, he did not have to resort to invention but found God already invented by his idolized Rousseau. He devoted his attention to getting the Convention to give official sanction to Rousseau's ideas concerning the Deity. The Convention at his instigation formally recognized "the existence of the Supreme Being and the Immortality of the Soul." On June 8, a festival was held in honor of the new religion, quite as famous, in its way, as the ceremonies connected with the inauguration, a few months before, of the Worship of Reason. It was a wondrous spectacle, staged by the master hand of the artist David. A vast



VUE DE LA MONTAGNE ELEVÉE AU CHAMP DE LA REUNION
pour la fête qui y a été célébrée en l'honneur de l'Etre Suprême le Decadi 20 Prairial de l'an 2e de la Republique Française

A REPRESENTATION OF THE MOUNTAIN ERECTED OVER THE ALTAR TO THE FATHERLAND ON THE CHAMP DE MARS, AND OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION MARCHING UP TO THE SUMMIT AT THE FÊTE TO THE SUPREME BEING, JUNE 8, 1794

From E. F. Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution.*

amphitheater was erected in the gardens of the Tuileries. Thither marched the members of the Convention in solemn procession, carrying flowers and sheaves of grain, Robespierre at the head, for he was president that day and played the pontiff, a part which suited him. He set fire to colossal figures, symbolizing Atheism and Vice, and then floated forth upon a long rhapsody. "Here," he cried from the platform, "is the Universe assembled. O Nature, how sublime, how exquisite, thy power! How tyrants will pale at the tidings of our feast!" A hundred thousand voices chanted a sacred hymn which had been composed for the occasion and for which they had been training for a week. Robespierre stood the cynosure of all eyes, at the very summit of ambition, receiving boundless admiration as he thus inaugurated the new worship of the Supreme Being, and breathed the intoxicating incense that arose. Profound was the irony of this scene, the incredible culmination of a century of skepticism. Some ungodly persons made merry over this mummery, indulging in indiscreet gibes at "The Incorruptible's" expense. The power of sarcasm was not yet dead in France, as this man who never smiled now learned.

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Aubert

Card of Admission to the Festival of the Supreme Being

Robespierre Supreme Pontiff

Two days later Robespierre caused a bill to be introduced into the Convention which showed that this delicate hand could brandish daggers as well as carry flowers and shocks of corn. The irreverent, the dangerous, must be swept like chaff into the burning pit. This bill, which became the Law of 22d Prairial, made the procedure of the Revolutionary Tribunal more murderous still. The accused were deprived of counsel. Witnesses need not be heard in cases where the prosecutor could adduce any material or "moral" proof. Any kind of opposition to the government was made punishable with death. The question of guilt was left to the "enlightened conscience" of the jury. The jury was purged of all members who were supposed to be lukewarm toward Robespierre. The accused might be sent before this packed and servile court either by the Convention, or by the Committee

The Law of Prairial

of Public Safety, or by the Committee of General Security, or by the public prosecutor alone. In other words, any life in France was at the mercy of this latter official, Fouquier-Tinville, a tool of Robespierre. The members of the Convention itself were no safer than others, nor were the members of the great Committee, if they incurred the displeasure of the dictator.

The Great Terror

Now began what is called the Great Terror, as if to distinguish it from what had preceded. In the thirteen months which had preceded the 22d of Prairial 1,200 persons had been guillotined in Paris. In the forty-nine days between that date and the fall of Robespierre, on the 9th of Thermidor, 1,376 were guillotined. On two days alone, namely the 7th and 8th of July, 150 persons were executed. Day after day the butchery went on.

It brought about the fall of Robespierre. This hideous measure united his enemies, those who feared him because they stood for clemency, and those who feared him because, though Terrorists themselves, they knew that he had marked them for destruction. They could lose no more by opposing him than by acquiescing, and if they could overthrow him they would gain the safety of their heads. Thus in desperation and in terror was woven a conspiracy — not to end the Terror, but to end Robespierre.

The arrest of Robespierre

The storm broke on July 27, 1794 (the 9th of Thermidor). When Robespierre attempted to speak in the Convention, which had cowered under him and at his demand had indelibly debased itself by passing the infamous law of Prairial, he was shouted down. Cries of "Down with the tyrant!" were heard. Attempting to arouse the people in the galleries, he this time met with no response. The magic was gone. There was a confused, noisy struggle, lasting several hours. Robespierre's voice failed him. "Danton's blood is choking him!" exclaimed one of the conspirators. Finally the Convention voted his arrest and that of his satellites, his brother, Saint-Just, and Couthon.

All was not yet lost. The Revolutionary Tribunal was devoted to Robespierre and, if tried, there was an excellent chance that he would be acquitted. The Commune likewise was favorable to him. It took the initiative. It announced an insurrection. Its agents broke into his prison, released him, and bore him to the City Hall. Thereupon the Convention, hearing of this act of rebellion, declared him and his associates outlaws. No trial therefore was necessary. As soon as re-arrested he would be guillotined. During the evening and early hours of the night a confused attempt to organize an attack against the Convention went on. But a little before midnight a drenching storm dispersed his thousands of supporters in the square. Moreover Robespierre hesitated, lacked the spirit of decision and daring. The whole matter was ended by the Convention sending troops against the Commune. At two in the morning these troops seized the Hôtel de Ville and arrested Robespierre and the leading members of the Commune. Robespierre had been wounded in the fray, his jaw fractured by a bullet.

Overthrow and execution of Robespierre

He was borne to the Convention, which declined to receive him. "The Convention unanimously refused to let him be brought into the sanctuary of the law which he had so long polluted," so ran the official report of this session. That day he and twenty others were sent to the guillotine. An enormous throng witnessed the scene and broke into wild acclaim. On the two following days eighty-three more executions took place.

The Thermidorian reaction

France breathed more freely. The worst, evidently, was over. In the succeeding months the system of the Terror was gradually abandoned. This is what is called the Thermidorian reaction. The various branches of the terrible machine of government were either destroyed or greatly altered. A milder régime began. The storm did not subside at once, but it subsided steadily, though not without several violent shocks, several attempts on the part of the dwindling Jacobins to recover their former position by again letting loose the street mobs. The policy of the Convention came to be summed up in the cry "Death to the Terror and to Monarchy!" The Convention was now controlled by the moderates but it was unanimously republican. Signs that a monarchical party was reappearing, demanding the restoration of the Bourbons, but not of the Old Régime, prompted the Convention to counter-measures designed to strengthen and perpetuate the Republic.

To accomplish this and thus prevent the relapse into monarchy, the Convention drew up a new constitution, the third in six years. Though the radicals of Paris demanded vociferously that the suspended Constitution of 1793 be now put into force, the Convention refused, finding it too "anarchical" a document. Instead, it framed the Constitution of 1795 or of the Year Three. Universal suffrage was abandoned, the motive being to reduce the political importance of the Parisian populace. Democracy, established on August 10, 1792, was replaced by a suffrage based upon property. There was practically no protest. The example of the American states was quoted, none of which at that time admitted universal suffrage. The suffrage became practically what it had been under the monarchical Constitution of 1791. The national legislature was henceforth to consist of two chambers, not one, as had its predecessors. The example of America was again cited. "Nearly all the constitutions of these states," said one member, "our seniors in the cause of liberty, have divided the legislature into two chambers; and the result has been public tranquillity." It was, however, chiefly the experience which France had herself had with single-chambered legislatures during the last few years that caused her to abandon that form. One of the chambers was to be called the Council of Elders. This was to consist of 250 members, who must be at least forty years of age, and be either married or widowers. The other, the Council of the Five Hundred, was to consist of members of at least thirty years of age. This council alone was to have the right to propose laws, which could, however, not be put into force unless accepted by the Council of Elders.

The Constitution of 1795

Provides for a legislature of two houses

The executive power was to be exercised by a Directory, consisting of five persons, of at least forty years of age, elected by the Councils, one retiring each year. The example of America was again recommended but was not followed because the Convention feared that a single executive, a president, might remind the French too sharply of monarchy or might become a new Robespierre.

The Directory

The Constitution of 1795 was eminently the result of experience, not of abstract theorizing. It established a *bourgeois* republic, as the Constitution of 1791 had established a *bourgeois* monarchy. The Republic was in the hands, therefore, of a privileged class, property being the privilege.

The Republic no longer democratic

But the Convention either did not wish or did not dare to trust the voters to elect whom they might desire to the new Councils. Was there not danger that they might elect monarchists and so hand over the new republican constitution to its enemies? Would the members of the Convention, who enjoyed power, who did not wish to step down and out, and yet who knew that they were unpopular because of the record of the Convention, stand any chance of election to the new legislature? Yet the habit of power was agreeable to them. Would the Republic be safe? Was it not their first duty to provide that it should not fall into hostile hands?

The decrees of the two-thirds

Under the influence of such considerations the Convention passed two decrees, supplementary to the constitution, providing that two-thirds of each Council should be chosen from the present members of the Convention.

The constitution was overwhelmingly approved by the voters to whom it was submitted for ratification. But the two decrees aroused decided opposition. They were represented as a barefaced device whereby men who knew themselves unpopular could keep themselves in power for a while longer. Although the decrees were finally ratified, it was by much smaller majorities than had ratified the constitution. The vote of Paris was overwhelmingly against them.

Opposition to the decrees

Nor did Paris remain contented with casting a hostile vote. It proposed to prevent this consummation. An insurrection was organized against the Convention, this time by the bourgeois and wealthier people, in reality a royalist project. The Convention intrusted its defense to Barras as commander-in-chief. Barras, who was more a politician than a general, called to his aid a little Corsican officer twenty-five years old who, two years before, had helped recover Toulon for the Republic. This little Buona-Parte, for this is the form in which the famous name appears in the official report of the day, was an artillery officer, a believer in the efficacy of that weapon. Hearing that there were forty cannon in a camp outside the city in danger of being seized by the insurgents, Bonaparte sent a young dare-devil cavalryman, Joachim Murat, to get them. Murat and his men dashed at full speed through the city, drove back the insurgents, seized the cannon and dragged them, always at full speed, to the Tuileries, which they reached by six o'clock in the morning. As one writer has said, "Neither the little general nor the superb cavalier dreamed that, in giving Barras cannon to be used against royalists, each was winning a crown for himself."

The cannon were placed about the Tuileries, where sat the Convention, rendering it impregnable. Every member of the Convention was given a rifle and cartridges. On the 13th of Vendémiaire (October 5)

The insurrection of 13th Vendémiaire, (October 5, 1795)

on came the insurgents in two columns, down the streets on both sides of the Seine. Suddenly at four-thirty in the afternoon a violent cannonading was heard. It was Bonaparte making his début. The Convention was saved and an astounding career was begun. This is what Carlyle, in his vivid way, calls "the whiff of grapeshot which ends what we specifically call the French Revolution," an imaginative and inaccurate statement. Though it did not end the Revolution, it did, however, end one phase of it and inaugurated another.

The Convention comes to an end

Its record of victories

Three weeks later, on October 26, 1795, the Convention declared itself dissolved. It had had an extraordinary history, only a few aspects of which have been described in this brief account. In the three years of its existence it had displayed prodigious activity along many lines. Meeting in the midst of appalling national difficulties born of internal dissension and foreign war, attacked by sixty departments of France and by an astoning array of foreign powers, England, Prussia, Austria, Piedmont, Holland, Spain, it had triumphed all along the line. Civil war had been stamped out and in the summer of 1795 three hostile states, Prussia, Holland, and Spain, made peace with France and withdrew from the war. France was actually in possession of the Austrian Netherlands and of the German provinces on the west bank of the Rhine. She had practically attained the so-called natural boundaries. War still continued with Austria and England. That problem was passed on to the Directory.

The Convention and the Republic

During these three years the Convention had proclaimed the Republic in the classic land of monarchy, had voted two constitutions, had sanctioned two forms of worship and had finally separated church and state, a thing of extreme difficulty in any European country. It had put a king to death, had organized and endured a reign of tyranny, which long discredited the very idea of a republic among multitudes of the French, and which immeasurably weakened the Republic by cutting off so many men who, had they lived, would have been its natural and experienced defenders for a full generation longer, since most of them were young. The Republic used up its material recklessly, so that when the man arrived who wished to end it and establish his personal rule, this sallow Italian Buona-Parte, his task was comparatively easy, the opposition being leaderless or poorly led. On the other hand, the Republic had had its thrilling victories, its heroes, and its martyrs, whose careers and teachings were to be factors in the history of France for fully a century to come.

Peaceful achievements of the Convention

The Convention had also worked mightily and achieved much in the avenues of peaceful development. It had given France a system of weights and measures, more perfect than the world had ever seen, the metric system, since widely adopted by other countries. It had laid the foundations and done the preliminary work for a codification of the laws, an achievement which Napoleon was to carry to completion and of which he was to monopolize the renown. It devoted fruitful attention to the problem of national education, believing with Danton, that "next to bread, education is the first need of the people," and that there ought to be a national system, free, compulsory, and entirely secular. The time has come, said the eloquent tribune, to establish the great principle which appears to be ignored, "that children belong to the Republic before they belong to their parents." A great system of primary and secondary education was elaborated but it was not put into actual operation, owing to the lack of funds. On the other hand, much was done for certain special schools. Among the invaluable creations of the Convention were certain institutions whose fame has steadily increased, whose influence has been profound, the Normal School, the Polytechnic School, the Law and Medical Schools of Paris, the Conservatory of Arts and Crafts, the National Archives, the Museum of the Louvre, the National Library, and the Institute. While some of these had their roots in earlier institutions, all such were so reorganized and amplified and enriched as to make them practically new. To keep the balance of our judgment clear we should recall these imperishable services to civilization rendered by the same assembly which is more notorious because of its connection with the iniquitous Reign of Terror. The Republic had its glorious trophies, its honorable records, from which later times were to derive inspiration and instruction.

The metric system

The problem of popular education

Important educational institutions created

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CHAPTER VII

THE DIRECTORY

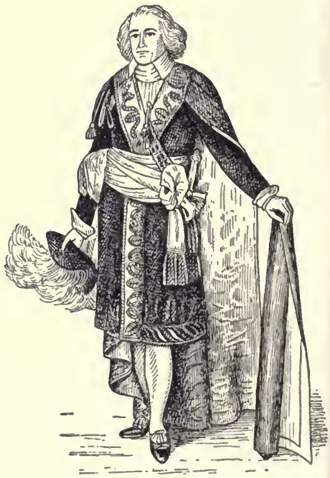
The Directory (1795–1799)

The Directory lasted from October 27, 1795, to November 19, 1799. It took its name from the form of the executive branch of the Republic, as determined by the Constitution of 1795. Its history of four years was troubled, uncertain, and ended in its violent overthrow.

Its first problem the prosecution of the war

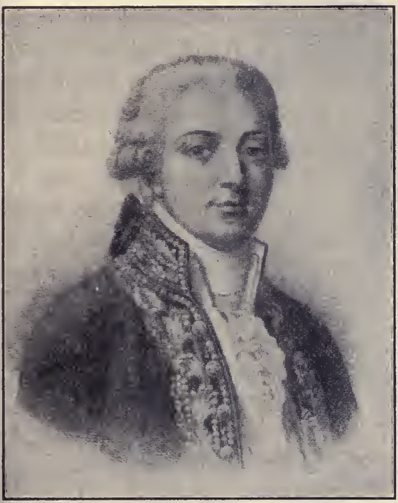
The campaign against Austria

Its first and most pressing problem was the continued prosecution of the war. As already stated, Prussia, Spain, and Holland had withdrawn from the coalition and had made peace with the Convention. But England, Austria, Piedmont, and the lesser German states were still in arms against the Republic. The first duty of the Directory was, therefore, to continue the war with them and to defeat them. France had already overrun the Austrian Netherlands, that is, modern Belgium, and had declared them annexed to France. But to compel Austria, the owner, to recognize this annexation she must be beaten. The Directory, therefore proceeded with vigor to concentrate its attention upon this object. As France had thrown back her invaders, the fighting was no longer on French soil. She now became the invader, and that long series of conquests of various European countries by aggressive French armies began, which was to end only twenty years later with the fall of the greatest commander of modern times, if not of all history. The campaign against Austria, planned by the Directory, included two parallel and aggressive movements against that



A Director in Official Costume
Redrawn after a sketch by Le Dru.

country — an attack through southern Germany, down the valley of the Danube, ending, it was hoped, at Vienna. This was the campaign north of the Alps. South of the Alps, in northern Italy, France had enemies in Piedmont or Sardinia and again in Austria, which had possession of the central and rich part of the Po valley, namely, Lombardy, with Milan as the capital.



CHARLES BONAPARTE
After the painting by Belliard, engraved by Read.

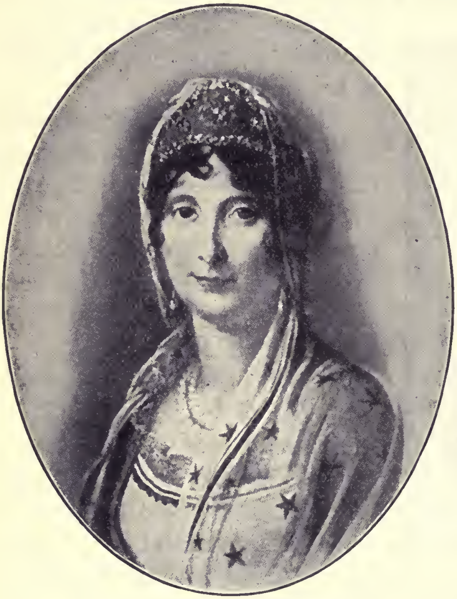
The campaign in Germany was confided to Jourdan and Moreau; that in Italy to General Bonaparte, who made of it a stepping-stone to fame and power incomparable.

Napoleon Bonaparte, an Italian by descent, a Corsican by birth, a Frenchman by nationality

Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio in Corsica in 1769, a short time after the island had been sold by Genoa to France. The family was of Italian origin but had for two centuries and a half been resident in the island. His father, Charles Bonaparte, was of the nobility but was poor, indolent, pleasure-loving, a lawyer by profession. His mother, Laetitia Ramolino, was a woman of great beauty, of remarkable will, of extraordinary energy. Poorly educated, this "mother of kings" was never able to speak the French language without ridiculous mistakes. She had thirteen children, eight of whom lived to grow up, five boys and three girls. The father died when the youngest, Jerome, was only three months old. Napoleon, the second son, was educated in French military schools at Brienne and Paris, as a sort of charity scholar. He was very unhappy, surrounded as he was by boys who looked down upon him because he was poor while they were rich, because his father was unimportant while theirs belonged to the noblest families in France, because he spoke French like the foreigner he was, Italian being his native tongue. In fact he was tormented in all the ways of which schoolboys are past masters. He became sullen, taciturn, lived

Napoleon educated at military schools in France

apart by himself, was unpopular with his fellows whom, in turn, he despised, conscious, as he was, of powers quite equal to any of theirs, of a spirit quite as high. His boyish letters home were remarkably serious, lucid, intelligent. He was excellent in mathematics, and was fond of history and geography. At the age of sixteen he left the military school and became a second lieutenant of artillery. One of his teachers described him at this time as follows: "Reserved and studious, he prefers study to amusement of any kind and enjoys reading the best authors; is diligent in the study of the abstract sciences, caring little for anything else. He is taciturn and loves solitude, is capricious, haughty, and excessively self-centered. He talks little but is quick and energetic in his replies, prompt and incisive in repartee. He has great self-esteem, is ambitious, with aspirations that will stop at nothing. Is worthy of patronage."



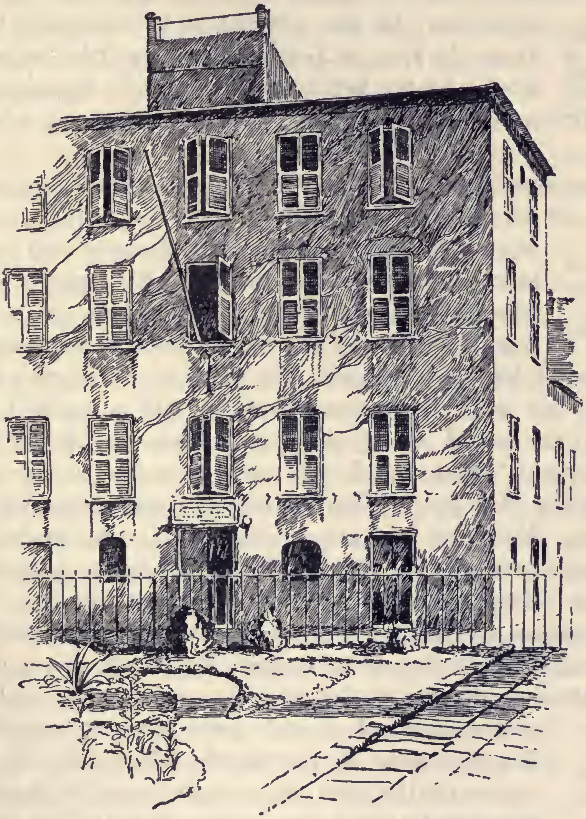
Laetitia Ramolino, Napoleon's Mother
From a painting in the Town Hall at Ajaccio.

"When I was a young lieutenant of artillery," later a favorite phrase with Napoleon

Young Bonaparte read the intoxicating literature of revolt of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, Turgot, particularly Rousseau. "Even when I had nothing to do," he said later, "I vaguely thought that I had no time to lose." As a young sub-lieutenant he had a wretchedly small salary. "I have no resources here but work," he wrote his mother. "I sleep very little. I go to bed at ten, I rise at four. I have only one meal a day, at three o'clock." He read history extensively, regarding it as "the torch of truth, the destroyer of prejudice." He tried his hand at writing, essays, novels, but particularly a history of Corsica, for at this time his great ambition was to be the historian of his native land. He hated

Desires to be an historian

France and dreamed of a war of independence for Corsica. He spent much time in Corsica, securing long furloughs, which, moreover, he overstayed. As a consequence he finally lost his position in the army which, though poorly salaried, still gave him a living. He returned to Paris in 1792, hoping to regain it, but the disturbed state of affairs was not propitious. Without a profession, without resources, he was almost penniless. He ate in cheap restaurants. He pawned his watch — and, as an idle but interested spectator, he witnessed some of the famous "days" of the Revolution, the



THE HOUSE AT AJACCIO IN WHICH NAPOLEON WAS BORN
From a drawing by F. Clementson.

A spectator of the Revolution

invasion of the Tuileries by the mob on the 20th of June, when Louis XVI was forced to wear the *bonnet rouge*, the attack of August 10 when he was deposed, the September Massacres. Bonaparte's opinion was that the soldiers should have shot a few hundred, then the crowd would have run. He was restored to his command in August, 1792. In 1793 he distinguished himself by helping recover Toulon for the Republic and in 1795 by defending the Convention against the insurrection of Vendémiaire, which was a lucky crisis for him.

Renders useful service to the Republic

Having conquered a Parisian mob, he was himself conquered by a woman. He fell madly in love with Josephine Beauharnais, a widow six years older than himself, whose husband had been guillotined a few days before the fall of Robespierre, leaving her poor and with two children. Josephine did not lose her heart but she was impressed, indeed half terrified, by the vehemence of Napoleon's passion, the intensity of his glance, and she yielded to his rapid, impetuous courtship, with a troubled but vivid sense that the future had great things in store for him. "Do they" (the Directors) "think that I need their protection in order to rise?" he had exclaimed to her. "They will be glad enough some day if I grant them mine. My sword is at my side and with it I can go far." "This preposterous assurance," wrote Josephine, "affects me to such a degree that I can believe everything may be possible to this man, and, with his imagination, who can tell what he may be tempted to undertake?"

Bonaparte marries Josephine Beauharnais

Two days before they were married Bonaparte was appointed to the command of the Army of Italy. His sword was at his side. He now unsheathed it and made some memorable passes. Two days after the marriage he left his bride in Paris and started for the front, in a mingled mood of desperation at the separation and of exultation that now his opportunity had come. Sending back passionate love-letters from every station, his spirit and his senses all on fire, feeling that he was on the very verge of achievement, he hastened on to meet the enemy and, as was quickly evident, "to tear the very heart out of glory." The wildness of Corsica, his native land, was in his blood, the land of fighters, the land of the vendetta, of concentrated passion, of lawless energy, of bravery beyond compare, concerning which Rousseau had written in happy prescience twenty years before, "I have a presentiment

Bonaparte appointed commander of the Army of Italy

A true son of Corsica

that this little island will some day astonish Europe." That day had come. The young eagle it had nourished was now preening for his flight, prepared to astonish the universe.

The difficulties in the way

The difficulties that confronted Bonaparte were numerous and notable. One was his youth and another was that he was unknown. The Army of Italy had been in the field three years. Its generals did not know their new commander. Some of them were older than he and had already made names for themselves. They resented this appointment of a junior, a man whose chief exploit had been a street fight in Paris. Nevertheless when this slender, round-shouldered, small, and sickly-looking young man appeared they saw instantly that they had a master. He was imperious, laconic, reserved with them. "It was necessary," he said afterward, "in order to command men so much older than myself." He was only five feet two inches tall but, said Masséna, "when he put on his general's hat he seemed to have grown two feet. He questioned us on the position of our divisions, on the spirit and effective force of each corps, prescribed the course we were to follow, announced that he would hold an inspection on the morrow, and on the day following attack the enemy." Augereau, a vulgar and famous old soldier, full of strange oaths and proud of his tall figure, was abusive, derisive, mutinous. He was admitted to the General's presence and passed an uneasy moment. "He frightened me," said Augereau, "his first glance crushed me. I cannot understand it."

Bonaparte's attitude toward his generals

It did not take these officers long to see that the young general meant business and that he knew very thoroughly the art of war. His speech was rapid, brief, incisive. He gave his orders succinctly and clearly and he let it be known that obedience was the order of the day. The cold reception quickly became enthusiastic coöperation.

Bonaparte and the soldiers

Bonaparte won ascendency over the soldiers with the same lightning rapidity. They had been long inactive, idling through meaningless manoeuvres. He announced immediate action. The response was instantaneous. He inspired confidence and he inspired enthusiasm. He took an army that was discouraged, that was in rags, even the officers being almost without shoes, an army on half rations. He issued a bulletin which imparted to them his own exaltation, his belief that the limits of the possible could easily be transcended, that it was all a matter of will. He got into their blood and they tingled with impatience and with hope. "There was so much of the future in him," is the way Marmont described the impression. "Soldiers," so ran this bulletin, "soldiers, you are ill-fed and almost naked; the government owes you much, it can give you nothing. Your patience, the courage which you exhibit in the midst of these crags, are worthy of all admiration; but they bring you no atom of glory; not a ray is reflected upon you. I will conduct you into the most fertile plains in the world. Rich provinces, great cities will be in your power; there you will find honor, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, can it be that you will be lacking in courage or perseverance?"

Bonaparte's bulletins to the army

Ardent images of a very mundane and material kind rose up before him and he saw to it that his soldiers shared them. By portraying very earthly visions of felicity Mahomet, centuries before, had stirred the Oriental zeal of his followers to marvelous effort and achievement. Bonaparte took suggestions from Mahomet on more than one occasion in his life.

Bonaparte's first Italian campaign has remained in the eyes of military men ever since a masterpiece, a classic example of the art of war. It lasted a year, from April, 1796 to April, 1797. It may be summarized in the words, "He came, he saw, he conquered." He confronted an allied Sardinian and Austrian army, and his forces were much inferior in number. His policy was therefore to see that his enemies did not unite, and then to beat each in turn. His enemies combined had 70,000 men. He had about half that number. Slipping in between the Austrians and Sardinians he defeated the former, notably at Dego, and drove them eastward. Then he turned westward against the Sardinians, defeated them at Mondovi and opened the way to Turin, their capital. The Sardinians sued for peace and agreed that France should have the provinces of Savoy and Nice. One enemy had thus been eliminated by the "rag heroes," now turned into "winged victories." Bonaparte summarized these achievements in a bulletin to his men, which set them vibrating. "Soldiers," he said, "in fifteen days you have won six victories, taken twenty-one stands of colors, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and several fortresses, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont. You have taken 1,500 prisoners and killed or wounded 10,000 men. . . . But, soldiers, you have done nothing,

Bonaparte's first Italian campaign

Bonaparte forces the Sardinians to sue for peace (May, 1796)

since there remains something for you to do. You have still battles to fight, towns to take, rivers to cross."

The campaign against the Austrians

Bonaparte now turned his entire attention to the Austrians, who were in control of Lombardy. Rushing down the southern bank of the Po, he crossed it at Piacenza. Beaulieu, the Austrian commander, withdrew beyond the Adda River. There was no way to get at him but to cross the river by the bridge of Lodi, a bridge 350 feet long and swept on the other side by cannon. To cross it in the face of a raking fire was necessary but was well-nigh impossible. Bonaparte ordered his grenadiers forward. Halfway over they were mowed down by the Austrian fire and began to recoil. Bonaparte and other generals rushed to the head of the columns, risked their lives, inspired their men, and the result was that they got across in the very teeth of the murderous fire and seized the Austrian batteries. "Of all the actions in which the soldiers under my command have been engaged," reported Bonaparte to the Directory, "none has equaled the tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi."

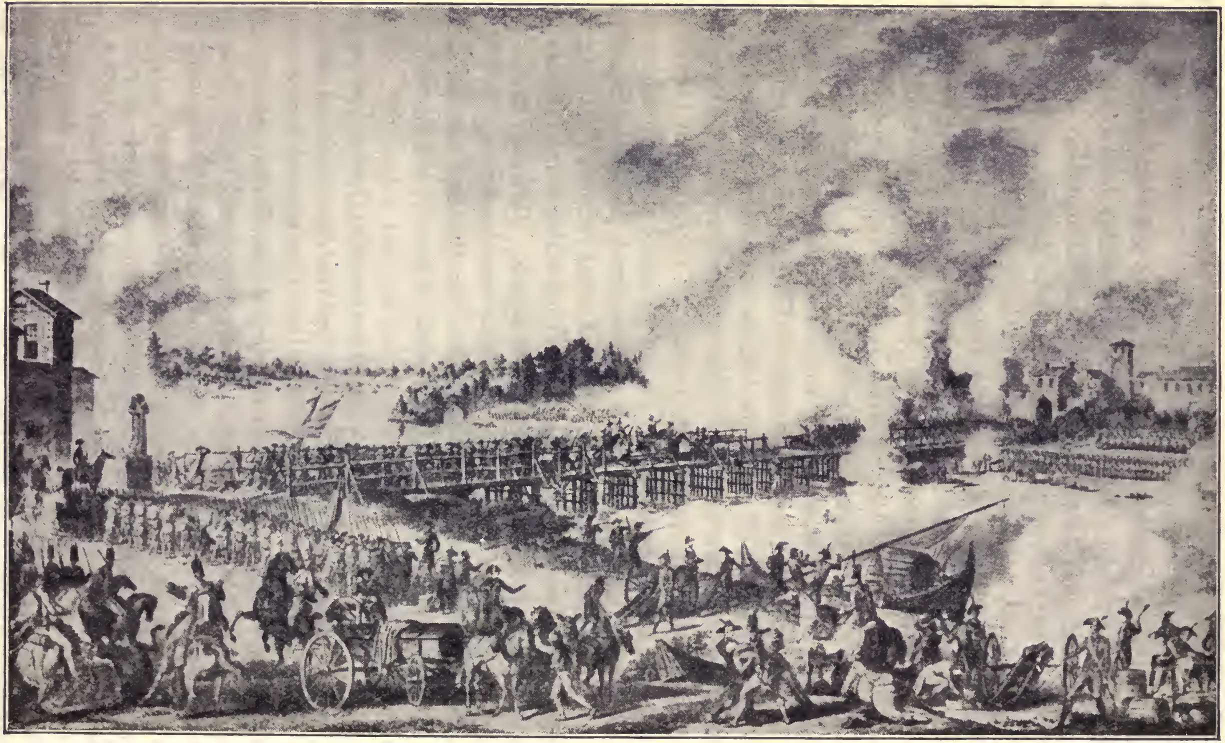
The bridge of Lodi

The struggle for Mantua

From that day Bonaparte was the idol of his soldiers. He had shown reckless courage, contempt of death. Thenceforth they called him affectionately "The Little Corporal." The Austrians retreated to the farther side of the Mincio and to the mighty fortress of Mantua. On May 16 Bonaparte made a triumphal entry into Milan. He sent a force to begin the siege of Mantua. That was the key to the situation. He could not advance into the Alps and against Vienna until he had taken it. On the other hand if Austria lost Mantua, she would lose her hold upon Italy.

Bonaparte's methods of warfare

Four times during the next eight months, from June, 1796 to January, 1797, Austria sent down armies from the Alps in the attempt to relieve the beleaguered fortress. Each time they were defeated by the prodigious activity, the precision of aim, of the French general, who continued his policy of attacking his enemy piecemeal, before their divisions could unite. By this policy his inferior forces, for his numbers were inferior to the total of the opposed army, were always as a matter of fact so applied as to be superior to the enemy on the battlefield, for he attacked when the enemy was divided. It was youth against age, Bonaparte being twenty-seven, Wurmser and the other Austrian generals almost seventy. It was new methods against old, originality against the spirit of routine. The Austrians came down



The Bridge of Lodi

After a drawing by Carle Vernet, engraved by Duplessis-Bertaux.

from the Alpine passes in two divisions. Here was Bonaparte's chance, and wonderfully did he use it. In war, said Moreau to him two years later, "the greater number always beat the lesser." "You are right," replied Bonaparte. "Whenever, with smaller forces, I was in the presence of a great army, arranging mine rapidly, I fell like a thunderbolt upon one of its wings, tumbled it over, profited by the disorder which always ensued to attack the enemy elsewhere, always with my entire force. Thus I defeated him in detail and victory was always the triumph of the larger number over the smaller." All this was accomplished only by forced marches. "It is our legs that win his battles," said his soldiers. He shot his troops back and forth like a shuttle. By the rapidity of his movements he made up for his numerical weakness. Of course this success was rendered possible by the mistake of his opponents in dividing their forces when they should have kept them united.

The battle of Arcola (November 15-17, 1796)

Even thus, with his own ability and the mistakes of his enemies cooperating, the contest was severe, the outcome at times trembled in the balance. Thus at Arcola, the battle raged for three days. Again, as at Lodi, success depended upon the control of a bridge. Only a few miles separated the two Austrian divisions. If the Austrians could hold the bridge, then their junction would probably be completed. Bonaparte seized a flag and rushed upon the bridge, accompanied by his staff. The Austrians leveled a murderous fire at them. The columns fell back, several officers having been shot down. They refused to desert their general but dragged him with them by his arms and clothes. He fell into a morass and began to sink. "Forward to save the General!" was the cry and immediately the French fury broke loose, they drove back the Austrians and rescued their hero. He had, however, not repeated the exploit of Lodi. He had not crossed the bridge. But the next day his army was victorious and the Austrians retreated once more. The three days' battle was over (November 15–17, 1796).

The battle of Rivoli (January 13-14, 1797)

Two months later a new Austrian army came down from the Alps for the relief of Mantua and another desperate battle occurred, at Rivoli. On January 13–14, 1797, Bonaparte inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Austrians, routed them, and sent them spinning back into the Alps again. Two weeks later Mantua surrendered. Bonaparte now marched up into the Alps, constantly outgeneraling his brilliant new opponent, the young Archduke Charles, forcing him steadily back. When on April 7 he reached the little town of Leoben, about 100 miles from Vienna, Austria sued for peace. A memorable and crowded year of effort was thus brought to a brilliant close. In its twelve months' march across northern Italy the French had fought eighteen big battles, and sixty-five smaller ones. "You have, besides that," said Bonaparte in a bulletin to the army, "sent 30,000,000 francs from the public treasury to Paris. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with 300 masterpieces of ancient and modern Italy, which it has taken thirty ages to produce. You have conquered the most beautiful country of Europe. The French colors float for the first time upon the borders of the Adriatic." In another proclamation he told them they were forever covered with glory, that when they had completed their task and returned to their homes their fellow-citizens, when pointing to them, would say, "*He was of the Army of Italy.*"

Bonaparte forces Austria to make peace. Truce of Leoben, April, 1797

Thus rose his star to full meridian splendor. No wonder he believed in it.

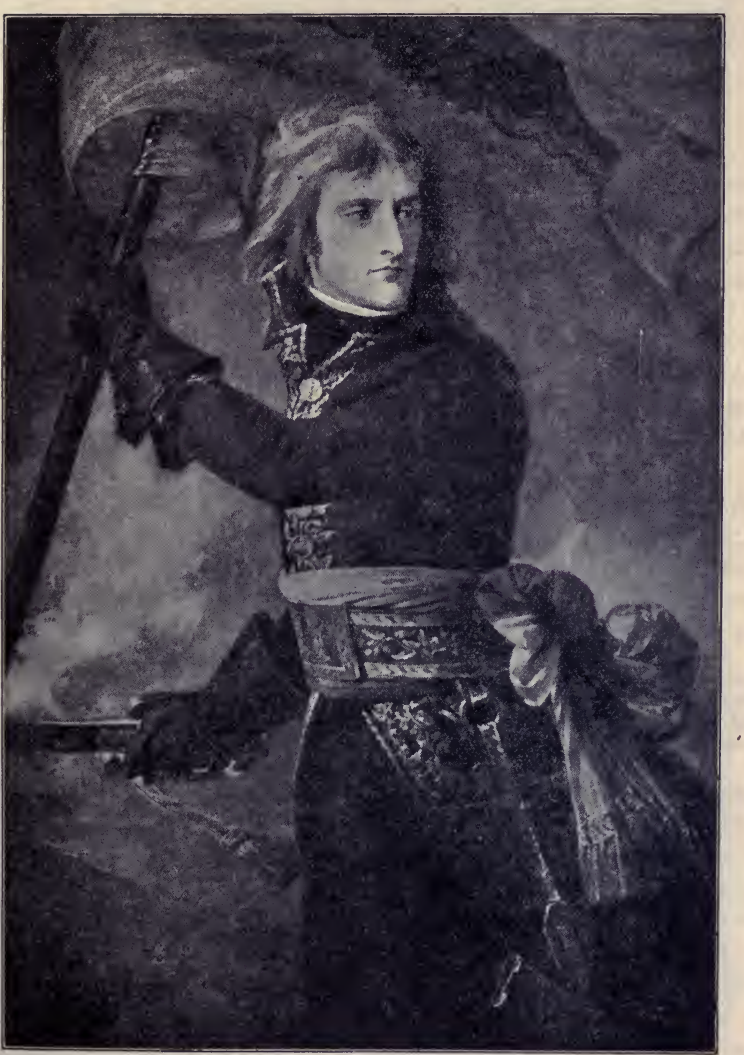
All through this Italian campaign Bonaparte acted as if he were the head of the state, not its servant. He sometimes followed the advice of the Directors, more often he ignored it, frequently he acted in defiance of it. Military matters did not alone occupy his attention. He tried his hand at political manipulation, with the same confidence and the same success which he had shown on the field of battle. He became a creator and a destroyer of states. Italy was not at that time a united country but was a collection of small independent states. None of these escaped the transforming touch of the young conquerer. He changed the old aristocratic Republic of Genoa into the Ligurian Republic, giving it a constitution similar to that of France. He forced doubtful princes, like the Dukes of Parma and Modena, to submission and heavy payments. He forced the Pope to a similar humiliation, taking some of his states, sparing most of them, and levying heavy exactions.

Bonaparte's attitude toward the Directory

Treatment of Genoa

Bonaparte attacks and conquers Venice, (1797)

His most notorious act, next to the conquest of the successive Austrian armies, was the overthrow, on a flimsy pretext and with diabolic guile, of the famous old Republic of Venice.



Napoleon at Arcola
After the painting by Gros.

"Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;
And was the safeguard of the West: the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice, the Eldest Child of Liberty."

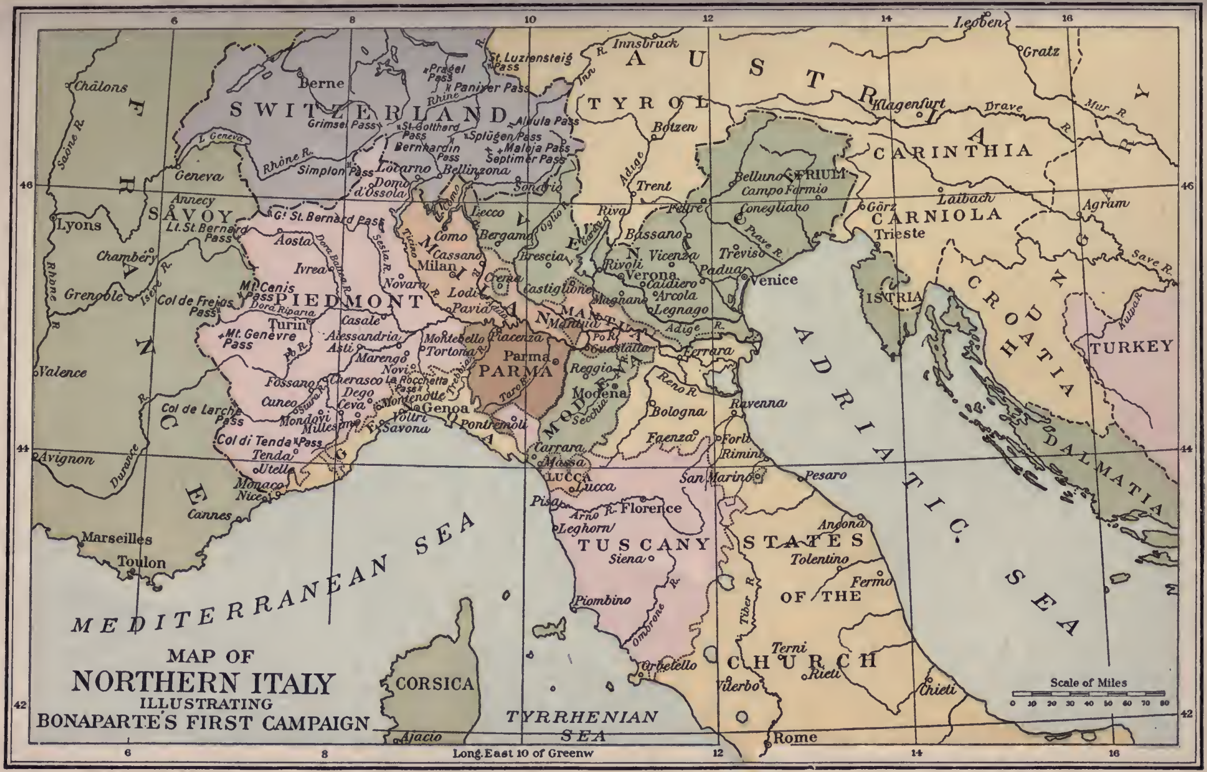
Such was the thought that came to the poet Wordsworth as he contemplated this outrage, resembling in abysmal immorality the contemporary partition of Poland at the hands of the monarchs of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. At least this clear, bright, pagan republican general could have claimed, had he cared to, that he was no worse than the kings of the eighteenth century who asserted that their rule was ordained of God. Bonaparte was no worse; he was also no better; he was, moreover, far more able. He conquered Venice, one of the oldest and proudest states in Europe, and held it as a pawn in the game of diplomacy, to which he turned with eagerness and talent, now that the war was over.

Austria had agreed in April, 1797, to the preliminary peace of Leoben. The following summer was devoted to the making of the final peace, that of Campo Formio, concluded October 17, 1797. During these months Bonaparte lived in state in the splendid villa of Montebello, near Milan, basking in the dazzling sunshine of his sudden and amazing fortune. There he kept a veritable court, receiving ambassadors, talking intimately with artists and men of letters, surrounded by young officers, who had caught the swift contagion of his personality and who were advancing with his advance to prosperity and renown. There, too, at Montebello, were Josephine and the brothers and the sisters of the young victor and also his mother, who kept a level head in prosperity as she had in adversity —all irradiated with the new glamour of their changed position in life. The young man who a few years before had pawned his watch and had eaten six-cent dinners in cheap Parisian restaurants now dined in public in the old manner of French kings, allowing the curious to gaze upon him. A body-guard of Polish lancers attended whenever he rode forth.

General Bonaparte and his court

His conversation dazzled by its ease and richness. It was quoted everywhere. Some of it was calculated to arouse concern in high quarters. "What I have done so far," he said, "is nothing. I am but at the beginning of the career I am to run. Do you imagine that I have triumphed in Italy in order to advance the lawyers of the Directory? . . . Let the Directory attempt to deprive

Bonaparte's flights of fancy



MAP OF
NORTHERN ITALY
ILLUSTRATING
BONAPARTE'S FIRST CAMPAIGN

FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
TYROL
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
CROATIA
HUNGARY
TURKEY
DALMATIA
ISTRIA
FRIULI
VENETIA
MILAN
MANTUA
PARMA
MODENA
GENOA
PIEDMONT
SAVOY
LUCCA
TUSCANY
STATES OF THE CHURCH
CORSICA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Châlons
Lyons
Chambéry
Grenoble
Valence
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Cannes
Nice
Monaco
Geneva
Annecy
Berne
Leoben
Gratz
Innsbruck
Klagenfurt
Laibach
Agram
Görz
Trieste
Botzen
Trent
Belluno
Campo Formio
Conegliano
Feltre
Bassano
Treviso
Padua
Venice
Vicenza
Verona
Rivoli
Caldiero
Arcola
Legnago
Magnano
Castiglione
Mantua
Riva
Brescia
Bergamo
Lecco
Como
Cassano
Milan
Crema
Lodi
Pavia
Sondrio
Locarno
Bellinzona
Domo d'Ossola
Aosta
Ivrea
Novara
Casale
Turin
Alessandria
Asti
Marengo
Novi
Montebello
Tortona
Piacenza
Parma
Guastalla
Reggio
Modena
Bologna
Ferrara
Ravenna
Faenza
Forli
Rimini
San Marino
Pesaro
Ancona
Tolentino
Fermo
Terni
Rieti
Chieti
Viterbo
Rome
Orbetello
Piombino
Siena
Florence
Leghorn
Pisa
Lucca
Massa
Carrara
Pontremoli
Genoa
Voltri
Savona
Montenotte
La Rocchetta Pass
Dego
Ceva
Millesimo
Mondovi
Cherasco
Fossano
Cuneo
Tenda
Col di Tenda Pass
Utelle
Col de Larche Pass
Mt. Genèvre Pass
Mt. Cenis Pass
Col de Frejus Pass
Lt. St. Bernard Pass
Gt. St. Bernard Pass
Simplon Pass
Grimsel Pass
St. Gotthard Pass
Bernhardin Pass
Splügen Pass
Maloja Pass
Septimer Pass
Albula Pass
Panixer Pass
Pragel Pass
St. Luziensteig Pass
Ajacio
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Saône R.
Isère R.
Durance
Dora Baltea R.
Dora Riparia
Sesia R.
Ticino
Po R.
Trebbia R.
Stura R.
Taro R.
Secchia
Reno R.
Adige
Adige R.
Oglio
Mincio
Piave R.
Brenta
Arno R.
Ombrone
Tiber R.
Inn
Drave
Mur R.
Save R.
Kulpa R.
Rhine
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me of my command and they will see who is the master. The nation must have a head who is rendered illustrious by glory." Two years later he saw to it that she had such a head.

The division of the spoils

The treaty of Campo Formio initiated the process of changing the map of Europe which was to be carried on bewilderingly in the years to come. Neither France, champion of the new principles of politics, nor Austria, champion of the old, differed in their methods. Both bargained and traded as best they could and the result was an agreement that contravened the principles of the French Revolution, of the rights of peoples to determine their own destinies, the principle of popular sovereignty. For the agreement simply registered the arbitrament of the sword, was frankly based on force, and on nothing else. French domestic policy had been revolutionized. French foreign policy had remained stationary.

Provisions of the treaty of Campo Formio (October, 1797)

By the Treaty of Campo Formio Austria relinquished her possessions in Belgium to France and abandoned to her the left bank of the Rhine, agreeing to bring about a congress of the German states to effect this change. Austria also gave up her rights in Lombardy and agreed to recognize the new Cisalpine Republic which Bonaparte created out of Lombardy, the duchies Parma and Modena, and out of parts of the Papal States and Venetia. In return for this the city, the islands, and most of the mainland of Venice, were handed over to Austria, as were also Dalmatia and Istria. Austria became an Adriatic power. The Adriatic ceased to be a Venetian lake.

The wishes of the French people not consulted

The French people were enthusiastic over the acquisition of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. They were disposed, however, to be indignant at the treatment of Venice, the rape of a republic by a republic. But they were obliged to take the fly with the ointment and to adapt themselves to the situation. Thus ended the famous Italian campaign, which was the stepping-stone by which Napoleon Bonaparte started on his triumphal way.

He had, moreover, not only conquered Italy. He had plundered her. One of the features of this campaign had been that it had been based upon the principle that it must pay for itself and yield a profit in addition, for the French treasury. Bonaparte demanded large contributions from the princes whom he conquered. The Duke of Modena had to pay ten million francs, the Republic of Genoa fifteen, the Pope twenty. He levied heavily upon Milan. Not only did he make Italy support his army but he sent large sums to the Directory, to meet the ever-threatening deficit.

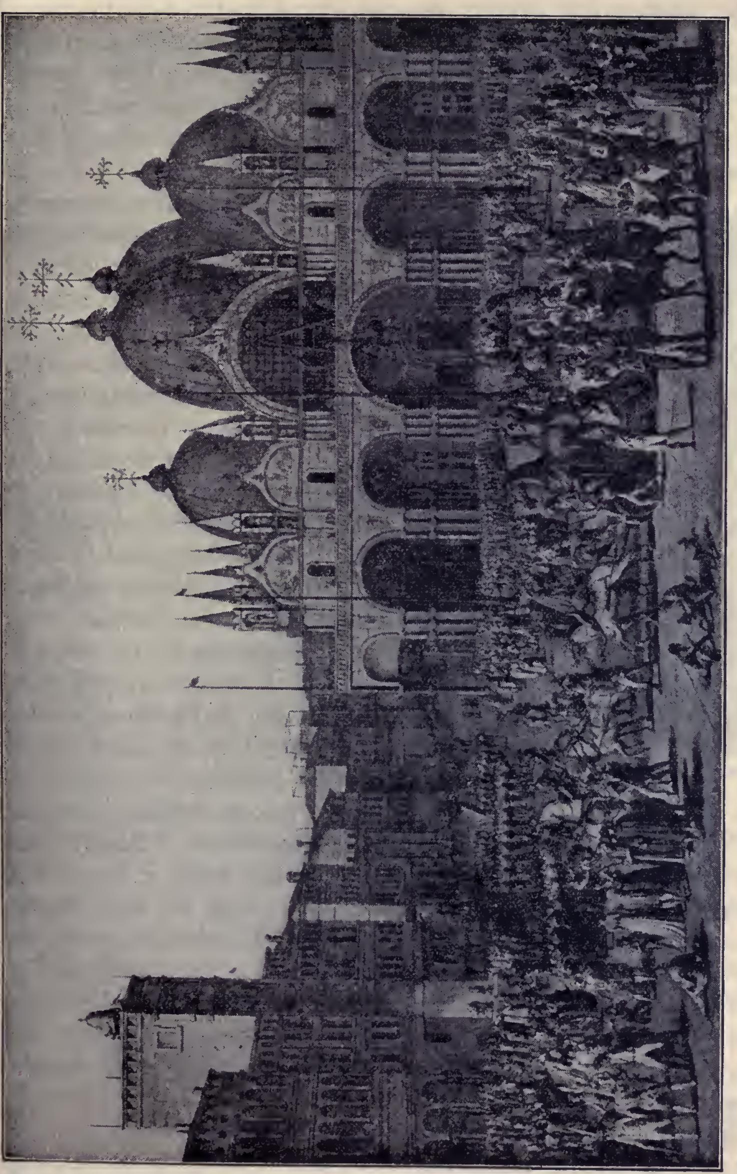
Bonaparte a systematic robber of art galleries

Not only that, but he shamelessly and systematically robbed her of her works of art. This he made a regular feature of his career as conqueror. In this and later campaigns, whenever victorious, he had his agents ransack the galleries and select the pictures, which he then demanded as the prize of war, conduct which greatly embittered the victims but produced pleasurable feelings in France. The entry of the first art treasures into Paris created great excitement. Enormous cars bearing pictures and statues, carefully packed, but labeled on the outside, rolled through the streets to the accompaniment of martial music, the waving of flags, and shouts of popular approval: "The Transfiguration" by Raphael; "The Christ" by Titian; the Apollo Belvedere, the Nine Muses, the Laocoön, the Venus de Medici.

During his career Bonaparte enriched the Museum of the Louvre with over a hundred and fifty paintings by Raphael, Rembrandt, Rubens, Titian, and Van Dyck, to mention only a few of the greater names. After his fall years later many of these were returned to their former owners. Yet many remained. The famous bronze horses of Venice, of which the Venetians had robbed Constantinople centuries before, as Constantinople had long before that robbed Rome, were transported to Paris after the conquest of Venice in 1797, were transported back to Venice after the overthrow of Napoleon and were put in place again, there to remain for a full 100 years, until the year 1915, when they were removed once more, this time by the Venetians themselves, for purposes of safety against the dangers of the Austrian war of that year.

Bonaparte's return to Paris

After this swift revelation of genius in the Italian campaign the laureled hero returned to Paris, the cynosure of all eyes, the center of boundless curiosity. He knew, however, that the way to keep curiosity alive is not to satisfy it, for, once satisfied, it turns to other objects. Believing that the Parisians, like the ancient Athenians, preferred to worship gods that were unknown, he discreetly kept in the background, affected simplicity of dress and demeanor, and won praises for his "modesty," quite ironically misplaced. Modesty was not his forte. He was studying his future very carefully, was analyz-



Removal of the Bronze Horses from Venice, May, 1797
After a drawing by Carle Vernet, engraved by Duplessis-Bertaux.

ing the situation very closely. He would have liked to enter the Directory. Once one of the five he could have pocketed the other four. But he was only twenty-eight and Directors must be at least forty years of age. He did not wish or intend to imitate Cincinnatus by returning with dignity to the plow. He was resolved to "keep his glory warm." Perceiving that, as he expressed it, "the pear was not yet ripe," he meditated, and the result of his meditations was a spectacular adventure.

England still the enemy

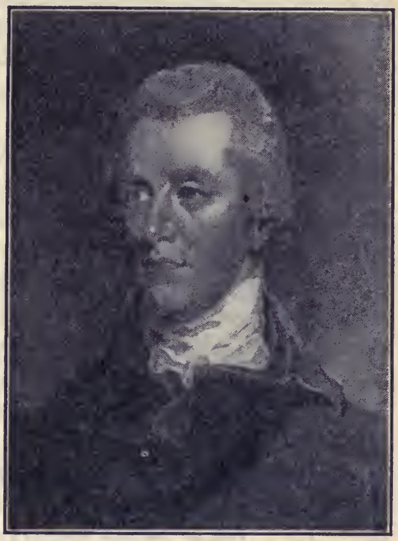
After the Peace of Campo Formio only one power remained at war with France, namely England. But England was most formidable — because of her wealth, because of her colonies, because of her navy. She had been the center of the coalition, the paymistress of the other enemies, the constant fomenter of trouble, the patron of the Bourbons. "Our Government," said Napoleon at this time, "must destroy the English monarchy or it must expect itself to be destroyed by these active islanders. Let us concentrate our energies on the navy and annihilate England. That done, Europe is at our feet." The annihilation of England was to be the most constant subject of his thought during his entire career, baffling him at every stage, prompting him to gigantic efforts, ending in catastrophic failure eighteen years later at Waterloo, and in the forced repinings of St. Helena.

Bonaparte appointed commander of the "Army of England"

The Directory now made Bonaparte commander of the army of England, and he began his first experiment in the elusive art of destroying these "active islanders." Seeing that a direct invasion of England was impossible he sought out a vulnerable spot which should at the same time be accessible, and he hit upon Egypt. Not that Egypt was an English possession, for it was not. It belonged to the Sultan of Turkey. But it was on the route to India and Bonaparte, like many of his contemporaries, considered that England drew her strength, not from English mines and factories, from English brains and characters, but from the fabulous wealth of India. Once cut that nerve and the mighty colossus would reel and fall. England was not an island; she was a world-empire. As such she stood in the way of all other would-be world-empires, then as now. The year 1914 saw no new arguments put forth by her enemies in regard to England that were not freely uttered in 1797. Bonaparte denounced this "tyrant of the seas" quite in our latter-day style. If there must be tyranny it was intolerable that it should be exercised by others. He now received the ready sanction of the Directors to his

Bonaparte plans the conquest of Egypt

plan for the conquest of Egypt. Once conquered, Egypt would serve as a basis of operations for an expedition to India which would come in time. The Directors were glad to get him so far away from Paris, where his popularity was burdensome, was, indeed, a constant menace. The plan itself, also, was quite in the traditions of the French foreign office. Moreover the potent fascination of the Orient for all imaginative minds, as offering an inviting, mysterious field for vast and dazzling action, operated powerfully upon Bonaparte. What destinies might not be carved out of the gorgeous East, with its limitless horizons, its immeasurable, unutilized opportunities? The Orient had appealed to Alexander the Great with irresistible force as it now appealed to this imaginative young Corsican, every energy of whose rich and complex personality was now in high flood. "This little Europe has not enough to offer," he remarked one day to his schoolboy friend, Bourrienne. "The Orient is the place to go to. All great reputations have been made there." "I do not know what would have happened to me," he said later, "if I had not had the happy idea of going to Egypt." He was a child of the Mediterranean and as a boy had drunk in its legends and its poetry. As wildly imaginative as he was intensely practical, both imagination and cool calculation recommended the adventure.


William Pitt
From a portrait by J. Hoppner.

Preparations for the Egyptian expedition

Once decided on, preparations were made with promptness and in utter secrecy. On May 19, 1798, Bonaparte set sail from Toulon with a fleet of 400 slow-moving transports bearing an army of 38,000 men. A brilliant corps of young generals accompanied him, Berthier, Murat, Desaix, Marmont, Lannes, Kléber, tried and tested in Italy the year before. He also took with him a traveling library in which Plutarch's *Lives* and Xenophon's *Anabasis* and the *Koran* were a few of the significant contents. Fellow-voyagers, also, were over 100 distinguished scholars, scientists, artists, engineers, for this expedition was to be no mere military promenade but was designed to widen the bounds of human knowledge by an elaborate study of the products and customs, the history and the art of that country, famous, yet little known. This, indeed, was destined to be the most permanent and valuable result of an expedition which laid the broad foundations of modern Egyptology in "The Description of Egypt," a monumental work which presented to the world in sumptuous form the discoveries and investigations of this group of learned men.

The seizure of Malta

The hazards were enormous. Admiral Nelson with a powerful English fleet was in the Mediterranean. The French managed to escape him. Stopping on the way to seize the important position of Malta and to forward the contents of its treasury to the Directors, Bonaparte reached his destination at the end of June and disembarked in safety. The nominal ruler of Egypt was the Sultan of Turkey but the real rulers were the Mamelukes, a sort of feudal military caste. They constituted a splendid body of cavalrymen but they were no match for the invaders, as they lacked infantry and artillery, and were, moreover, far inferior in numbers.

The march to Cairo

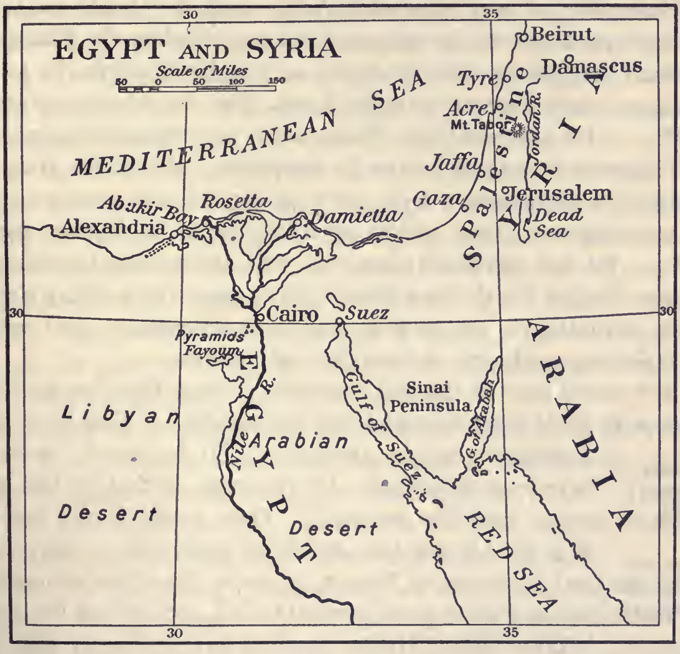
Seizing Alexandria on July 2 the French army began the march to Cairo. The difficulties of the march were great, as no account had been taken, in the preparations, of the character of the climate and the country. The soldiers wore the heavy uniforms in vogue in Europe. In the march across the blazing sands they experienced hunger, thirst, heat. Many perished from thirst, serious eye troubles were caused by the frightful glare, suicide was not infrequent. Finally, however, after nearly three weeks of this agony, the Pyramids came in sight, just outside Cairo. There Bonaparte administered a smashing defeat to the Mamelukes, encouraging his soldiers by one of his thrilling phrases, "Soldiers, from the summit of these pyramids forty centuries look down upon you." The Battle of the Pyramids, July 21, 1798, gave the French control of Cairo. The Mamelukes were dispersed. They had lost 2,000 men. Bonaparte had lost very few.

The battle of the Pyramids

But no sooner had the French conquered the country than they became prisoners in it. For, on August 1, Nelson had surprised the

French fleet as it was lying in the harbor of Abukir Bay, east of Alexandria, and had captured or destroyed it. Only two battleships and a frigate managed to escape. This Battle of the Nile, as it was called, was one of the most decisive sea fights of this entire period. It was Bonaparte's first taste of British sea power. It was not his last.

Nelson destroys the French fleet


EGYPT AND SYRIA
Scale of Miles
50 0 50 100 150
30
35
30
35
30
30
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Beirut
Damascus
Tyre
Acre
Mt. Tabor
Jordan R.
Jaffa
Palestine
SYRIA
Gaza
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
Abukir Bay
Rosetta
Damietta
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Pyramids
Fayoum
ARABIA
Sinai Peninsula
G. of Akabah
Gulf of Suez
Libyan Desert
Nile R.
EGYPT
Arabian Desert
RED SEA

Bonaparte received the news of this terrible disaster, which cut him off from France and cooped him up in a hot and poor country, with superb composure. "Well! we must remain in this land, and come forth great, as did the ancients. This is the hour when characters of a superior order should show themselves." And later he said that the English "will perhaps compel us to do greater things than we intended."

The invasion of Syria (1799)

He had need of all his resources, material and moral. Hearing that the Sultan of Turkey had declared war upon him, he resolved, in January, 1799, to invade Syria, one of the Sultan's provinces, wishing to restore or reaffirm the confidence of his soldiers by fresh victories and thinking, perhaps, of a march on

India or on Constantinople, taking "Europe in the rear," as he expressed it. If such was his hope, it was destined to disappointment. The crossing of the desert from Egypt into Syria was painful in the extreme, marked by the horrors of heat and thirst. The soldiers marched amid clouds of sand blown against them by a suffocating wind. They however seized the forts of Gaza and Jaffa, and destroyed a Turkish army at Mt. Tabor, near Nazareth, but were arrested at Acre, which they could not take by siege, because it was on the sea coast and was aided by the British fleet, but which they partly took by storm, only to be forced finally to withdraw because of terrific losses. For two months the struggle for Acre went on. Plague broke out, ammunition ran short, and Bonaparte was again beaten by sea-power. He led his army back to Cairo in a memorable march, covering 300 miles in twenty-six days, over scorching sands and amidst appalling scenes of disaster and desperation. He had sacrificed 5,000 men, had accomplished nothing, and had been checked for the first time in his career. On reaching Cairo he had the effrontery to act as if he had been triumphant, and sent out lying bulletins, not caring to have the truth known.

The struggle for Acre

A few weeks later he did win a notable victory, this time at Abukir, against a Turkish army that had just disembarked. This he correctly described when he announced, "It is one of the finest I have ever witnessed. Of the army landed by the enemy not a man has escaped." Over 10,000 Turks lost their lives in this, the last exploit of Bonaparte in Egypt. For now he resolved to return to France, to leave the whole adventure in other hands, seeing that it must inevitably fail, and to seek his fortune in fairer fields. He had heard news from France that made him anxious to return. A new coalition had been formed during his absence, the French had been driven out of Italy, France itself was threatened with invasion. The Directory was discredited and unpopular because of its incompetence and blunders. Bonaparte did not dare inform his soldiers, who had endured so much, of his plan. He did not even dare to tell Kléber, to whom he intrusted the command of the army by a letter which reached the latter too late for him to protest. He set sail secretly on the night of August 21, 1799, accompanied by Berthier, Murat, and five other officers and by two or three scientists. Kléber was later assassinated by a Mohammedan fanatic and the French army was forced to capitu-

The Battle of Abukir (July 25, 1799)

Bonaparte resolves to return to France

late and evacuate Egypt, in August, 1801. That ended the Egyptian expedition.

The return from Egypt

It was no easy thing to get back from Egypt to France with the English scouring the seas, and the winds against him. Sometimes the little sailboat on which Bonaparte had taken passage was beaten back ten miles a day. Then the wind would shift at night and progress would be made. It took three weeks of hugging the southern shore of the Mediterranean before the narrows between Africa and Sicily were reached. These were guarded by an English battleship. But the French slipped through at night, lights out. Reaching Corsica they stopped several days, the winds dead against them. It seemed as if every one on the island claimed relationship with their fellow-citizen who had been rendered "illustrious by glory." Bonaparte saw his native land for the last time in his life. Finally he sailed for France, and was nearly overhauled by the British, who chased him to almost within sight of land. The journey from the coast to Paris was a continuous ovation. The crowds were such that frequently the carriages could advance but slowly. Evenings there were illuminations everywhere. When Paris was reached delirium broke forth.

The unpopularity of the Directory

He arrived in the nick of time, as was his wont. Finally the pear was ripe. The government was in the last stages of unpopularity and discredit. Incompetent and corrupt, it was also unsuccessful. The Directory was in existence for four years, from October, 1795 to November, 1799. Its career was agitated. The defects of the constitution, the perplexing circumstances of the times, the ambitions and intrigues of individuals seeking personal advantage and recking little of the state, had strained the institutions of the country almost to the breaking point, and had created a widespread feeling of weariness and disgust. Friction had been constant between the Directors and the legislature, and on two occasions the former had laid violent hands upon the latter, once arresting a group of royalist deputies and annulling their election, once doing the same to a group of radical republicans. They had thus made sport of the constitution and destroyed the rights of the voters. Their foreign policy, after Bonaparte had sailed for Egypt, had been so aggressive and blundering that a new coalition had been formed against France, consisting of England, Austria, and Russia, which country now abandoned its eastern isolation and entered upon a

A new coalition formed against France

period of active participation in the affairs of western Europe. The coalition was successful, the French were driven out of Germany back upon the Rhine, out of Italy, and the invasion of France was, perhaps, impending. The domestic policy of the Directors had also resulted in fanning once more the embers of religious war in Vendée.

In these troubled waters Bonaparte began forthwith to fish. He established connections with a group of politicians who for one reason and another considered a revision of the constitution desirable and necessary. The leader of the group was Sieyès, a man who plumed himself in having a complete knowledge of the art and theory of government and who now wished to endow France with the perfect institutions of which he carried the secret in his brain. Sieyès was a man of Olympian conceit, of oracular utterances, a coiner of telling phrases, enjoying an immoderate reputation as a constitution-maker. His phrase was now that to accomplish the desired change he needed "a sword." He would furnish the pen himself. The event was to prove, contrary to all proverbs, that the pen is weaker than the sword, at least when the latter belongs to a Napoleon Bonaparte. Bonaparte, who really despised "this cunning priest," as he called him, was nevertheless quite willing to use him as a stepping-stone. Heaping flatteries upon him he said: "We have no government, because we have no constitution; at least not the one we need. It is for your genius to give us one."

General Bonaparte and Abbé Sieyès

The plan these and other conspirators worked out was to force the Directors to resign, willy-nilly, thus leaving France without an executive, a situation that could not possibly be permitted to continue; then to get the Council of Elders and the Council of the Five Hundred to appoint a committee to revise the constitution. Naturally Sieyès and Bonaparte were to be on that committee, if all went well. Then let wisdom have her sway. The conspirators had two of the Directors on their side and a majority of the Elders, and fortunately the President of the Council of Five Hundred was a brother of Napoleon, Lucien Bonaparte, a shallow but cool-headed rhetorician, to whom the honors of the critical day were destined to be due.

Plotting a coup d'état

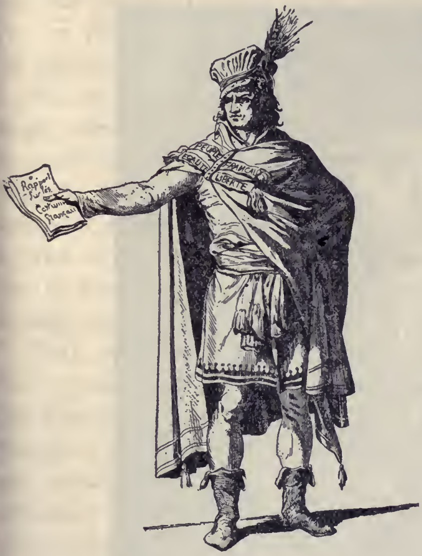
Thus was plotted in the dark the *coup d'état* of Brumaire which landed Napoleon in the saddle, made him ruler of a great state, and opened a new and prodigious chapter in the history of Europe. There is no English word for *coup d'état*, as fortunately the

What is a coup d'état?

thing described is alien to the history of English-speaking peoples. It is the seizure of the state, of power, by force and ruse, the overthrow of the form of government by violence, by arms. There had been *coups d'état* before in France. There were to be others later, in the nineteenth century. But the *coup d'état* of 18th and 19th Brumaire (November 9 and 10, 1799) is the most classical example of this device, the most successful, the most momentous in its consequences.

The risk the conspirators ran

But how to set the artful scheme in motion? There was the danger that the deputies of the Five Hundred might block the way, danger of a popular insurrection in Paris, of the old familiar kind, if the rumor got abroad that the Republic was in peril. The conspirators must step warily. They did so — and they nearly failed — and had they failed, their fate would have been that of Robespierre.



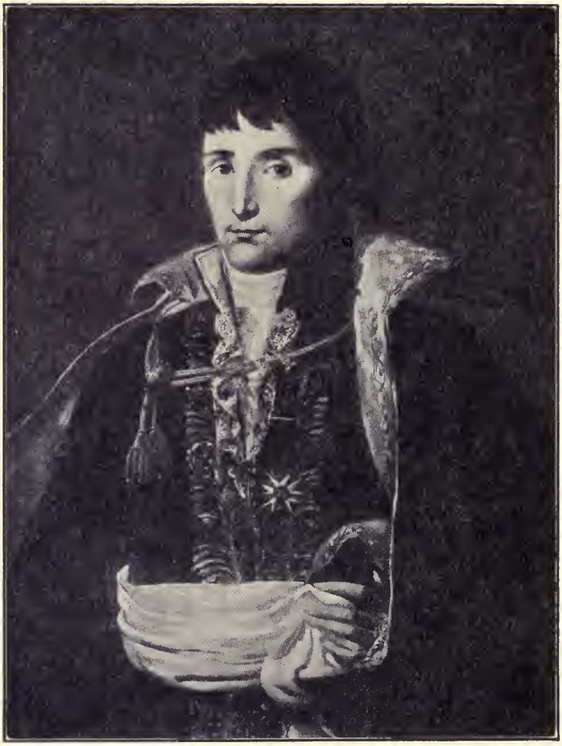
Official Costume of a Member of the Council of the Five Hundred
From a water-color by David.

The work of 18 Brumaire

A charge was trumped up, for which no evidence was given, that a plot was being concocted against the Republic. Not an instant must be lost, if the state was to be saved. The Council of Elders, informed of this, and already won over to the conspiracy, thereupon voted, upon the 18th of Brumaire, that both Councils should meet the following day at St. Cloud, several miles from Paris, and that General Bonaparte should take command of the troops for the purpose of protecting them.

Bonaparte in the Council of Elders

The next day, Sunday, the two Councils met in the palace of St. Cloud. Delay occurring in arranging the halls for the extraordinary meeting, the suspicious legislators had time to confer, to concert opposition. The Elders, when their session finally began at two o'clock, demanded details concerning the pretended plot. Bonaparte entered and made a wild and incoherent speech. They were "standing on a volcano," he told them. He was no "Cæsar" or "Cromwell" intent upon destroying the liberties of his country.



Lucien Bonaparte
From the painting by R. Lefèvre.

"General, you no longer know what you are saying," whispered Bourrienne, urging him to leave the chamber, which he immediately did.

Bonaparte in the Council of the Five Hundred

This was a bad beginning; but worse was yet to come. Bonaparte went to the Council of Five Hundred, accompanied by four grenadiers. He was greeted with a perfect storm of wrath. Cries of "Outlaw him, outlaw him!" "Down with the Dictator, down with the tyrant!" rent the air. Pandemonium reigned. He received blows, was pushed and jostled, and was finally dragged fainting from the hall by the grenadiers, his coat torn, his face bleeding. Outside he mounted his horse in the courtyard, before the soldiers.

Lucien saves the day

It was Lucien who saved this badly bungled day. Refusing to put the motion to outlaw his brother, he left the chair, made his way to the courtyard, mounted a horse and harangued the soldiers, telling them that a band of assassins was terrorizing the assembly, that his life and that of Napoleon were no longer safe, and demanding, as President of the Five Hundred, that the soldiers enter the hall and clear out the brigands and free the Council. The soldiers hesitated. Then Lucien seized Napoleon's sword, pointed it at his brother's breast, and swore to kill him if he should ever lay violent hands on the Republic. The lie and the melodrama worked. The soldiers entered the hall, led by Murat. The legislators escaped through the windows.

The Directory overthrown (19 Brumaire, November 10, 1799)

That evening groups of Elders and of the Five Hundred who favored the conspirators met, voted the abolition of the Directory, and appointed three *Consuls*, Sieyès, Ducos, and General Bonaparte, to take their place. They then adjourned for four months, appointing, as their final act, committees to coöperate with the Consuls in the preparation of a new constitution.

Establishment of the Consulate

The three Consuls promised "fidelity to the Republic, one and indivisible, to liberty, equality, and the representative system of government." At six o'clock on Monday morning every one went back to Paris. The grenadiers returned to their garrison singing revolutionary songs and thinking most sincerely that they had saved the Republic and the Revolution. No outbreak occurred in Paris. The *coup d'état* was popular. Government bonds rose rapidly, nearly doubling in a week.

Such was the Little Corporal's rise to civil power. It was fortunate, as we have seen, that not all the ability of his remarkable family was monopolized by himself. Lucien had his particular share, a distinct advantage to his kith and kin.

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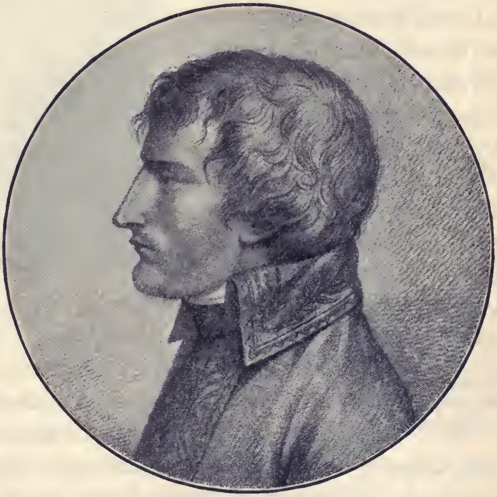
CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSULATE

The form and pattern of the man

Thus the famous young warrior had clutched at power and was not soon to let it slip. It had been a narrow escape. Fate had trembled dangerously in the balance on that gray November Sunday afternoon, but the gambler had won. His thin, sallow face, his sharp, metallic voice, his abrupt, imperious gesture, his glance that cowed and terrified, his long disordered hair, his delicate hands, became a part of the history of the times, manifesting the intensely vivid impression which he had made upon his age and was to deepen. He was to etch the impress of his amazing personality with deep, precise, bold strokes upon the institutions and the life of France.



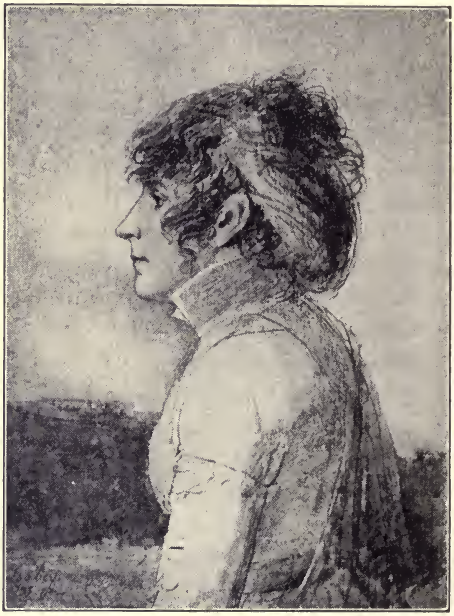
Bonaparte, First Consul
From an engraving by Momal, after Isabey.

He was, in reality, a flinty young despot with a pronounced taste for military glory. "I love power," he said later, "as a musician loves his violin. I love it as an artist." He was now in a position to indulge his taste.

Pending a wider and a higher flight, there were two tasks that called for the immediate attention of the three Consuls, who now took the place formerly occupied by the five Directors. A new constitution must be made, and the war against the coalition must be carried on.

The making of the constitution of the Year VIII

The Constitution of the Year VIII (1799), the fourth since the beginning of the Revolution, hastily composed and put into force a month after the *coup d'état*, was in its essentials the work of Bonaparte and was designed to place supreme power in his hands. This had not been at all the purpose of Sieyès or of the committees appointed to draft the document. But Sieyès' plan, which had not been carefully worked out but was confused and uncertain in many particulars, encountered the abrupt disdain of Bonaparte. There was to be a Grand Elector with a palace at Versailles and an income of six million francs a year. This was the place evidently intended for Bonaparte, who immediately killed it with the statement that he had no desire to be merely "a fatted pig." Impatient with this scheme and with others suggested by the committees, Bonaparte practically dictated the constitution, using, to be sure, such of the suggestions made by the others as seemed to him good or harmless. The result was the organization of that phase of the history of the Republic which is called the Consulate and which lasted from 1799 to 1804.



JOSEPHINE
After a drawing by Isabey.

Bonaparte the constitution-maker

The executive power was vested in three Consuls who were to be elected for ten years and to be reëligible. They were to be elected by the Senate but, to get the system started, the constitution indicated who they should be — Bonaparte, First Consul; Cambacérès, the second, and Lebrun, the third. Practically all the powers were to be in the hands of the First Consul, the appointment of ministers, ambassadors, officers of the army and navy,

Bonaparte First Consul

and numberless civil officials, including judges, the right to make war and peace, and treaties, subject to the sanction of the legislature.

The First Consul was also to have the initiative in all legislation. Bills were to be prepared by a Council of State, were then to be submitted to a body called the Tribunate, which was to have the right to discuss them but not to vote them. Then they were to go to the Legislative Body which was to have the power to vote them, but not discuss them. Moreover this "assembly of 300 mutes" must discharge its single function of voting in secret. There was also to be a fourth body, higher than the others — the Senate, which was to be the guardian of the constitution and was also to be an electing body, choosing the Consuls, the members of the Tribunate and the Legislative Body from certain lists, prepared in a cumbersome and elaborate way, and pretending to safeguard the right of the voters, for the suffrage was declared by the constitution to be universal. No time need be spent on this aspect of the constitution, for it was a sham and a deception.

The legislative power

The Senate

All this elaborate machinery was designed to keep up the fiction of the sovereignty of the people, the great assertion of the Revolution. The Republic continued to exist. The people were voters. They had their various assemblies, thus ingeniously selected. Practically, however, and this is the matter that most concerns us, popular sovereignty was gone, Bonaparte was sovereign. He had more extensive executive powers than Louis XVI had had under the Constitution of 1791. He really had the legislative power also. No bill could be discussed or voted that had not been first prepared by his orders. Once voted it could not go into force until he promulgated it. France was still a republic in name; practically, however, it was a monarchy, scarcely veiled at that. Bonaparte's position was quite as attractive as that of any monarch by divine right, except for the fact that he was to hold it for a term of ten years only and had no power to bequeath it to an heir. He was to remedy these details later.

The fiction of popular government

Powers of the First Consul

Having given France a constitution, he secured the enactment of a law which placed all the local government in his hands. There was to be a *prefect* at the head of each department, a *subprefect* for each arrondissement, a mayor for every town or commune. The citizens lost the power to manage their own local affairs, and thus their training in self-government came to an

Bonaparte establishes a centralized administrative system

end. Government, national and local, was centralized in Paris, more effectively, even, than in the good old days of the Bourbons and their intendants.

War against the second coalition

Having set his house in order, having gained a firm grip on the reins of power, Bonaparte now turned his attention to the foreign enemies of France. The coalition consisted of England, Austria, and Russia. England was difficult to get at. The Russians were dissatisfied with their allies and were withdrawing from coöperation. There remained Austria, the enemy Bonaparte had met before.

Bonaparte's second Italian campaign (1800)

One Austrian army was on the Rhine and Bonaparte sent Moreau to attack it. Another was in northern Italy and he went in person to attend to that. While he had been in Egypt the Austrians had won back northern Italy. Melas, their general, had driven Masséna into Genoa where the latter hung on like grim death, with rations that would soon be exhausted. Bonaparte's plan was to get in between the Austrians and their own country, to attack them in the rear, thus to force them to withdraw from the siege of Genoa, in order to keep open their line of communication. In the pursuit of this object he accomplished one of his most famous exploits, the crossing of the Great Saint Bernard Pass over the Alps, with an army of 40,000, through snow and ice, dragging their cannon in troughs made out of hollowed logs. It was a matter of a week. Once in Italy he sought out the Austrians and met them unexpectedly at Marengo (June 14, 1800). The battle came near being a defeat, owing to the fact that Bonaparte blundered badly, having divided his forces, and that Desaix's division was miles away. The battle began at dawn and went disastrously for the French. At one o'clock the Austrian commander rode back to his headquarters, believing that he had won and that the remaining work could be left to his subordinates. The French were pushed back and their retreat threatened to become a stampede. The day was saved by the appearance of Desaix's division on the scene, at about five o'clock. The battle was resumed with fury, Desaix himself was killed, but the soldiers avenged his glorious death by a glorious victory. By seven o'clock the day of strange vicissitudes was over. The Austrians signed an armistice abandoning to the French all northern Italy as far as the Mincio.

The crossing of the Saint Bernard Pass

Moreau defeats the Austrians at Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800)

Six months later Moreau won a decisive victory over the Austrians in Germany at Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800), thus opening the road to Vienna. Austria was now compelled to sue for peace. The Treaty of Lunéville (February 9, 1801) was in the main a repetition of the Treaty of Campo Formio.

The Peace of Amiens with England

As had been the case after Campo Formio, so now, after the break-up of this second coalition, France remained at war with only one nation, England. These two nations had been at war continuously for eight years. England had defeated the French navy and had conquered many of the colonies of France and of the allies or dependencies of France, that is, of Holland and Spain. She had just compelled the French in Egypt, the army left there by Bonaparte, to agree to evacuate that country. But her debt had grown enormously and there was widespread popular dislike of the war. A change in the ministry occurred, removing the great war leader, William Pitt. England agreed to discuss the question of peace. The discussion went on for five months and ended in the Peace of Amiens (March, 1802). England recognized the existence of the French Republic. She restored all the French colonies and some of the Dutch and Spanish, retaining only Ceylon and Trinidad. She promised to evacuate Malta and Egypt, which the French had seized in 1798 and which she had taken from them. Nothing was said of the French conquest of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. This was virtual acquiescence in the new boundaries of France, which far exceeded those of the ancient monarchy.

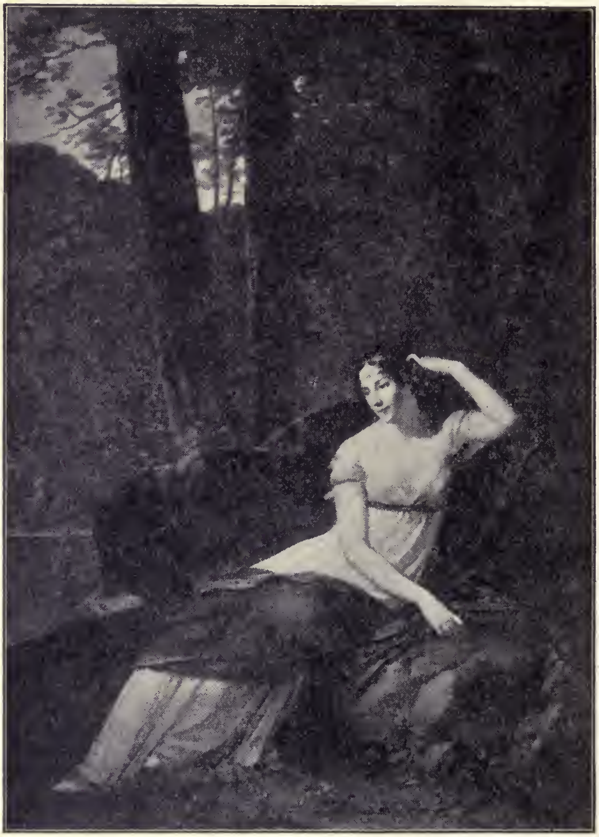
Thus Europe was at peace for the first time in ten years. Great was the enthusiasm in both France and England. The peace, however, was most unstable. It lasted just one year.

Napoleon and the Revolution

Napoleon said on one occasion, "I am the Revolution." On another he said that he had "destroyed the Revolution." There was much error and some truth in both these statements.

The Consulate, and the Empire which succeeded the Consulate, preserved much of the work of the Revolution and abolished much, in conformity with the ideas and also the personal interests of the new ruler. Bonaparte had very definite opinions concerning the Revolution, concerning the French people, and concerning his own ambitions.

These opinions constituted the most important single factor in the life of France after 1799. Bonaparte sympathized with, or at least tolerated, one of the ideas of the Revolution, Equality. He detested the other leading idea, Liberty. In his youth he had fallen under the magnetic spell of Rousseau. But that had passed and thenceforth he dismissed Rousseau summarily as a "madman." He accepted the principle of equality because it alone made possible his own career and because he perceived the hold it had upon the minds of the people. He had no desire to restore the Bourbons and the feudal system, the



Josephine at Malmaison
From the painting by Prudhon.

Napoleon and the Old Régime

incarnation of the principle of inequality and privilege. He stood right athwart the road to yesterday in this respect. It was he and his system that kept the Bourbons exiles from France fifteen years longer, so long indeed that when they did finally return it was largely without their baggage of outworn ideas. Bonaparte thus prevented the restoration of the Old Régime. That was done for, for good and all. Privilege, abolished in 1789, remained abolished. The clergy, nobility, and third estate had been swept away. There remained only a vast mass of French citizens subject to the same laws, paying the same taxes, enjoying equal chances in life, as far as the state was concerned. The state showed no partiality, had no favorites. All shared in bearing the nation's burdens in proportion to their ability. And no class levied taxes upon another — tithes and feudal dues were not restored. No class could exercise a monopoly of any craft or trade — the guilds with all their restrictions remained abolished. Moreover, all now had an equal chance at public employment in the state or in the army.

Bonaparte summed this policy up in the phrase "careers open to talent." This idea was not original with him, it was contained in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. But he held it. Under him there were no artificial barriers, any one might rise as high as his ability, his industry, his service justified, always on condition of his loyalty to the sovereign. Every avenue was kept open to ambition and energy. Napoleon's marshals, the men who attained the highest positions in his armies, were humbly born — Masséna was the son of a saloon-keeper, Augereau of a mason, Ney of a cooper, and Murat of a country inn-keeper. None of these men could have possibly become a marshal under the Old Régime, nor could Bonaparte himself possibly ever have risen to a higher rank than that of colonel and then only when well along in life. Bonaparte did not think that all men are equal in natural gifts or in social position, but he maintained equality before the law, that priceless acquisition of the Revolution.

Napoleon the enemy of liberty in every form

He did not believe in liberty nor did he believe that, for that matter, the French believed in it. His career was one long denial or negation of it. Neither liberty of speech, nor liberty of the press, neither intellectual nor political liberty received anything from him but blows and infringements. In this respect his rule meant reaction to the spirit and the practice of the

Old Régime. It is quite true that the Convention and the Directory had also trampled ruthlessly upon this principle but it is also quite true that neither he nor they could successfully defy what is plainly a dominant preoccupation, a deep-seated longing of the modern world. For the last hundred years the ground has been cumbered with those who thought they could silence this passion for freedom, and who found out, to their cost and the cost of others, that their efforts to imprison the human spirit were unavailing. There are still, after all these instructive hundred years, rulers who share that opinion and act upon it. They have been able to preserve themselves and their methods of government in certain countries. But their day of reckoning, it may safely be prophesied, is coming, as it came for Napoleon himself. They fight for a losing cause, as the history of the modern world shows.

Bonaparte as ruler

The activities of Bonaparte as First Consul, after Marengo and during the brief interval of peace, were unremitting and far-reaching. It was then that he gave his full measure as a civil ruler. He was concerned with binding up the wounds or open sores of the nation, with determining the precise form of the national institutions, with fashioning the mould through which the national life was to go pulsing for a long future, with consolidating the foundations of his power. A brief examination of this phase of his activity is essential to a knowledge of the later history of France, and to our appreciation of his own matchless and varied ability, of the power of sheer intellect and will applied to the problems of a society in flux.

His policy of conciliation

First, the party passions which had rioted for ten years must be quieted. Bonaparte's policy toward the factions was conciliation, coupled with stern and even savage repression of such elements as refused to comply with this primary requirement. There was room enough in France for all, but on one condition, that all accept the present rulers and acquiesce in the existing institutions and laws of the land. Offices would be open freely to former royalists, Jacobins, Girondists, on equal terms, no questions asked save that of loyalty. As a matter of fact Bonaparte exercised his vast appointing power in this sense for the purpose of effacing all distinctions, all unhappy reminders of a troubled past. The laws against the *émigrés* and the recalcitrant priests were relaxed. Of over 100,000 emigrants, all but about 1,000 irreconcilables received, by successive decrees, the legal right to return

Liberal treatment of émigrés and non-juring priests

and to recover their estates, if these had not been already sold. Only those who placed their devotion to the House of Bourbon above all other considerations found the door resolutely closed.

Bonaparte soon perceived that the strength of the Bourbon cause lay not in the merits or talents of the royal family itself or its aristocratic supporters, but in its close identification with the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. Through all the angry religious warfare of the Revolution the mass of the people had remained faithful to the priests and the priests were subject to the bishops. The bishops had refused to accept the various laws of the Revolution concerning them and had as a consequence been driven from the country. They were living mostly in England and in Germany, taking their cue from the Pope, who recognized Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, as the legitimate ruler of France.

Bonaparte resolved to undermine the royalists

Thus the religious dissension was fused with political opposition — royalists and bishops were in the same galley. Bonaparte determined to sever this connection, thus leaving the extreme royalists high and dry, a staff of officers without an army. No sooner had he returned from Marengo than he took measures to show the Catholics that they had nothing to fear from him, that they could enjoy their religion undisturbed if they did not use their liberty, under cover of religion, to plot against him and against the Revolutionary settlement. He was in all this not actuated by any religious sentiment himself, but by a purely political sentiment — he was himself as he said, "Mohammedan in Egypt, Catholic in France," not because he considered that either was in the exclusive or authentic possession of the truth, but because he was a man of sense who saw the futility of trying to dragoon by force men who were religious into any other camp than the one to which they naturally belonged. Bonaparte also saw that religion was an instrument which he might much better have on his side than allow to be on the side of his enemies.

Bonaparte considered religion merely as a political force

He looked on religion as a force in politics, nothing else. Purely political, not spiritual, considerations determined his policy in now concluding with the Pope the famous treaty or Concordat, which reversed much of the work of the Revolutionary assemblies, and determined the relations of church and state in France for the whole nineteenth century. This important piece of legislation of the year 1802 lasted 103 years, being abrogated only under the present republic, in 1905.

Bonaparte's thought was that by restoring the Roman Catholic Church to something like its former primacy he would weaken the royalists. The people must have a religion, he said, but the religion must be in the hands of the government. Many of his adherents did not agree at all with him in this attitude. They thought it far wiser to keep church and state divorced as they had been by the latest legislation of the Revolution. Bonaparte discussed the matter with the famous philosopher Volney, whom he had just appointed a senator, saying to him, "France desires a religion." Volney replied that France also desired the Bourbons. At this Bonaparte assaulted the philosopher and gave him such a kick that he fell and lost consciousness. The army officers who were anti-clerical were bitter in their opposition and jibes, but Bonaparte went resolutely ahead. He knew the influence that priests exercise over their flocks and he intended that they should exercise it in his behalf. He meant to control them as he controlled the army and the thousands of state officials. The control of religion ought to be vested in the ruler. "It is impossible to govern without it," he said. He therefore turned to the Pope and made the treaty. "If the Pope had not existed," he said, "I should have had to create him for this occasion."

Bonaparte determined to win the support of the Church

Republican opposition to his plan

By the Concordat the Catholic religion was recognized by the Republic to be that "of the great majority of the French people" and its free exercise was permitted. The Pope agreed to a reorganization involving a diminution in the number of bishoprics. He also recognized the sale of the church property effected by the Revolution. Henceforth the bishops were to be appointed by the First Consul but were to be actually invested by the Pope. The bishops in turn were to appoint the priests, with the consent of the government. The bishops must take the oath of fidelity to the head of the state. Both bishops and priests were to receive salaries from the state. They really became state officials.

The Church controlled by the State

The Concordat gave great satisfaction to the mass of the population for two reasons — it gave them back the normal exercise of the religion in which they believed, and it confirmed their titles to the lands of the Church which they had bought during the Revolution, titles which the Church now recognized as legal. The Church soon found that Bonaparte regarded it as merely another source of influence, an instrument of rule. The clergy now became his supporters and in large measure abandoned royalism. Moreover Bonaparte, by additional regulations to which he did not ask the Pope's assent, bound the clergy hand and foot to his own chariot.

Effect of the Concordat

The Concordat was nevertheless a mistake. France had worked out a policy of entire separation of church and state which, had it been allowed to continue, would have brought the blessing of toleration into the habits of the country. But the Concordat cut this promising development short and by tying church and state together in a union which each shortly found disagreeable it left to the entire nineteenth century an irritating and a dangerous problem. Nor did it preserve, for long, happy relations between Napoleon and the Pope. Not many years later a quarrel arose between them which grew and grew until the Pope excommunicated Napoleon and Napoleon seized the Pope and kept him prisoner. Napoleon himself came to consider the Concordat as the worst blunder in his career. However its immediate advantages were considerable.

The Code Napoléon

"My real glory," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "is not my having won forty battles. What will never be effaced, what will endure forever, is my Civil Code." He was undoubtedly mistaken as to the durability of this achievement, but he was correct in placing it higher than that activity which occupied far more of his time. The famous *Code Napoléon* was an orderly, systematic, compact statement of the laws of France. Pre-revolutionary France had been governed by a perplexing number of systems of law of different historical origins. Then had come, with the Revolution, a flood of new legislation, inspired by different principles and greatly increasing the sum-total of laws in force. It was desirable to sift and harmonize all these statutes, and to present to the people of France a body of law, clear, rational, and logically arranged, so that henceforth all the doubt, uncertainty, and confusion which had hitherto characterized the administration of justice might be avoided and every Frenchman might easily know what his legal rights and relations were, with reference to the state and his fellow citizens. The Constituent Assembly, the Convention, the Directory, had all appreciated the need of this codification and had had committees at work upon it, but the work had been uncompleted. Bonaparte now lent the driving force of his personality to the accomplishment of this task, and in a comparatively brief time the lawyers and the

The Code based upon foundations laid by the various Revolutionary Assemblies

Council of State to whom he intrusted the work had it finished. The code to which Napoleon attached his name preserved the principle of civil equality established by the Revolution. It was immediately put into force in France and was later introduced into countries conquered or influenced by France, Belgium, the German territories west of the Rhine, and Italy.

Bonaparte's share in the making of the Code

Bonaparte's own direct share in this monumental work was considerable and significant. Though no lawyer himself, and with little technical knowledge of law, his marvelous intellectual ability, the precision, penetration, and pertinence of many of his criticisms, suggestions, questions, gave color and tone and character to the complete work. He presided over many of the sessions of the Council of State devoted to the elaboration of this code. "He spoke," says a witness, "without embarrassment and without pretension. He was never inferior to any member of the Council; he often equaled the ablest of them by the ease with which he seized the point of a question, by the justness of his ideas and the force of his reasoning; he often surprised them by the turn of his phrases and the originality of his expression." Called a new Constantine by the clergy for having made the Concordat, Bonaparte was considered by the lawyers a new Justinian. He was as a matter of fact, in many respects, the superior of both.

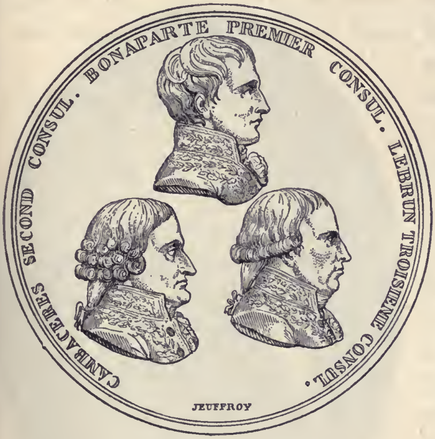
The Bank of France

During these years of the Consulate Bonaparte achieved many other things than those which have been mentioned. He improved the system of taxation greatly, and brought order into the national finances. He founded the Bank of France which still exists — and another institution which has come down to our own day, the Legion of Honor, for the distribution of honors and emoluments to those who rendered distinguished service to the state. Opposed as undemocratic, as offensive to the principle of equality, it was nevertheless instituted. Though open to those who had rendered civil service as well as to those who had rendered military, as a matter of fact Napoleon conferred only 1,400 crosses out of 48,000 upon civilians.

The Legion of Honor

National education

Nor did this exhaust the list of durable achievements of this crowded period of the Consulate. The system of national education was in part reorganized, and industry and commerce received the interested attention of the ambitious ruler. Roads were improved, canals were cut, ports were dredged. The economic development of the country was so rapid as to occasion some uneasiness in England.


BONAPARTE PREMIER CONSUL.
LEBRUN TROISIEME CONSUL.
CAMBACERES SECOND CONSUL.
JEUFFROY

The Three Consuls
After the medal in bronze by Jeuffroy.

Bonaparte and the royalists

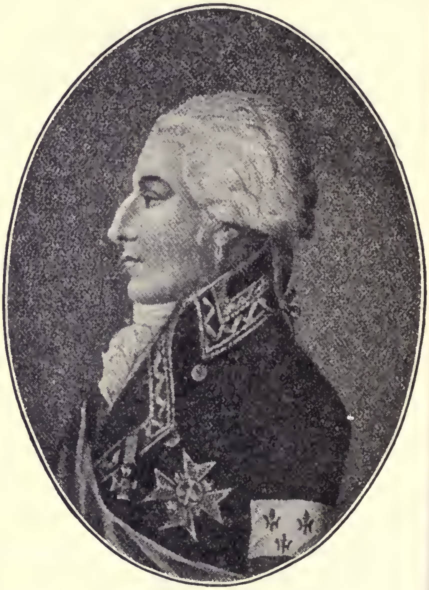
Thus was carried through an extensive and profound renovation of the national life. This period of the Consulate is that part of Bonaparte's career which was most useful to his fellow men, most contributory to the welfare of his country. His work was not accomplished without risk to himself. As his reputation and authority increased, the wrath of those who saw their way to power barred by his formidable person increased also. At first the royalists had looked to him to imitate the English General Monk who had used his position for the restoration of Charles II. But Bonaparte had no notion of acting any such graceful and altruistic a part. When this became apparent certain reckless royalists commenced to plot against him, began considering that it was possible to murder him. An attack upon him occurred shortly after Marengo. Many lives were lost but he escaped with his by the narrowest margin.

The Cadoudal conspiracy

A more serious plot was woven in London in the circle of the Count of Artois, younger brother of Louis XVI. The principal agents were Georges Cadoudal and Pichegru. Bonaparte, through his police, knew of the plot. He hoped, in allowing it to develop, to get his hands on the Count of Artois. But the Count did not land in France. Cadoudal and his accomplices were taken and shot. Pichegru was found strangled in prison. Bonaparte wished to make an example of the House of Bourbon which would be remembered. This led him to commit a monstrous crime. He ordered the seizure on German soil of the young Duke d'Enghien, the Prince of Condé, a member of a branch of the Bourbon family. The prince, who was innocent

Execution of the Duke d'Enghien

of any connection whatever with the conspiracy, was abducted, brought to Vincennes at five o'clock on the evening of March 20, 1804, was sent before a court-martial at eleven o'clock and at half past two in the night was taken out into the courtyard and shot. This was assassination pure and simple and it was Bonaparte's own act. It has remained ever since an odious blot upon his name, which the multitudinous seas cannot wash out. Its immediate object, however, was achieved. The royalists ceased plotting the murder of the Corsican.



The Duke d'Enghien
From an engraving after an original drawing by Count de Lély.

General Bonaparte becomes Napoleon I, Emperor of the French (1804)

A few days after this Bonaparte took another step forward in the consolidation of his powers. In 1802, after the Treaty of Amiens had been made, he had astutely contrived to have his consulate for ten years transformed into a consulate for life, with the right to name his successor. The only remaining step was taken in 1804 when a servile Senate approved a new constitution, declaring him Emperor of the French, "this change being demanded by the interests of the French people." It was at any rate agreeable to the French people, who in a popular vote or plebiscite ratified it overwhelmingly. Henceforth he is designated by his first name, in the manner of monarchs. It happened to be a more musical and sonorous name than most monarchs have possessed.

"I found the crown of France lying on the ground," Napoleon once said, "and I picked it up with my sword," a vivid summary of an important chapter in his biography.

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The Campaign of 1800: Ropes, *The First Napoleon*, pp. 49–58; Fournier, *Napoleon I*, pp. 188–208; Rose, *Life of Napoleon I*, Vol. I, pp. 221–245.

Bonaparte's Policies as First Consul: Fisher, *Napoleon*, Chap. IV; Fournier, Chap. IX, pp. 221–241; Johnston, *Napoleon*, Chap. VII, pp. 88–102; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, pp. 148–187; Rose, J. H., pp. 112–147.

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CHAPTER IX

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE EMPIRE

The Empire lasted ten years, from 1804 to 1814. It was a period of uninterrupted warfare in which a long series of amazing victories was swallowed up in final, overwhelming defeat. The central, overmastering figure in this agitating story, dominating the decade so completely that it is known by his name, was this man whose ambition vaulted so dizzily, only to o'erleap itself. Napoleon ranks with Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, as one of the most powerful conquerers and rulers of history. It would be both interesting and instructive to compare these four. It is by no means certain that Napoleon would not be considered the greatest of them all. Certainly we have far more abundant information concerning him than we have concerning the others.

The Napoleonic Age

When he became emperor he was thirty-five years old and was in the full possession of all his magnificent powers. For he was marvelously gifted. His brain was a wonderful organ, swift in its processes, tenacious in its grip, lucid, precise, tireless, and it was served by an incredibly capacious and accurate memory. "He never blundered into victory," says Emerson, "but won his battles in his head, before he won them on the field." All his intellectual resources were available at any moment. He said of himself, "Different matters are stowed away in my brain as in a chest of drawers. When I wish to interrupt a piece of work I close that drawer and open another. None of them ever get mixed, never does this inconvenience or fatigue me. When I feel sleepy I shut all the drawers and go to sleep."

Personal characteristics

Napoleon possessed a varied and vivid imagination, was always, as he said, "living two years in advance," weaving plans and dreams and then considering coolly the necessary ways and means to realize them. This union of the practical and the poetic, the realistic and the imaginative, each raised to the highest pitch, was rendered potent by a will that recognized no obstacles, and by an almost superhuman activity.

Napoleon loved work, and no man in Europe, and few in all history have labored as did he. "Work is my element, for which I was born and fitted," he said at St. Helena, at the end of his life. "I have known the limits of the power of my arms and legs; I have never discovered those of my power of work." Working twelve or sixteen and, if necessary, twenty hours a day, rarely spending more than fifteen or twenty minutes at his meals, able to fall asleep at will, and to awaken with his mind instantly alert, he lost no time and drove his secretaries and subordinates at full speed. We gain some idea of the prodigious labor accomplished by him when we consider that his published correspondence, comprising 23,000 pieces, fills thirty-two volumes and that 50,000 additional letters dictated by him are known to be in existence but have not yet been printed. Here was no do-nothing king but the most industrious man in Europe. Happy, too, only in his work. The ordinary pleasures of men he found tedious, indulging in them only when his position rendered it necessary. He rarely smiled, he never laughed, his conversation was generally a monologue, but brilliant, animated, trenchant, rushing, frequently impertinent and rude. He had no scruples and he had no manners. He was ill-bred, as was shown in his relations with women, of whom he had a low opinion. His language, whether Italian or French, lacked distinction, finish, correctness, but never lacked saliency or interest. The Graces had not presided over his birth, but the Fates had. He had a magnificent talent as stage manager and actor, setting the scenes, playing the parts consummately in all the varied ceremonies in which he was necessarily involved, coronation, reviews, diplomatic audiences, interviews with other monarchs. His proclamations, his bulletins to his army were masterpieces. He could cajole in the silkiest tones, could threaten in the iciest, could shed tears or burst into violence, smashing furniture and bric-a-brac when he felt that such actions would produce the effect desired. The Pope, Pius VII, seeing him once in such a display of passion, observed, "tragedian," "comedian."

His extraordinary capacity for work

His bearing in society

He had no friends, he despised all theorists like those who had sowed the fructifying seeds of the Revolution broadcast, he harried all opponents out of the country or into silence, he made his ministers mere hard-worked servants, but he won the admiration and devotion of his soldiers by the glamor of his victories, he held the peasantry in the hollow of his hand by constantly guaran-

His mastery of others

teeing them their lands, and their civil equality, the things which were, in their opinion, the only things in the Revolution that counted. He was as little as he was big. He would lie shamelessly, would cheat at cards, was superstitious in strange ways. He was a man of whom more evil and more good can be said and has been said than of many historical figures. He cannot be easily described, and certainly not in any brief compass.

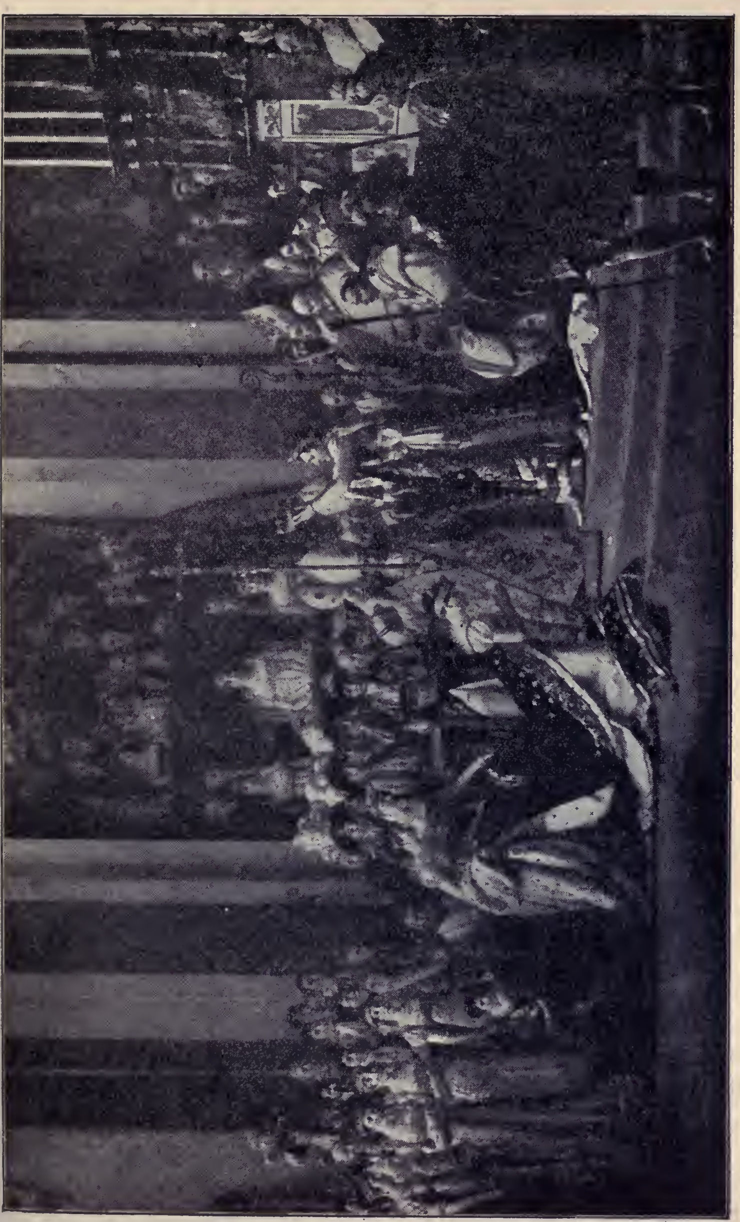
Napoleon establishes a court

Napoleon crowned in Nôtre Dame

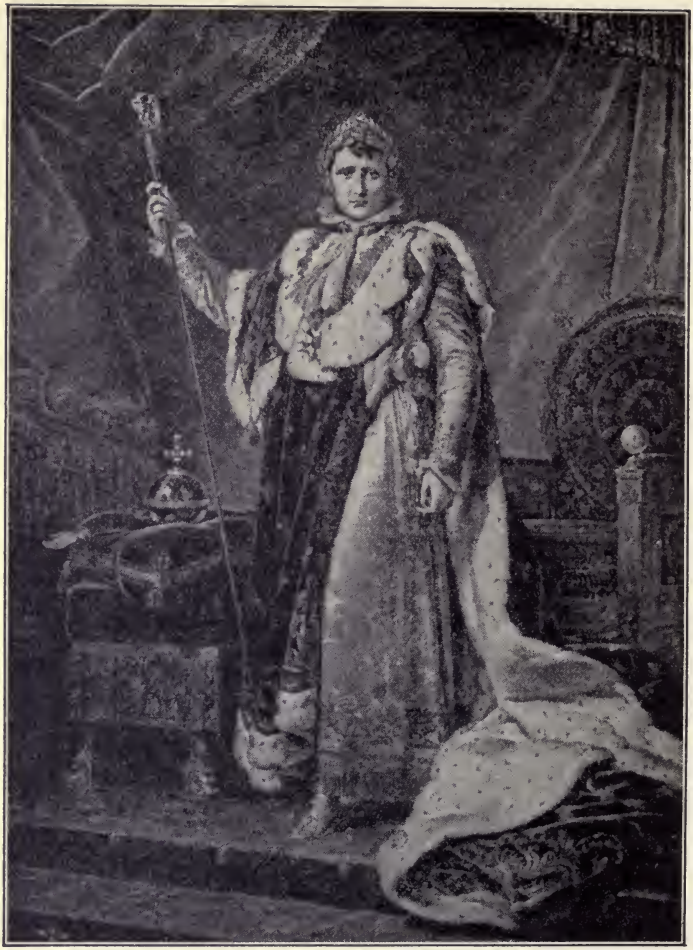
Now that Napoleon was emperor he proceeded to organize the state imperially. Offices with high-sounding, ancient titles were created and filled. There was a Grand Chamberlain, a Grand Marshal of the Palace, a Grand Master of Ceremonies and so on. A court was created, expensive, and as gay as it could be made to be at a soldier's orders. The Emperor's family, declared Princes of France, donned new titles and prepared for whatever honors and emoluments might flow from the bubbling fountain-head. The court resumed the manners and customs which had been in vogue before the Revolution. Republican simplicity gave way to imperial pretensions, attitudes, extravagances, pose. The constitution was revised to meet the situation, and Napoleon was crowned in a memorable and sumptuous ceremony in Nôtre Dame, the Pope coming all the way from Rome to assist — but not to crown. At the critical point in the splendid ceremony Napoleon crowned himself and then crowned the Empress. But the Pope poured the holy oil upon Napoleon's head. This former lieutenant of artillery thus became the "anointed of the Lord," in good though irregular standing. He crowned himself a little later King of Italy, after he had changed the Cisalpine Republic into the Kingdom of Italy (1805).

The period of the Empire one of uninterrupted war

The history of the Empire is the history of ten years of uninterrupted war. Europe saw a universal menace to the independence and liberty of all states in the growing and arrogant ascendency of France, an ascendency and a threat all the more obvious and dangerous now that that country was absolutely in the hands of an autocrat, and that too an autocrat who had grown great by war and whose military tastes and talents would now have free rein. Napoleon was evoking on every occasion, intentionally and ostentatiously, the imperial souvenirs of Julius Cæsar and of Charlemagne. What could this mean except that he planned to rule not only France, but Europe, consequently the



Napoleon Crowning Josephine
From the painting by David in the Louvre.



Napoleon in the Imperial Robes
From an engraving after the picture by Gérard.

world? Unless the other nations were willing to accept subordinate positions, were willing to abdicate their rank as equals in the family of nations, they must fight the dictatorship which was manifestly impending. Fundamentally this is what the ten years' war meant, the right of other states to live and prosper, not on mere sufferance of Napoleon, but by their own right and because universal domination or the undue ascendency of any single state would necessarily be dangerous to the other states and to whatever elements of civilization they represented. France already had that ascendency in 1804. Under Napoleon she made a tremendous effort to convert it into absolute and universal domination. She almost succeeded. That she failed was due primarily to the steadfast, unshakable, opposition of one power, England, which never acquiesced in her pretensions, which fought them at every stage with all her might, through good report and through evil report, stirring up opposition wherever she could, weaving coalition after coalition, using her money and her navy untiringly in the effort. It was a war of the giants. A striking aspect of the matter was the struggle between sea-power, directed by England, and land-power, directed by Napoleon.

England the constant enemy

Sea-power versus land-power

While the Empire was being organized in 1804 a new coalition was being formed against France, the third in the series we are studying. England and France had made peace at Amiens in 1802. That peace lasted only a year, until May 17, 1803. Then the two states flew to arms again. The reasons were various. England was jealous of the French expansion which had been secured by the treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville, French control of the left bank of the Rhine, French domination over considerable parts of the Italian peninsula, particularly French conquest of Belgium, including the fine port of Antwerp. England had always been opposed to French expansion, particularly northward along the Channel, which Englishmen considered and called the English Channel. The English did not wish any rival along those shores. However, despite this, they had finally consented to make the Peace of Amiens. The chief motive had been the condition of their industries. The long war, since 1793, had damaged their trade enormously. They hoped, by making peace with France, to find the markets of the Continent open to them once more, and thus to revive their trade. But they shortly saw that this was not at all the idea of France. Napoleon wished to develop the industries of France, wished to have French industries not only supply the French market but win the markets of the other countries on the Continent. He therefore established high protective tariffs with this end in view. Thus English competition was excluded or at least greatly reduced. The English were extremely angry and did not at all propose to lie

Reasons for England's hostility

The hollowness of the Peace of Amiens

down supinely, beaten without a struggle. That had never been their custom. War would be less burdensome, said their business men. For England, commerce was her very breath of life. Without it she could not exist. This explains why, now that she entered upon a struggle in its defense, she did not lay down her arms again until she had her rival safely imprisoned on the island of St. Helena.

Renewal of the war between France and England

There were other causes of friction between the two countries which rendered peace most unstable. With both nations ready for war, though not eager for it, causes for rupture were not hard to find. War broke out between them in May, 1803. Napoleon immediately seized Hanover, a possession in Germany of the English king. He declared the long coast of Europe from Hanover southward and eastward to Taranto in Italy blockaded, that is, closed to English commerce, and he began to prepare for an invasion of England itself. This was a difficult task, requiring much time, for France was inferior to England on the seas and yet, unless she could control the Channel for a while at least, she could not send an army of invasion. Napoleon established a vast camp of 150,000 men at Boulogne to be ready for the descent. He hastened the construction of hundreds of flat-boats for transport. Whether all this was mere make-believe intended to alarm England, whether he knew that after all it was a hopeless undertaking, and was simply displaying all this activity to compel England to think that peace would be wiser than running the risk of invasion, we do not positively know.

Napoleon threatens to invade England

At any rate England was not intimidated. She prepared for defense, and she also prepared for offense by seeking and finding allies on the Continent, by building up a coalition which might hold Napoleon in check, which might, it was hoped, even drive France back within her original boundaries, taking away from her the recent acquisitions of Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, and the Italian annexations and protectorates. England made a treaty to this effect with Russia, which had her own reasons for opposing France — her dread of his projects in the Eastern Mediterranean at the expense of the Turkish Empire. For if any one was to carve up the Turkish Empire, Russia wished to do it herself. The English agreed to pay subsidies to the Czar, a certain amount for every 100,000 men she should furnish for the war.

England builds up a new coalition

Austria joins the coalition

Finally in 1805 Austria entered the coalition, jealous of Napoleon's aggressions in Italy, anxious to wipe out the memory of the defeats of the two campaigns in which he had conquered her in 1796 and 1800, eager, also, to recover the position she had once held as the dominant power in the Italian peninsula.

Napoleon's third campaign against Austria

Such was the situation in 1805. When he was quite ready Napoleon struck with tremendous effect, not against England, which he could not reach because of the silver streak of sea that lay between them, not against Russia, which was too remote for immediate attention, but against his old-time enemy, Austria, and he bowled her over more summarily and more humiliatingly than he had ever done before.

Napoleon attacks Mack at Ulm

The campaign of 1805 was another Napoleonic masterpiece. The Austrians, not waiting for their allies, the Russians, to come up, had sent an army of 80,000 men under General Mack up the Danube into Bavaria. Mack had taken his position at Ulm, expecting that Naploeon would come through the passes of the Black Forest, the most direct and the usual way for a French army invading southern Germany. But not at all. Napoleon had a very different plan. Sending enough troops into the Black Forest region to confirm Mack in his opinion that this was the strategic point to hold, and thus keeping him rooted there, Napoleon transferred his Grand Army from Boulogne and the shores of the English Channel, where it had been training for the past two years, across Germany from north to south, a distance of 500 miles, in twenty-three days of forced marches, conducted in astonishing secrecy and with mathematical precision. He thus threw himself into the rear of Mack's army, between it and Vienna, cutting the line of communication, and repeating the strategy of the Great Saint Bernard and Marengo campaign of 1800. Mack had expected Napoleon to come from the west through the Black Forest. Instead, when it was too late, he found him coming from the east, up the Danube, toward Ulm. Napoleon made short work of Mack, forcing him to capitulate at Ulm, October 20. "I have accomplished what I set out to do," he wrote Josephine. "I have destroyed the Austrian army by means of marches alone." It was a victory won by legs — 60,000 prisoners, 120 guns, more than thirty generals. It had cost him only 1,500 men.

The way was now open down the Danube to Vienna. Thither, along poor roads and through rain and snow Napoleon rushed, covering the distance in three weeks. Vienna was entered in triumph and without resistance as the Emperor Francis had retired in a northeasterly direction, desiring to effect a junction with the oncoming Russian army.

The battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805)

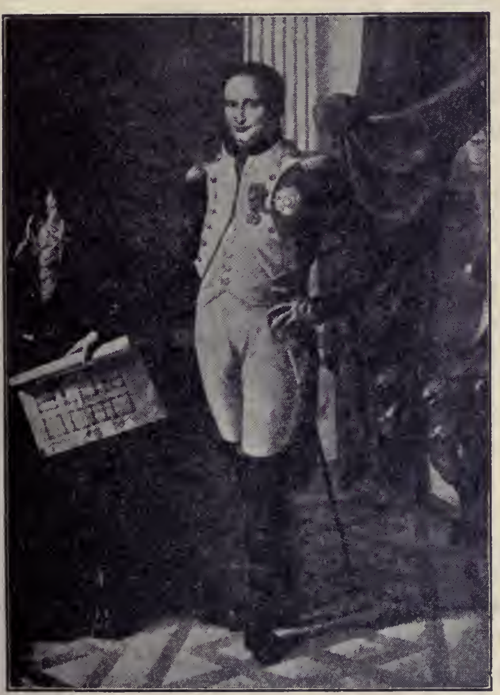
Napoleon followed him and on December 2, 1805, won perhaps his most famous victory, the battle of Austerlitz, on the first anniversary of his coronation as Emperor. All day long the battle raged. The sun breaking through the wintry fogs was considered a favorable omen by the French and henceforth became the legendary symbol of success. The fighting was terrific. The bravery of the soldiers on both sides was boundless, but the generalship of Napoleon was as superior as that of the Austro-Russians was faulty. The result was decisive, overwhelming. The allies were routed and sent flying in every direction. They had lost a large number of men and nearly all of their artillery. Napoleon, with originally inferior numbers, had not used all he had, had not thrown in his reserves. No wonder he addressed his troops in an exultant strain. "Soldiers, I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz you have justified all my expectations by your intrepidity; you have adorned your eagles with immortal glory." No wonder that he told them that they were marked men, that on returning to France all they would need to say in order to command admiration would be: "I was at the battle of Austerlitz."

The "Sun of Austerlitz"

The results of this brief and brilliant campaign were various and striking. The Russians did not make peace but withdrew in great disorder as best they could to their own country. But Austria immediately signed a peace and a very costly one, too. By the Treaty of Pressburg, dictated by Napoleon, who now had beaten her disastrously for the third time, she suffered her greatest humiliation, her severest losses. She ceded Venetia, a country she had held for eight years, since Campo Formio, to the Kingdom of Italy, whose king was Napoleon. Istria and Dalmatia also she ceded to Napoleon. Of all this coast line of the upper Adriatic she retained only the single port of Trieste. Not Austria but France was henceforth the chief Adriatic power. The German principalities, Bavaria and Baden, had sided with Napoleon in the late campaign and Austria was now compelled to cede to each of them some of her valuable possessions in

The Treaty of Pressburg (December 26, 1805)

South Germany. Shut out of the Adriatic, shut out of Italy, Austria lost 3,000,000 subjects. She became nearly a land-locked country. Moreover she was compelled to acquiesce in other changes that Napoleon had made or was about to make in various countries.

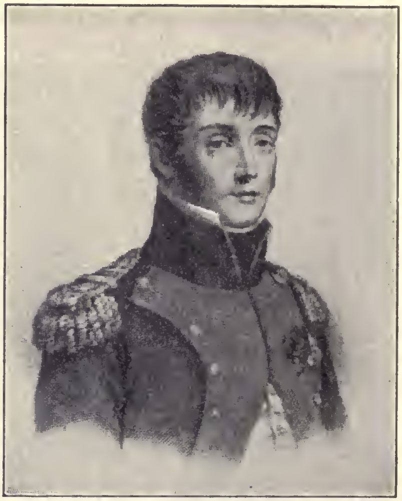


Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples
After the painting by J. B. J. Wicar.

Napoleon the king-maker

Napoleon began now to play with zest the congenial rôle of Charlemagne, about which he was prone to talk enthusiastically and with rhetorical extravagance. Having magically made himself Emperor, he now made others kings. As he abased mountains so he exalted valleys. In the early months of 1806 he created four kings. He raised Bavaria and Würtemberg, hitherto duchies, to the rank of kingdoms, which they have since held, "in grateful recompense for the attachment they have shown the Emperor," he said. During the campaign the King of Naples had at a critical moment sided with his enemies. Napoleon therefore issued a simple decree, merely stating that "The House of Bourbon has ceased to rule in Naples." He gave the vacant throne to his brother Joseph, two years older than himself. Joseph, who had first studied to become a priest, then to become an army officer, and still later to become a lawyer, now found himself a king, not by the grace of God, but by the grace of a younger brother.

The horn of plenty was not yet empty. Napoleon, after Austerlitz, forced the Batavian Republic, that is Holland, to become a monarchy and to accept his brother Louis, thirty-two years of age, as its king. Louis, as mild as his brother was hard, thought that the way to rule was to consult the interests and win the affections of his subjects. As this was not Napoleon's idea, Louis was destined to a rough and unhappy, and also brief, experience as king. "When men say of a king that he is a good man, it means that he is a failure," was the information that Napoleon sent Louis for his instruction.



Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland
After the painting by Wicar, engraved by Read.

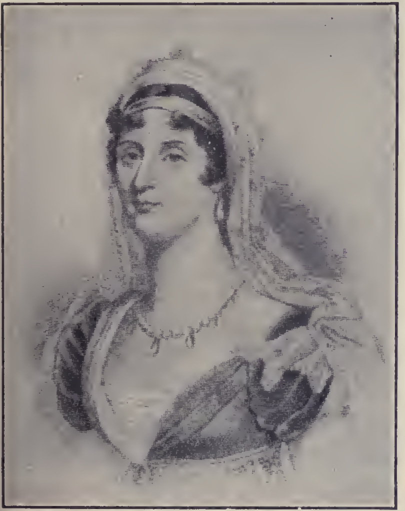
The family circle

The number of kingdoms at Napoleon's disposal was limited, temporarily at least. But he had many other favors to bestow, which were not to be despised. Nor were they despised. His sister Elise was made Princess of Lucca and Carrara, his sister Pauline, a beautiful and luxurious young creature, married Prince Borghese and became Duchess of Guastalla, and his youngest sister, Caroline, who resembled him in strength of character, married Murat, the dashing cavalry officer, who now became Duke of Berg, an artificial state which Napoleon created along the lower Rhine.

Lucien and Jerome in disfavor

Two brothers, Lucien and Jerome, were not provided for, and thereby hangs a tale. Each had incurred Napoleon's displeasure, as each had married for love and without asking his consent. He had other plans for them and was enraged at their independence. Both were expelled from the charmed circle, until they should put away their wives and marry others according to Napoleon's taste, not theirs. This Lucien steadfastly refused to do and so he who, by his presence of mind on the 19th of Brumaire, had saved the day and rendered all this story possible, stood outside the imperial favor, counting no more in the history of the times. When Jerome, the youngest member of this astonishing family, and made of more pliable stuff, awoke from love's young dream, at the furious demands of Napoleon, and put away his beautiful American bride, the Baltimore belle, Elizabeth Patterson, then he too became a king. All who worshiped Mammon in those exciting days received their appropriate reward.

It would be pleasant to continue this catalogue of favors, scattered right and left by the man who had rapidly grown so great. Officials of the state, generals of the army, and more distant relatives received glittering prizes and went on their way rejoicing, anxious for more. Appetite is said to grow by that on which it feeds.



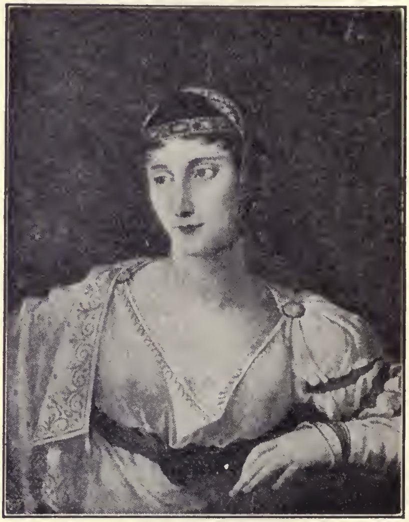
Elise Bonaparte, Princess of Lucca
From an anonymous engraving, after the painting by Counis.

The transformation of Germany

More important far than this flowering of family fortunes was another result of the Austerlitz campaign, the transformation of Germany, effected by the French with the eager and selfish coöperation of many German princes. That transformation, which greatly reduced the distracting number of German states, by allowing some to absorb others, had already been going on for several years. When France acquired the German territory west of the river Rhine, it was agreed, in the treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville, that the princes thus dispossessed should receive compensations east of the river Rhine. This obviously could not be done literally and for all, as every inch of territory east of the Rhine already had its ruler. As a matter of fact the change was worked out by compensating only the hereditary rulers. There were, both on the left bank and on the right and all throughout Germany, many petty states whose rulers were not hereditary — ecclesiastical states, and free imperial cities. Now these were tossed to the princes who ruled by hereditary right, as compensation for the territories they had lost west of the river Rhine. This wholesale destruction of petty German states for the advantage of other lucky German states was accomplished not by the

Paris the center for the brisk traffic in German lands

Germans themselves, which would have been shameless enough, but was accomplished in Paris. In the antechambers of the First Consul, particularly in the parlors of Talleyrand, the disgraceful begging for pelf went on. Talleyrand grew rapidly rich, so many were the "gifts" — one dreads to think what they would be called in a vulgar democracy — which German princes gave him for his support in despoiling their fellow-Germans. For months the disgusting traffic went on and, when it ended in the "Conclusion" of March, 1803, really dictated by Bonaparte, the number of German principalities had greatly decreased. All the ecclesiastical states of Germany, with one single exception, had disappeared and of the fifty free cities only six remained. All went to enlarge other states. At least the map of Germany was simpler, but the position of the Church and of the Empire was greatly altered. Of the 360 states which composed the Holy Roman or German Empire in 1792 only eighty-two remained in 1805.

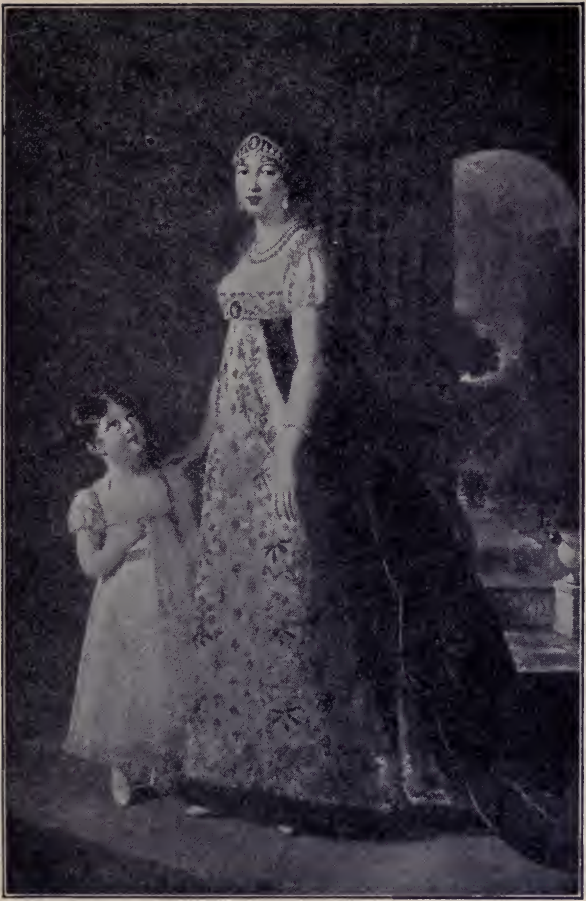


Pauline Bonaparte, Princess Borghese
After the painting by Lefévre.

Effects of the Austerlitz campaign

All this had occurred before Austerlitz. After Austerlitz the pace was increased, ending in the complete destruction of the Empire. Paris again became the center of German politics and intrigues, as in 1803. The result was that in 1806 the new kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg and fourteen other German princes renounced their allegiance to the German Emperor, formed a new Confederation of the Rhine (July 12, 1806), recognized Napoleon as their "Protector," made an offensive and defensive alliance with him which gave to him the control of their foreign policy, the settlement of questions of peace and war, and guaranteed him 63,000 German troops for his wars. Fresh annexations to these states were made. Thus perished

Creation of the Confederation of the Rhine

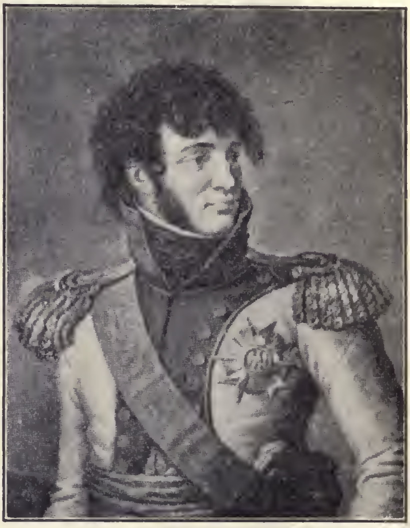


Caroline Bonaparte, Duchess of Berg, and Marie Murat
From the painting by Vigée le Brun.

many more petty German states, eagerly absorbed by the fortunate sixteen.

Destruction of the Holy Roman Empire

Perished also the Holy Roman Empire which had been in existence, real or shadowy, for a thousand years. The secession of the sixteen princes and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine killed it. It was only formal interment, therefore, when Napoleon demanded of the Emperor Francis, whom he had defeated at Austerlitz, that he renounce his title as Holy Roman Emperor. This Francis hastened to do (August 6, 1806), contenting himself henceforth with the new title he had given himself two years earlier, when Napoleon had assumed the imperial title. Henceforth he who had been Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire was called Francis I, Hereditary Emperor of Austria.



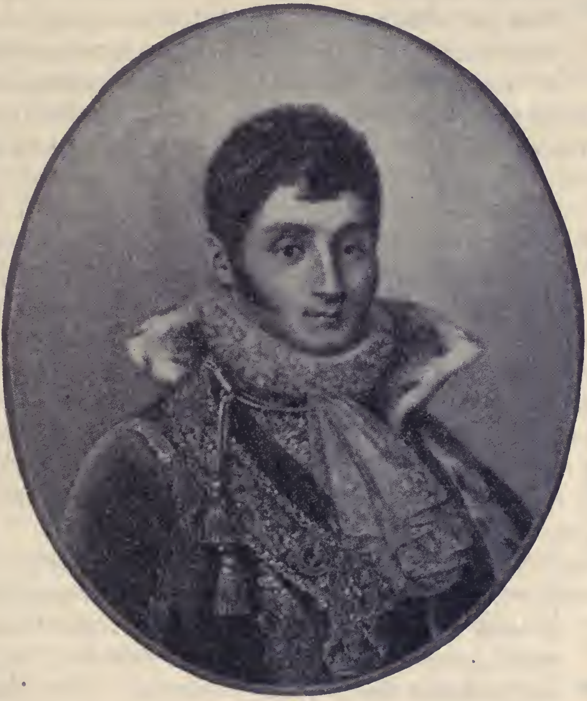
Joachim Murat, Duke of Berg
After the painting by Gros.

French influence in Germany

Napoleon, who could neither read nor speak a word of German, was now the real ruler of a large part of Germany, the strongest factor in German politics. To French domination of West Germany, annexed to France earlier, came an important increase of influence. It was now that French ideas began in a modified form to remould the civil life of South Germany. Tithes were abolished, the inequality of social classes in the eyes of the law was reduced though not destroyed, religious liberty was established, the position of the Jews was improved. The Germans lost in self-respect from this French domination, the patriotism of such as were patriotic was sorely wounded at the sight of this alien rule, but in the practical contrivances of a modernized social life, worked out by the French Revolution, and now in a measure introduced among them, they had a salutary compensation.

The relations of France and Prussia become strained

While all this shifting of scenes was being effected Napoleon had kept a large army in South Germany. The relations with Prussia, which country had been neutral for the past ten years, since the Treaty of Basel of 1795, were becoming strained and grew rapidly more so. The policy of the Prussian King, Frederick William III, was weak, vacillating, covetous. His diplomacy was playing fast and loose with his obligations as a neutral and with his desires for the territorial aggrandizement of Prussia. Napoleon's attitude was insolent and contemptuous. Both sides made an unenviable but characteristic record in double-dealing. The sordid details, highly discreditable to both, cannot be narrated here. Finally the war party in Berlin got the upper hand, led by the high-spirited and beautiful Queen Louise and by the military chiefs, relics of the glorious era of Frederick the Great, who thought they could do what Frederick had done, that is, defeat the French with ease. As if to give the world some intimation of the terrible significance of their displeasure they went to the French Embassy in Berlin and bravely whetted their swords upon its steps of stone. The royalist officers at Versailles in the early days of the Revolution had shown no more inane folly in playing with fire than did the Prussian military caste at this time. The



JEROME BONAPARTE
Engraved by I. G. Müller. knight, and Frederich Müller, son, engravers to his Majesty the King of Würtemberg, after a drawing by Madame Kinson.

one had learned its lesson. The other was now to go to the same pitiless school of experience.

War between France and Prussia (1806)

Hating France and having an insensate confidence in their own superiority, the Prussian war party forced the government to issue an ultimatum to Napoleon, Emperor of the French, demanding that he withdraw his French troops beyond the Rhine. Napoleon knew better how to give ultimatums than how to receive them. He had watched the machinations of the Prussian ruling class with close attention. He was absolutely prepared when the rupture came. He now fell upon them like a cloudburst and administered a crushing blow in the two battles of Jena and Auerstädt, fought on the same day at those two places, a few miles apart (October 14, 1806), he himself in command of the former, Davout of the latter. The Prussians fought bravely but their generalship was bad. Their whole army was disorganized, became panic-stricken, streamed from the field of battle as best it could, no longer receiving or obeying orders, many throwing away their arms, fleeing in every direction. Thousands of prisoners were taken and in succeeding days French officers scoured the country after the fugitives, taking thousands more. The collapse was complete. There was no longer any Prussian army. One after another all the fortresses fell.

Disastrous defeat of the Prussians at Jena and Auerstädt

Napoleon enters Berlin (October 25, 1806)

On the 25th of October Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph. He had previously visited the tomb of Frederick the Great at Potsdam in order to show his admiration for his genius. He had the execrable taste, however, to take the dead Frederick's sword and sash and send them to Paris as trophies. "The entire kingdom of Prussia is in my hands," he announced. He planned that the punishment should be proportionate to his rage. He drew up a decree deposing the House of Hohenzollern but did not issue it, waiting for a more spectacular moment. He laid enormous war contributions upon the unhappy victim.

The Berlin Decrees against England

Napoleon postponed the announcement of the final doom until he should have finished with another enemy, Russia. Before leaving Berlin for the new campaign he issued the famous decrees which declared the British Isles in a state of blockade and prohibited commerce with them on the part of his dominions and those of his allies.

The campaign against Russia

In the campaign of 1806 the Russians had been allied with the Prussians although they had taken no part, as the latter had not waited for them to come up. Napoleon now turned his attention to them. Going to Warsaw, the leading city of that part of Poland which Prussia had acquired in the partition of that country, he planned the new campaign, which was signalized by two chief battles, Eylau and Friedland. The former was one of the most bloody of his entire career. Fighting in the midst of a blinding snowstorm on February 8, 1807, Napoleon narrowly escaped defeat. The slaughter was frightful — "sheer butchery," said Napoleon later. "What carnage," said Ney, "and no results," thus accurately describing this encounter. Napoleon managed to keep the field and in his usual way he represented the battle as a victory. But it was a drawn battle. For the first time in Europe he had failed to win. The Russian soldiers fought with reckless bravery — "it was necessary to kill them twice," was the way the French soldiers expressed it.

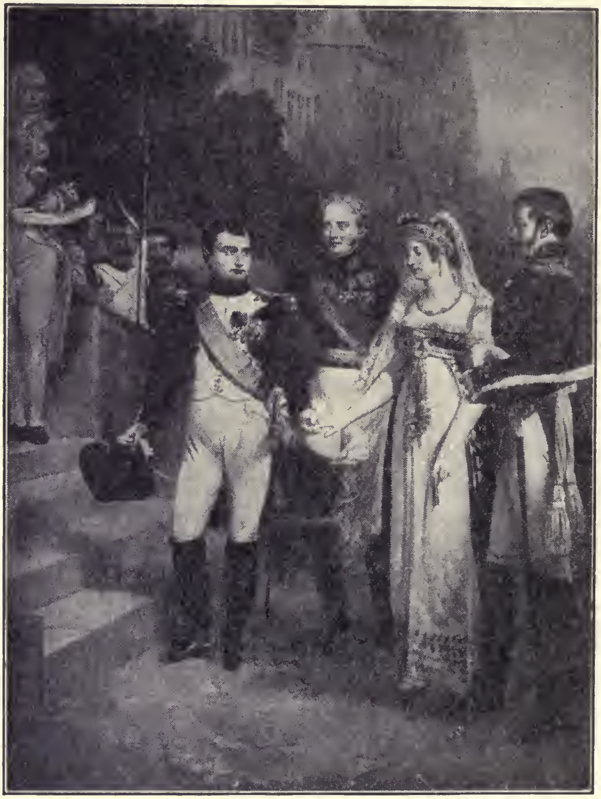
The battle of Friedland (June 14, 1807)

Four months later, however, on June 14, 1807, on the anniversary of Marengo, Napoleon's star shone again unclouded. He won a victory at Friedland which, as he informed Josephine, "is the worthy sister of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena." The victory was at any rate so decisive that the Czar, Alexander I, consented to make overtures for peace. The Peace of Tilsit was concluded by the two Emperors in person after many interviews, the first one of which was held on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen. Not only did they make peace but they went further and made a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive. Napoleon gained a great diplomatic victory, which completely altered the previous diplomatic system of Europe, a fitting climax to three years of remarkable achievement upon the field of battle. Exercising upon Alexander all his powers of fascination, of flattery, of imagination, of quick and sympathetic understanding, he completely won him over. The two Emperors conversed in the most dulcet, rapturous way. "Why did not we two meet earlier?" exclaimed the enthusiastic Czar of All the Russias. With their two imperial heads bowed over a map of Europe they proceeded to divide it. Alexander was given to understand that he might take Finland, which he coveted, from Sweden, and attractive pickings from the vast Turkish Empire were dangled somewhat vaguely before him. On the other hand

The Treaties of Tilsit

France and Russia become allies

he recognized the changes Napoleon had made or was about to make in western Europe, in Italy, and in Germany. Alexander was to offer himself as a mediator between those bitter enemies, England and France, and, in case England declined to make peace, then Russia would join France in enforcing the continental blockade, which was designed to bring England to terms.



Napoleon Receiving Queen Louise of Prussia at Tilsit, July 6, 1807
After the painting by Gosse.

Prussia dismembered

Napoleon out of regard for his new friend and ally promised to allow Prussia still to exist. The decree dethroning the House of Hohenzollern was never issued. But Napoleon's terms to Prussia were very severe. She must give up all her territory west of the

River Elbe. Out of this and other German territories Napoleon now made the Kingdom of Westphalia which he gave to his brother Jerome, who had by this time divorced his American wife. Prussia's eastern possessions were also diminished. Most of what she had acquired in the partitions of Poland was taken from her and created into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, to be ruled over by the sovereign of Saxony, whose title of Elector Napoleon at this juncture now changed into that of King. These three states, Westphalia, Saxony, and the Duchy of Warsaw now entered the Confederation of the Rhine, whose name thus became a misnomer, as the Confederation included not only the Rhenish and South German states but stretched from France to the Vistula, including practically all Germany except Prussia, now reduced to half her former size, and except Austria.

The Confederation of the Rhine enlarged

Lord Nelson
From an engraving by S. Freeman, after the painting by Abbott.

Naturally Napoleon was in high feather as he turned homeward. Naturally, also, he was pleased with the Czar. "He is a handsome, good young emperor, with more mind than he is generally credited with" — such was Napoleon's encomium. Next to being sole master of all Europe came the sharing of mastery with only one other. A few months later he wrote his new ally that "the work of Tilsit will regulate the destinies of the world." There only remained the English, "the active islanders," not yet charmed or conquered. In the same letter to the Czar Napoleon refers to them as "the enemies of the world" and told how they could be easily brought to book. He had forgotten, or rather he had wished to have the world forget, that there was one monstrous flaw in the apparent perfection of his prodigious success. Two years before, on the very day after the capitulation of Ulm, Admiral Nelson had completely destroyed the French fleet in the battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805), giving his life that England might live and inspiring his own age and succeeding ages by the cry, "England expects every man to do his duty!"

The Battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805)

The French papers did not mention the battle of Trafalgar but it nevertheless bulks large in history. This was Napoleon's second taste of sea-power, his first having been, as we have seen, in Egypt, several years before, also at the hands of Nelson.

Napoleon returned to Paris in the pride of power and of supreme achievement. But, it is said, pride cometh before a fall. Was the race mistaken when it coined this cooling phrase of proverbial wisdom? It remained to be seen.

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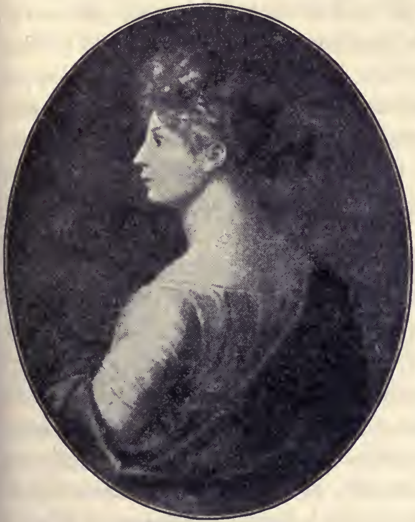
CHAPTER X

THE EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT

After Tilsit there remained England, always England, as the enemy of France. In 1805 Napoleon had defeated Austria, in 1806 Prussia, in 1807 Russia. Then the last named power had shifted its policy completely, had changed partners, and, discarding its former allies, had become the ally of its former enemy.



Queen Louise of Prussia
From an engraving by Ruscheweyh.

Napoleon now free to deal with England

Napoleon was now in a position to turn his attention to England. As she was mistress of the seas, as she had at the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 destroyed the French navy, the Emperor was compelled to find other means, if there were any, of humbling the elusive enemy. England must be beaten, but how? Napoleon now adopted a policy which the Convention and the Directory had originated. Only he gave to it a gigantic application and development. This was the Continental System, or the Continental Blockade. If England could not be conquered directly by French fleets and armies, she might be conquered indirectly.

England's power lay in her wealth, and her wealth came from her factories and her commerce which carried their products to the markets of the world, which brought her the necessary raw materials, and which kept open the fruitful connection with her scattered colonies. Cut this artery, prevent this commerce, close these markets, and her prosperity would be destroyed. Manufacturers would be compelled to shut down their factories. Their employees, thrown out of work, would face starvation. With that doom impending, the working classes and the industrial and commercial classes, threatened with ruin, would resort to terrific pressure upon the English government, to insurrections, if necessary, to compel it to sue for peace. Economic warfare was now to be tried on a colossal scale. By exhausting England's resources it was hoped and expected that England would be exhausted.

The source of England's strength

By the Berlin Decrees (November, 1806), Napoleon declared a blockade of the British Isles, forbade all commerce with them, all correspondence, all trade in goods coming from England or her colonies, and ordered the confiscation and destruction of all English goods found in France or in any of the countries allied with her. No vessel coming from England or England's colonies should be admitted to their ports. To this England replied by severe Orders in Council, which Napoleon capped by additional decrees, issued from Milan.

Napoleon declares a blockade of the British Isles

This novel form of warfare had very important consequences. This struggle with England dominates the whole period from 1807 to 1814. It is the central thread that runs through all the tangled and tumultuous history of those years. There were plays within the play, complications and struggles with other nations which sometimes rose to such heights as momentarily to obscure the titanic contest between sea-power and land-power. But the fundamental, all-inclusive contest, to which all else was subsidiary or collateral, was the war to the knife between these two, England and France. Everywhere we see its influence, whether in Spain or Russia, in Rome or Copenhagen, along the Danube or along the Tagus.

Epochal character of the struggle with England

The Continental System had this peculiarity, that, to be successful in annihilating English prosperity and power, it must be applied everywhere and constantly. The Continent must be sealed hermetically against English goods. Only then, with their necessary markets closed to them everywhere, would the English be forced to yield. Let there be a leak anywhere, let there be a strip of coast, as in Portugal or Spain or Italy, where English ships could touch and land their goods, and through that leak England could and

The Continental System

would penetrate, could and would distribute her wares to eager customers, thus escaping the industrial strangulation intended by the Emperor of the French. This necessity Napoleon saw clearly. It was never absent from his mind. It inspired his conduct at every step. It involved him inevitably and, in the end, disastrously, in a policy of systematic and widespread aggressions upon other countries, consequently in a costly succession of wars.

Attempts to enforce the blockade lead to repeated acts of aggression

To close simply the ports of France and of French possessions to English commerce would not at all accomplish the object aimed at. Napoleon must have the support of every other seaboard country in Europe. This he sought to get. He was willing to get it peacefully if he could, prepared to get it forcibly if he must. He secured the adhesion of Russia by the Treaty of Tilsit. Austria and Prussia, having been so decisively beaten, had to consent to apply the system to their dominions. Little Denmark, perforce, did the same when the demand came. Sweden on the other hand adhered to the English alliance. Consequently Russia was urged to take Finland, which belonged to Sweden, with its stretch of coastline and its excellent harbors. Napoleon's brother Louis, King of Holland, would not enforce the blockade, as to do so meant the ruin of Holland. Consequently he was in the end forced to abdicate and Holland was annexed to France (1810). France also annexed the northern coasts of Germany up to Lübeck, including the fine ports of Bremen and Hamburg and the mouths of those rivers which led into central Germany (1810). In Italy the Pope wished to remain neutral but there must be no neutrals, in Napoleon's and also in England's opinion, if it could be prevented. In this case it could. Consequently Napoleon annexed part of the Papal States to the so-called Kingdom of Italy, of which he was himself the King, and part he incorporated directly and without ado into the French Empire (1809). Immediately the Pope excommunicated him and preached a holy war against the impious conqueror. Napoleon in turn took the Pope prisoner and kept him such for several years. This was injecting the religious element again into politics, as in the early days of the Revolution, to the profound embitterment of the times. Some of these events did not occur immediately after Tilsit but did occur in the years from 1809 to 1811.

Rupture with the Pope

What did occur immediately after Tilsit was a famous and fatal misadventure in Portugal and Spain. Portugal stood in close economic and political relations with England and was reluctant to enforce the restrictions of the Continental Blockade. Her coastline was too important to be allowed as an open gap. Therefore Napoleon arranged with Spain for the conquest and partition of that country. French and Spanish armies invaded Portugal, aiming at Lisbon. Before they arrived Napoleon had announced in his impressive and laconic fashion that "the fall of the House of Braganza furnishes one more proof that ruin is inevitable to whomsoever attaches himself to the English." The royal family escaped capture by sailing for the colony of Brazil and seeking safety beyond the ocean. There they remained until the overthrow of Napoleon.

Attack upon Portugal (1807)

"The House of Braganza has ceased to reign"

This joint expedition had given Napoleon the opportunity to introduce large bodies of troops into the country of his ally, Spain. They now remained there, under Murat, no one knew for what purpose,—no one, except Napoleon, in whose mind a dark and devious plan was maturing. The French had dethroned the House of Bourbon in France during the Revolution. Napoleon had himself after Austerlitz dethroned the House of Bourbon in Naples and had put his brother Joseph in its place. There remained a branch of that House in Spain, and that branch was in a particularly corrupt and decadent condition. The King, Charles IV, was utterly incompetent; the Queen grossly immoral and endowed with the tongue of a fishwife; her favorite and paramour, Godoy, was the real power behind the throne. The whole unsavory group was immensely unpopular in Spain. On the other hand, the King's son, Ferdinand, was idolized by the Spanish people, not because of anything admirable in his personality, which was utterly despicable, but because he was opposed to his father, his mother, and Godoy. Napoleon thought the situation favorable to his plan, which was to seize the throne thus occupied by a family rendered odious by its character and impotent by its dissensions. By a treacherous and hypocritical diplomacy he contrived to get Charles IV, the Queen, Godoy, and Ferdinand to come to Bayonne in southern France. No hungry spider ever viewed more coolly a more helpless prey entangled in his web. By a masterly use of the black arts of dissimulation, vituperation, and intimidation he swept the whole royal crew aside. Charles abdicated his throne into the hands of Napoleon, who thereupon forced

The situation in Spain

Ferdinand to renounce his rights under a thinly veiled threat that, if he did not, the Duke d'Enghien would not be the only member of the House of Bourbon celebrated for an untoward fate. Ferdinand and his brothers were sent as prisoners to a château at Valençay. The vacant throne was then given by Napoleon to his brother Joseph, who thereupon abdicated the kingship of Naples, which now passed to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law.

Napoleon makes his brother Joseph King of Spain (1808)

Napoleon later admitted that it was this Spanish business that destroyed him. "I embarked very badly on the Spanish affair, I confess; the immorality of it was too patent, the injustice too cynical." But this was the judgment of retrospect. He entered upon the venture with a light heart, confident that at most he would encounter only a feeble opposition. "Countries full of monks like yours," he told Ferdinand, "are easy to subdue. There may be some riots, but the Spaniards will quiet down when they see that I offer them the integrity of the boundaries of their kingdom, a liberal constitution, and the preservation of their religion and their national customs." Contrary to his expectation the conduct of the Spaniards was quite the reverse of this. He might offer them, as he did, better government than they had ever had. They hated him as a thief and trickster, also as a heretic, as a man whose character and policies and ideas were anathema. Napoleon embarked on a five years' war with them, which baffled him at every stage, drained his resources, in a contest that was inglorious, resources which should have been husbanded most carefully for more important purposes. "If it should cost me 80,000 men" to conquer Spain, "I would not attempt it," he said at the beginning, "but it will not take more than 12,000." A ghastly miscalculation, for it was to take 300,000 and to end in failure.

The Spaniards rise in revolt

He encountered in Spain an opposition very different in kind and quality from any he had met hitherto in Italy or Germany, baffling, elusive, wearing. Previously he had waged war with governments only and their armies, not with peoples rising as one man, resolved to die rather than suffer the loss of their independence. The people of Italy, the people of Austria, the people of Germany, had not risen. Their governments had not appealed to them, but had relied upon their usual weapon, professional armies. Defeating these, as Napoleon had done with comparative ease,

Napoleon arouses the spirit of nationalism

the governments had then sued for peace and endured his terms. No great wave of national feeling, daring all, risking all, had swept over the masses of those countries where he had hitherto appeared. France had herself undergone this very experience and her armies had won their great successes because they were aglow with the spirit of nationality, which had been so aroused and intensified by the Revolution. Now other countries were to take a page out of her book, at the very time when she was showing a tendency to forget that page herself. The Spanish rising was the first of a series of popular, national, instinctive movements that were to end in Napoleon's undoing.

Character of war in Spain

The kind of warfare that the Spaniards carried on was peculiar, determined by the physical features of the land and by the circumstances in which they found themselves. Lacking the leadership of a government — their royal family being virtually imprisoned in France — poor, and without large armies, they fought as guerillas, little bands, not very formidable in themselves individually, but appearing now here, now there, now everywhere, picking off small detachments, stragglers, then disappearing into their mountain fastnesses. They thus repeated the history of their long struggles with the Moors. Every peasant had his gun and every peasant was inspired by loyalty to his country, and by religious zeal, as the Vendéans had been. The Catholic clergy entered again upon the scene, fanning the popular animosity against this despoiler of the Pope, and against these French free-thinkers. Napoleon had aroused two mighty forces which were to dog his footsteps henceforth, that of religious zeal, and that of the spirit of nationality, each with a fanaticism of its own.

The influence of the clergy against Napoleon

Geography against him

Even geography, which Napoleon had hitherto made minister to his successes, was now against him. The country was poor, the roads were execrable, the mountains ran in the wrong direction, right across his path, the rivers also. In between these successive mountain ranges, in these passes and valleys, it was difficult for large armies, such as Napoleon's usually were, to operate. It was easy for mishaps to occur, for guerilla bands or small armies to cut off lines of communication, for them to appear in front and in the rear at the same time. The country was admirable for the defensive, difficult for the offensive. This was shown early in the war when General Dupont was caught in a trap and obliged to capitulate with an army of 20,000 at

Baylen (July, 1808). This capitulation produced a tremendous impression throughout Europe. It was the first time a French army corps had been compelled to ground arms in full campaign. It was the heaviest blow Napoleon had yet received in his career. It encouraged the Spaniards, and other peoples also, who were only waiting to see the great conqueror trip and who were now fired with hope that the thing might be done again. Napoleon was enraged, stormed against the unfortunate army, declared that from the beginning of the world nothing "so stupid, so silly, so cowardly" had been seen. They had had a chance to distinguish themselves, "they might have died," he said. Instead they had surrendered.

The Capitulation of Baylen (July, 1808)

Joseph, the new King, who had been in his capital only a week, left it hurriedly and withdrew toward the Pyrenees, writing his brother that Spain was like no other country, that they must have an army of 50,000 to do the fighting, another of 50,000 to keep open the line of communications, and 100,000 gallows for traitors and scoundrels.

King Joseph seeks safety in flight

There was another feature of this war in the Peninsula, England's participation. An army was sent out under Sir Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington, to coöperate with the Portuguese and Spaniards. Wellesley, who had already distinguished himself in India, now began to build up a European reputation as a careful, original, and resourceful commander. Landing at Lisbon, the expedition shortly forced the French commander Junot to capitulate at Cintra (August, 1808), as Dupont had been forced to in the preceding month at Baylen.

The English join in the Peninsula campaign

These were disasters which Napoleon could not allow to stand unanswered. His prestige, his reputation for invincibility must remain undiminished or Europe generally would become restless, with what result no one could foretell. He resolved therefore to go to Spain himself and show the Spaniards and all other peoples how hopeless it was to oppose him, how minor and casual defeats of his subordinates meant nothing, how his own mighty blows could no more be parried than before. But, before going, he wished to make quite sure of the general European situation. He arranged therefore for an interview at Erfurt in the center of Germany with his ally, Alexander of Russia. The two emperors spent a fortnight discussing their plans, examining every phase of the inter-

Napoleon resolves to go to Spain himself

national situation (September–October, 1808). This Erfurt Interview was the most spectacular episode in Napoleon's career as a diplomatist. He sought to dazzle Europe with his might, to impress the imaginations of men, and their fears, to show that the Franco-Russian alliance, concluded at Tilsit the year before, stood taut and firm and could not be shaken. All the kings and princes of Germany were summoned to give him, their "Protector," an appropriate and glittering setting. Napoleon brought with him the best theatrical troop in Europe, the company of the *Théâtre Français*, and they played, as the pretentious expression was, to "a parterre of kings." On one occasion when Talma, the famous tragedian recited the words,

The Erfurt Interview (September –October, 1808)

"The friendship of a great man
Is a true gift of the gods,"

the Czar arose, seized Napoleon's hand, and gave the signal for applause. Day after day was filled with festivities, dinners, balls, hunts, reviews. The gods of German literature and learning, Goethe and Wieland, paid their respects. Meanwhile the two allies carefully canvassed the situation. In general the Czar was cordial, for he saw his profit in the alliance. But now and then a little rift in the lute appeared. One day, as they were discussing, Napoleon became angry, threw his hat on the floor and stamped upon it. Alexander merely observed "You are angry, I am stubborn. With me anger gains nothing. Let's talk, let's reason together, or I shall leave."

Napoleon and Alexander in conclave concerning the destinies of the world

The result of the interview was in the main satisfactory enough to both. The accord between the two seemed complete. The alliance was renewed, a new treaty was made, which was to be kept secret "for ten years at least," and now Napoleon felt free to direct his attention to the annoying Spanish problem, resolved to end it once for all. Assembling a splendid army of 200,000 men he crossed the Pyrenees and in a brief campaign of a month he swept aside all obstacles with comparative ease, and entered Madrid (December, 1808). There he remained a few weeks sketching the institutions of the new Spain which he intended to create. It would certainly have been a far more rational and enlightened and progressive state than it ever had been in the past. He declared the Inquisition, which still existed, abolished; also the remains of the feudal system; also the tariff boundaries which shut off province from

Napoleon conquers Spain (December 1808)

province to the great detriment of commerce. He closed two-thirds of the monasteries, which were more than superabundant in the land. But, just as no individual cares to be reformed under the compulsion of a master, so the Spaniards would have nothing to do with these modern improvements in the social art, imposed by a heretic and a tyrant, who had wantonly filched their throne and invaded their country.

Napoleon hurries back to Paris

Napoleon might perhaps have established his control over Spain so firmly that the new institutions would have struck root, despite this opposition. But time was necessary and time was something he could not command. In Madrid only a month, he was compelled to hurry back to France because of alarming news that reached him. He never returned to Spain.

Austria begins a new war with France (April, 1809)

Reform in the military system of Austria

Austria had thrown down the gauntlet again. It was entirely natural for her to seek at the convenient opportunity to avenge the humiliations she had repeatedly endured at the hands of France, to recover the position she had lost. Moreover the close alliance of Russia and France and Napoleon's seizure of the Spanish crown filled her with alarm. If Napoleon was capable of treating in this way a hitherto submissive ally, such as Spain had been, what might he not do to a chronic enemy and now a mere neutral like Austria, particularly as the latter had nowhere to look for support since Russia had deserted the cause. Moreover Austria had learned something from her disastrous experiences; among other things that her previous military system was defective in that it made no appeal to the people, to national sentiment. After Austerlitz the army was reorganized and a great militia was created composed of all men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. A promising invigoration of the national consciousness began. What occasion could be more convenient for paying off old scores and regaining lost ground than this, with Napoleon weakened by the necessity of holding down a spirited and outraged nation like the Spanish, resolved to go to any lengths, and by the necessity of checking or crushing the English in Portugal?

Under the influence of such considerations the war party gained the ascendency, and Austria, under the lead of Archduke Charles, brother of the Emperor and a very able commander, began a war in the spring of 1809. This war, which Napoleon did not seek, from which he had nothing to gain, was another Austrian mistake. Austria should have allowed more time for the full development of her new military system before running perilous risks again.

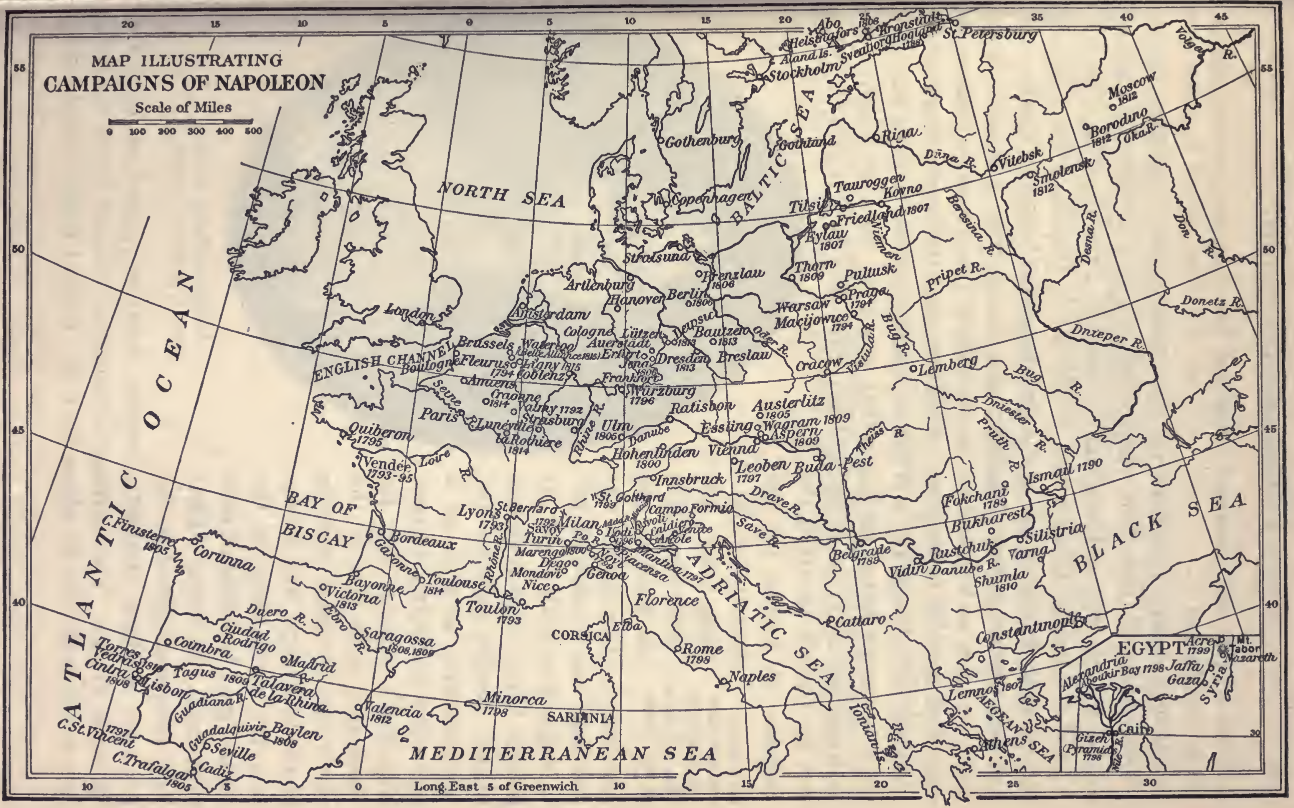
Napoleon conquers Austria for the fourth time

The Austrians paid for their precipitancy. Napoleon astonished them again by the rapidity of his movements. In April, 1809, he fought them in Bavaria, five battles in five days, throwing them back. Then he advanced down the Danube, entered Vienna without difficulty and crossed the river to the northern bank, whither the army of the Archduke had withdrawn. There Napoleon fought a two days' battle at Essling (May 21–22). The fighting was furious, the village of Essling changing hands nine times. Napoleon was seriously checked. He was obliged to take refuge for six weeks on the Island of Lobau in the Danube, until additional troops were brought up from Italy, and from Germany. Then, when his army was sufficiently reinforced, he crossed to the northern bank again and fought the great battle of Wagram (July 5–6). He was victorious but in no superlative sense as at Austerlitz. The Archduke's army retired from the field in good order. The losses had been heavy but no part of the army had been captured, none of the flags taken. This was the last victorious campaign fought by Napoleon. Even in it he had won his victory with unaccustomed difficulty. His army was of inferior quality, many of his best troops being detained by the inglorious Spanish adventure and the new soldiers proving inferior to the old veterans. Moreover he was encountering an opposition that was stronger in numbers, because of the army reforms just alluded to, while opposing generals were learning lessons from a study of his methods and were turning them against him. Archduke Charles, for instance, revered Napoleon's genius but he now fought him tooth and nail and with ability.

The battle of Wagram (July 5–6, 1809)

After Wagram, Austria again made peace with Napoleon, the Peace of Vienna or of Schönbrunn. Austria was obliged to relinquish extensive territories. Of the Polish possessions which she had acquired in the third partition she was forced to cede a part to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and a part to Russia. She was also forced to cede to France Trieste. Carniola, and part of Carinthia and Croatia. These were made into the Illyrian Provinces which were declared imperial territory, although not formally annexed to France. Austria lost 4,000,000 subjects, nearly a

The Treaty of Vienna (October, 1809)



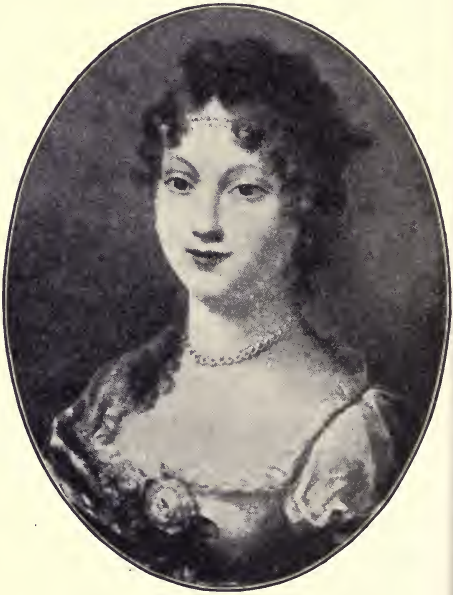
MAP ILLUSTRATING
CAMPAIGNS OF NAPOLEON

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Long. East 5 of Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
AEGEAN SEA
London
Boulogne
Brussels
Waterloo
Belle Alliance 1815
Ligny 1815
Fleurus 1794
Amiens
Coblenz
Amsterdam
Cologne
Artlenburg
Hanover
Berlin 1806
Stralsund
Prenzlau 1806
Copenhagen
Gothenburg
Gothland
Stockholm
Aland Is.
Abo
Helsingfors
Sveaborg
Hogland 1788
Kronstadt
St. Petersburg
Riga
Düna R.
Vitebsk
Moscow 1812
Borodino 1812
Oka R.
Volga R.
Smolensk 1812
Desna R.
Don R.
Donetz R.
Dnieper R.
Beresina R.
Pripet R.
Tauroggen
Kovno
Tilsit
Friedland 1807
Eylau 1807
Niemen
Thorn 1809
Pultusk
Praga 1794
Warsaw
Macijowice 1794
Bug R.
Vistula R.
Cracow
Lemberg
Oder R.
Breslau
Bautzen 1813
Leipsic 1813
Lützen 1813
Auerstädt
Erfurt
Jena 1806
Dresden 1813
Frankfort
Würzburg 1796
Ratisbon
Austerlitz 1805
Wagram 1809
Essling
Aspern 1809
Vienna
Ulm 1805
Danube
Hohenlinden 1800
Rhine R.
Craonne 1814
Valmy 1792
Strasburg
Lunéville
La Rothière 1814
Paris
Seine
Quiberon 1795
Vendée 1793-95
Loire R.
Leoben 1797
Buda-Pest
Theiss R.
Innsbruck
Drave R.
Save R.
St. Gotthard 1799
St. Bernard
Campo Formio
Rivoli
Caldiero
Arcole
Lodi 1796
Milan
Adda R.
Mincio R.
Mantua 1797
Novi 1799
Piacenza
Savoy 1792
Turin
Po R.
Marengo 1800
Dego
Mondovi
Nice
Genoa
Lyons 1793
Rhône R.
Toulon 1793
Bordeaux
Garonne
Toulouse 1814
Bayonne
Victoria 1813
Ebro R.
Saragossa 1808, 1809
Duero R.
Ciudad Rodrigo
Coimbra
Madrid
Talavera de la Reina 1809
Tagus
Torres Vedras
Cintra 1808
Lisbon
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir
Baylen 1808
Seville
Cadiz
C. Trafalgar 1805
C. St. Vincent 1797
C. Finisterre 1805
Corunna
Valencia 1812
Minorca 1798
Corsica
Elba
Sardinia
Florence
Rome 1798
Naples
Cattaro
Ionian Is.
Belgrade 1789
Vidin
Danube R.
Rustchuk
Shumla 1810
Varna
Silistria
Bukharest
Fokchani 1789
Pruth R.
Dniester R.
Ismail 1790
Constantinople
Lemnos 1807
Athens
EGYPT
Alexandria
Aboukir Bay 1798
Cairo
Gizeh (Pyramids) 1798
Nile R.
Jaffa
Gaza
Acre 1799
Mt. Tabor
Nazareth
Syria

sixth of all that she possessed. She lost her only port and became entirely land-locked.

Having defeated Austria for the fourth time, Napoleon treated Europe to one of those swift transformation scenes of which he was fond as showing his easy and incalculable mastery of the situation. He contracted a marriage alliance with the House of Hapsburg which he had so repeatedly humbled, one of the proudest royal houses in Europe. He had long considered the advisability of a divorce from Josephine, as she had given him no heir and as the stability of the system he had erected depended upon his having one. At his demand the Senate dissolved his marriage with Josephine, and the ecclesiastical court in Paris was even more accommodating, declaring that owing to some irregularity the marriage had never taken place at all. Free thus by action of the State and the Church he asked the Emperor of Austria for the hand of his daughter, the Archduchess Marie Louise, and received it. This political marriage was considered advantageous on both sides. It seemed likely to prevent any further trouble between the two countries, to serve as a protection to Austria, to raise Napoleon's prestige by his connection with one of the oldest and proudest reigning houses of Europe, and to insure the continuance of the régime he had established with such display of genius. Thus only seventeen years after the execution of Marie Antoinette, another Austrian princess sat upon the throne of France. The marriage occurred in 1810 and in the following year was born the son for whom the title "King of Rome" stood ready.

Napoleon marries the Archduchess Marie Louise (April, 1810)



Empress Marie Louise
From a picture by Prudhon.

Napoleonic Creations: Fisher, pp. 153–168; Fournier, Chap. XII, pp. 325–355; Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 166–173.

The Campaigns against Prussia and Russia: Johnston, Chap. X, pp. 130–140; Fournier, Chap. XIII, pp. 356–385; Rose, Vol. II, Chaps. XXV and XXVI; Fyffe, Chap. VII; Priest, *Germany Since 1740*, pp. 46–54.

Tilsit: Fyffe, Chap. VII; Fournier, pp. 385–390; Rose, Vol. II, Chap. XXVII, pp. 115–128.

The Continental System: Beard, *Introduction to the English Historians*, pp. 520–537; Rose, *Life of Napoleon I*, Vol. II, Chap. XXVI, pp. 95–99; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, pp. 361–389.

The Attack upon Spain and the Erfurt Interview: Fisher, *Napoleon*, pp. 168–180; Johnston, *Napoleon*, pp. 147–155; Fournier, *Napoleon I*, pp. 427–453; Rose, Vol. II, pp. 146–173.

The Austrian Campaign of 1809: Fisher, pp. 181–189; Ropes, *The First Napoleon*, pp. 141–150; Johnston, pp. 157–174; Fournier, pp. 452–492; Rose, Vol. II, Chap. XXX, pp. 174–191.

CHAPTER XI

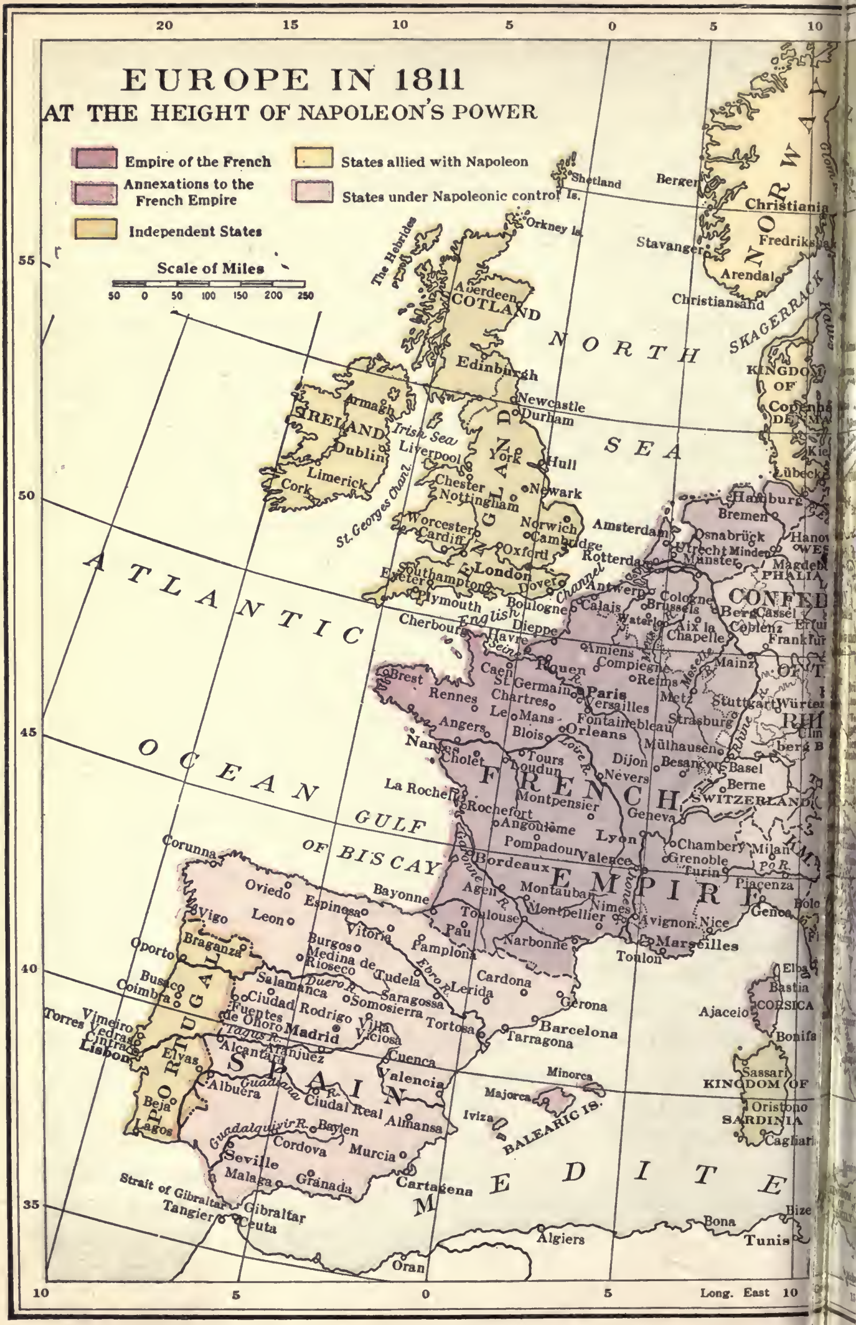
THE DECLINE AND FALL OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon at the zenith of his power

Napoleon was now at the zenith of his power. He ruled directly over an empire that was far larger than the former Kingdom of France. In 1809 he annexed what remained of the Papal States in Italy, together with the incomparable city of Rome, thus ending, for the time at least, the temporal power of the Pope. In 1810 he forced his brother Louis to abdicate the kingship of Holland, which country was now incorporated in France. He also, as has been already stated, extended the empire along the northern coasts of Germany from Holland to Lübeck, thus controlling Hamburg, Bremen, and the mouths of the important German rivers. Each one of these annexations was in pursuance of his policy of the Continental Blockade, closing so much more of the coastline of Europe to the commerce of England, the remaining enemy which he now expected to humble. He was Emperor of a state that had 130 departments. He was also King of Italy, a state in the northeastern part of the peninsula. He was Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, which included all Germany except Prussia and Austria, a confederation which had been enlarged since its formation by the addition of Westphalia and Saxony and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, extending, therefore, clear up to Russia. His brother Joseph was King of Spain, his brother Jerome King of Westphalia, his brother-in-law Murat King of Naples. All were mere satellites of his, receiving and executing his orders. Russia was his willing ally. Prussia and Austria were his allies, the former because forced to be, the latter at first for the same reason, and later because she saw an advantage in it. No ruler in history had ever dominated so much of Europe. This supreme, incomparable preëminence had been won by his sword, supplemented by his remarkable statesmanship and diplomacy.

Napoleon's power outside of France

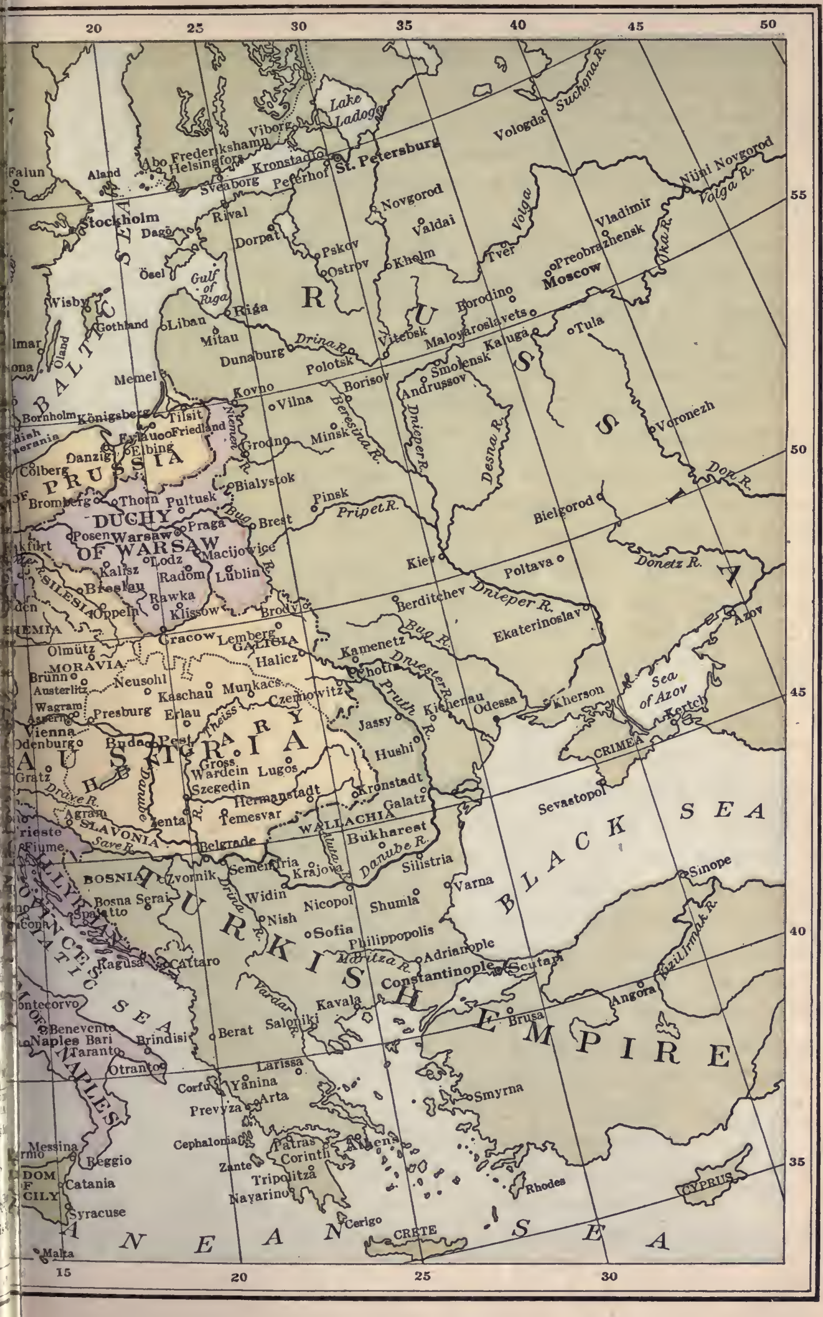
England alone remained outside the pale, England alone had not been brought to bend the knee to the great conqueror. Even she was



EUROPE IN 1811

AT THE HEIGHT OF NAPOLEON'S POWER

Empire of the French
Annexations to the French Empire
Independent States
States allied with Napoleon
States under Napoleonic control
Scale of Miles
50 0 50 100 150 200 250
20
15
10
5
0
5
10
55
50
45
40
35
10
5
0
5
Long. East 10
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF BISCAY
NORTH SEA
SKAGERRACK
MEDITE
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
The Hebrides
SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Armagh
Dublin
Limerick
Cork
Irish Sea
St. Georges Chan.
ENGLAND
Newcastle
Durham
York
Hull
Liverpool
Chester
Nottingham
Newark
Norwich
Cambridge
Worcester
Cardiff
Oxford
London
Southampton
Exeter
Plymouth
Dover
English Channel
NORWAY
Bergen
Stavanger
Christiania
Fredriks
Arendal
Christiansand
KINGDOM OF DENMA
Copenha
Kiel
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanov
Osnabrück
Minden
Münster
Magdeb
WESTPHALIA
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Rotterdam
Antwerp
Calais
Boulogne
Brussels
Waterloo
Cologne
Aix la Chapelle
Berg
Cassel
Erfur
Coblenz
Frankfur
CONFED. OF T. RH
Mainz
Stuttgart
Würter
Ulm
berg
Meuse
Moselle
Rhine
Dieppe
Havre
Seine R.
Cherbourg
Caen
Rouen
Amiens
Compiegne
Reims
Metz
Paris
Versailles
St. Germain
Chartres
Le Mans
Fontainebleau
Strasburg
Brest
Rennes
Angers
Blois
Orleans
Mülhausen
Nantes
Cholet
Tours
Loudun
Loire R.
Dijon
Nevers
Besançon
Basel
Berne
SWITZERLAND
FRENCH EMPIRE
La Rochelle
Rochefort
Montpensier
Angoulême
Geneva
Lyon
Chambery
Milan
Grenoble
Turin
Po R.
Pompadour
Valence
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Agen
Montauban
Rhone R.
Piacenza
Bayonne
Toulouse
Montpellier
Nimes
Avignon
Nice
Genoa
Bolo
Pau
Narbonne
Marseilles
Toulon
Elba
Bastia
CORSICA
Ajaccio
Bonifa
Sassari
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Oristano
Cagliari
Corunna
Oviedo
Espinosa
Vigo
Leon
Vitoria
Burgos
Pamplona
Braganza
Oporto
Medina de Rioseco
Tudela
Ebro R.
Cardona
Lerida
Salamanca
Duero R.
Saragossa
Gerona
Busaco
Coimbra
Ciudad Rodrigo
Somosierra
Fuentes de Onoro
Madrid
Villa Viciosa
Tortosa
Barcelona
Tarragona
Torres Vedras
Vimeiro
Cintra
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Aranjuez
Alcantara
Elvas
Cuenca
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Valencia
Minorca
Majorca
Iviza
BALEARIC IS.
Albuera
Guadiana R.
Ciudad Real
Almansa
Beja
Lagos
Guadalquivir R.
Baylen
Cordova
Murcia
Seville
Malaga
Granada
Cartagena
Strait of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Oran
Algiers
Bona
Bize
Tunis


20
25
30
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25
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Lake Ladoga
Viborg
Frederikshamn
Helsingfors
Abo
Aland
Falun
Kronstadt
St. Petersburg
Peterhof
Sveaborg
Vologda
Suchona R.
Nijni Novgorod
Volga R.
Novgorod
Valdai
Volga
Vladimir
Preobrazhensk
Moscow
Oka R.
Tver
Stockholm
Dagö
Rival
Dorpat
Pskov
Ostrov
Khelm
Ösel
Gulf of Riga
Wisby
Gothland
Libau
Riga
Mitau
R
U
S
S
I
A
Borodino
Maloyaroslavets
Kaluga
Tula
Vitebsk
Drina R.
Dunaburg
Polotsk
Smolensk
Andrussov
Borisov
Kovno
Vilna
Beresina R.
Dnieper R.
Desna R.
Voronezh
Oland
Kalmar
BALTIC SEA
Memel
Bornholm
Königsberg
Tilsit
Friedland
Niemen R.
Eylau
Elbing
Danzig
Colberg
PRUSSIA
Grodno
Minsk
Bialystok
Pinsk
Pripet R.
Brest
Bug R.
Bromberg
Thorn
Pultusk
DUCHY OF WARSAW
Posen
Warsaw
Praga
Macijowice
Frankfurt
Kalisz
Lodz
Radom
Lublin
SILESIA
Breslau
Rawka
Oppeln
Klissow
Brody
Kiev
Bielgorod
Don R.
Poltava
Donetz R.
Berditchev
Dnieper R.
Ekaterinoslav
Azov
BOHEMIA
Olmütz
MORAVIA
Brünn
Austerlitz
Cracow
Lemberg
GALICIA
Halicz
Kamenetz
Bug R.
Chotin
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Neusohl
Kaschau
Munkacs
Czernowitz
Wagram
Aspern
Vienna
Presburg
Erlau
Theiss R.
HUNGARY
Jassy
Kishenau
Odessa
Kherson
Sea of Azov
Kertch
CRIMEA
Odenburg
Buda
Pest
Gross Wardein
Lugos
Hushi
AUSTRIA
Gratz
Drave R.
Danube
Szegedin
Hermanstadt
Kronstadt
Galatz
Sevastopol
BLACK SEA
Agram
SLAVONIA
Zenta
Temesvar
WALLACHIA
Trieste
Fiume
Save R.
Belgrade
Bukharest
Danube R.
Aluta R.
Silistria
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
BOSNIA
Zvornik
Semendria
Krajova
Varna
Sinope
Bosna Serai
Drina R.
Widin
Nicopol
Shumla
Kizil Irmak R.
Spalatto
Ancona
Nish
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Ragusa
Cattaro
Maritza R.
Constantinople
Scutari
ADRIATIC SEA
TURKISH EMPIRE
Vardar R.
Kavala
Angora
Montecorvo
Benevento
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Naples
Bari
Taranto
Brindisi
Berat
Saloniki
Brusa
Otranto
Larissa
Corfu
Yanina
Arta
Smyrna
Prevyza
Cephalonia
Patras
Corinth
Athens
Messina
Palermo
Reggio
Zante
Tripolitza
Rhodes
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Catania
Navarino
CYPRUS
Syracuse
Cerigo
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Malta

breathing heavily, because the Continental System was inflicting terrible damage upon her. Factories were being forced to shut down, multitudes of laborers were being thrown out of work or were receiving starvation wages, riots and other evidences of unrest and even desperation seemed to indicate that even she must soon come to terms.

England shows signs of strain

But this vast and imposing fabric of power rested upon uncertain bases. Built up, story upon story, by this highly imaginative and able mind, the architect left out of reckoning or despised the strains and stresses to which it was increasingly subjected. The rapidity with which this colossal structure fell to pieces in a few years shows how poorly consolidated it was, how rickety and precarious its foundations. Even a slight analysis will reveal numerous and foreboding elements of weakness beneath all this pomp and pageantry of power. Erected by the genius of a single man, it depended solely upon his life and fortunes — and fortune is notoriously fickle. Built up by war, by conquest, it was necessarily environed by the hatred of the conquered. With every advance, every annexation, it annexed additional sources of discontent. Based on force, it could only be maintained by force. There could be and there was in all this vast extent of empire no common loyalty to the Emperor. Despotism, and Napoleon's régime was one of pitiless despotism, evoked no loyalty, only obedience based on fear. Europe has always refused to be dominated by a single nation or by a single man. It has run the risk several times in its history of passing under such a yoke, but it always in the end succeeded in escaping it. Universal dominion is an anachronism. The secret of Great Britain's hold upon many of the component parts of her empire lies in the fact that she allows them liberty to develop their own life in their own way. But such a conception was utterly beyond Napoleon, contrary to all his instincts and convictions. His empire meant the negation of liberty in the various countries which he dominated, France included. Napoleon's conquests necessarily ranged against him this powerful and unconquerable spirit. The more conquests, the more enemies, only waiting intently for the moment of liberation, scanning the horizon everywhere for the first sign of weakness which to them would be the harbinger of hope. This they found in Spain, and in the Austrian campaign in 1809

Elements of weakness in the Napoleonic structure

Napoleon's system based on despotism

All Europe waits for the hour of liberation

in which the machinery of military conquest had creaked, had worked clumsily, had threatened at one moment to break down.

Napoleon's contempt for the spirit of nationality

There was a force in the world which ran directly counter to Napoleon's projects, the principle of nationality. Napoleon despised this feeling, and in the end it was his undoing. He might have seen that it had been the strength of France a few years earlier, that now this spirit had passed beyond the natural boundaries and was waking into a new life, was nerving to a new vigor, countries like Spain, even Austria and, most conspicuously, Prussia.

Prussia after Jena

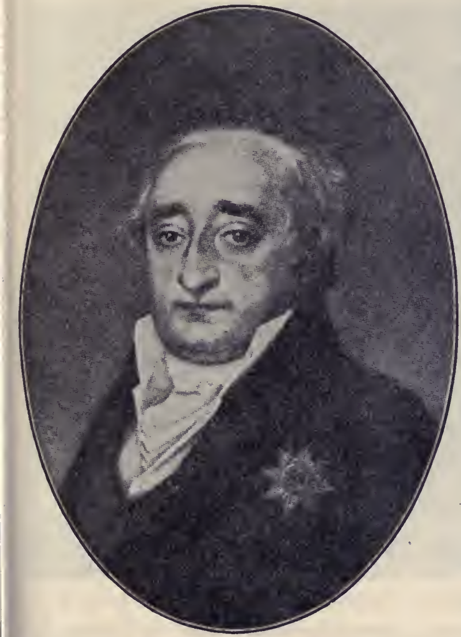
Prussia after Jena underwent the most serious humiliation a nation can be called to endure. For several years she was under the iron heel of Napoleon, who kept large armies quartered on her soil, who drained her resources, who interfered peremptorily in the management of her government, who forbade her to have more than 42,000 soldiers in her army. But out of the very depths of this national degradation came Prussia's salvation. Her noblest spirits were aroused to seek the causes of this unexpected and immeasurable national calamity and to try to remedy them. From 1808 to 1812 Prussians, under the very scrutiny of Napoleon, who had eyes but did not see, worked passionately upon the problem of national regeneration. The result surpassed belief. A tremendous national patriotism was aroused by the poets and thinkers, the philosophers and teachers, all bending their energies to the task of quickening among the youth the spirit of unselfish devotion to the fatherland. An electric current of enthusiasm, of idealism, swept through the educational centers and through large masses of the people. The University of Berlin, founded in 1809, in Prussia's darkest hour, was, from the beginning, a dynamic force. It and other universities became nurseries of patriotism.

Abolition of serfdom in Prussia (1807)

Prussia underwent regeneration in other ways. Particularly memorable was the work of two statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg. Stein, in considering the causes of Prussia's unexampled woes, came to the conclusion that they lay in her defective or harmful social and legal institutions. The masses of Prussia were serfs, bound to the soil, their personal liberty gravely restricted, and, as Stein said, "patriots cannot be made out of serfs." He persuaded the King to issue an edict of emancipation, abolishing serfdom. The Prussian King, he said, was no longer "the king of slaves, but of free men." Many other reforms were passed abolishing or reducing class distinctions and privileges. In all this Stein was largely imitating the French Revolutionists who by their epoch-making reforms had released the energies of the French so that their power had been vastly augmented. The army, too, was reorganized, opportunity was opened to talent, as in France, with what magical results we have seen. As Napoleon forbade that the Prussian army should number more than 42,000 men, the ingenious device was hit upon of having men serve with the colors only a brief time, long enough to learn the essentials of the soldier's life. Then they would pass into the reserve and others would be put rapidly through the same training. By this method several times 42,000 men received a military training whose effectiveness was later to be proved.

Stein's reforms show the influence of the French Revolution

Army reforms in Prussia

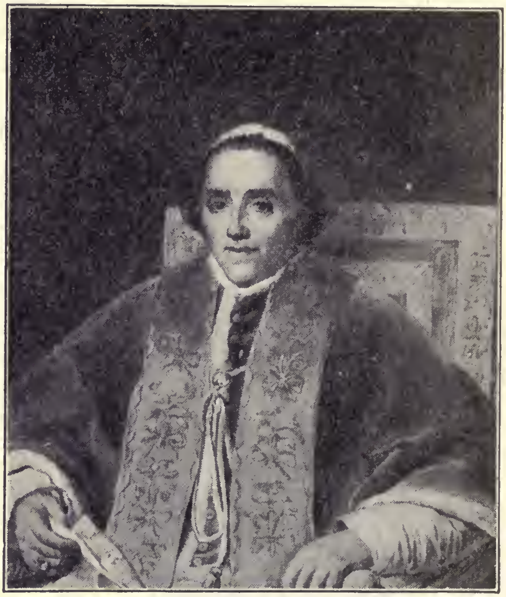


Baron vom Stein
From an engraving by Lützenkirchen.

Thus Prussia's regeneration went on. The new national spirit, wonderfully invigorated, waited with impatience for its hour of probation. It should be noted, however, that these reforms, which resembled in many respects those accomplished in France by the Constituent Assembly and the Convention, and which were in fact suggested by them, rested however, on very different principles. There was in Prussia no assertion of the Rights of Man, no proclamation of the people as sovereign. In Prussia it was the king who made the reforms, not the people. The theory of the divine right of the monarch was not touched but was maintained as sacred as ever. There was reform in Prussia but no revolution. Prussia took no step toward democracy.

No yielding by Prussia to democratic principles of government

This distinction has colored the whole subsequent history of that kingdom and colors it today. "Everything for the people, nothing by the people," was evidently the underlying principle in this work of national reorganization. Even these reforms were not carried out completely, owing to opposition from within the kingdom and from without. But, though incomplete, they were very vitalizing.



Pope Pius VII

From an engraving by Oudaille, after the painting by David.

The Church hostile to Napoleon

Napoleon's policies had created other enmities in abundance which were mining the ground beneath him. His treatment of the Pope, whom he held as a prisoner and whose temporal power he had abolished by incorporating his states, a part in the French Empire and a part in the Kingdom of Italy, made the Catholic clergy everywhere hostile, and offended the faithful. Rome, hitherto the papal capital, was declared the second city of the Empire and served as a title for Napoleon's son. All rights of the Pope were thus cavalierly ignored. The vast and subtle influence of the Church was of course now directed to the debasement of the man it had previously conspicuously favored and exalted. In addition to combatting the rising tide of nationality, Napoleon henceforth also had his quarrel with the Papacy.

Disastrous effects of the Continental Blockade

Into these entanglements he had been brought by the necessities of his conflict with England, by the Continental Blockade. For it was that system that drove him on from one aggression to another, from annexation to annexation. That system, too, created profound discontent in all the countries of the continent, including France itself. By enormously raising the price of such necessaries as cotton and sugar and coffee and tea, products of Britain's colonies or of the tropical countries with which she traded, they introduced hardship and irritation into every home. The normal course of business was turned inside out and men suddenly found their livelihood gone and ruin threatening or already upon them. To get the commodities to which they were accustomed they smuggled on a large and desperate scale. This led to new and severe regulations and harsher punishments, and thus the tyrannical interference in their private lives made multitudes in every country hate the tyranny and long for its overthrow. Widespread economic suffering was the inevitable result of the Continental System and did more to make Napoleon's rule unpopular throughout Europe than did anything else except the enormous waste of life occasioned by the incessant warfare. That system, too, was the chief cause of the rupture of the alliance between Russia and France, in 1812, a rupture which led to appalling disaster for Napoleon and was the beginning of the end. The whole stupendous superstructure of Napoleonic statecraft and diplomacy fell like a house of cards in the three years 1812, 1813, and 1814.

Widespread economic suffering

The Franco-Russian Alliance, concluded so hastily and unexpectedly at Tilsit in 1807, lasted nominally nearly five years. It was however unpopular from the beginning with certain influential classes in Russia and its inconveniences became increasingly apparent. The aristocracy of Russia, a powerful body, hated this alliance with a country which had abolished its own nobility, leaving its members impoverished by the loss of their lands and privileges. There could be no sympathy between the Russian nobility, based upon the grinding serfdom of the masses, and the country which had swept all traces of feudalism aside and proclaimed the equality of men. Moreover, the Russian nobility hated the Continental System, as it nearly destroyed the commerce with England in wheat, flax, and timber, which was the chief source of their wealth. Furthermore, the Czar Alexander I, having obtained some of the advantages he had expected from his alliance, was irritated, now that he did not obtain others for which he had hoped. He had gained Finland from Sweden and the Danubian Principalities from Turkey, but the vague

The Franco-Russian alliance

Its unpopularity in Russia

Relations between Napoleon and Alexander I

though alluring prospect of a division of the Turkish Empire still remained unfulfilled and was, indeed, receding into the limbo of the unlikely. He wanted Constantinople, and Napoleon made it clear he could never have it. Moreover Alexander was alarmed by Napoleon's schemes with the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a state made out of the Polish provinces which had been acquired by Prussia and Austria. Alexander had no objection to Prussia and Austria losing their Polish provinces, but he himself had Polish provinces and he dreaded anything that looked like a resurrection of the former Kingdom of Poland, any appeal to the Polish national feeling.

The alliance undermined by the Continental System

But the main cause of Alexander's gradual alienation from his ally was the Continental Blockade. This was working great financial loss to Russia. Moreover its inconveniences were coming home to him in other ways. To enforce the system more completely in Germany Napoleon seized in 1811 the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, which belonged to Alexander's brother-in-law.

The Franco-Russian alliance breaks down in 1812

Thus the alliance was being subjected to a strain it could not stand. In 1812 it snapped, and loud was the report. Napoleon would not allow any breach of the Continental Blockade if he could prevent it. He resolved to force Russia, as he had forced the rest of the continent, to do his bidding. He demanded that she live up to her promises and exclude British commerce. The answers were evasive, unsatisfactory, and in June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Niemen with the largest army he ever commanded, over half a million men, the "army of twenty nations," as the Russians called it. About one-half were French. The rest were a motley host of Italians, Danes, Croatians, Dalmatians, Poles, Dutchmen, Westphalians, Saxons, Bavarians, Würtembergers, and still others. For the first time in his military career Napoleon commanded the coöperation of Austria and Prussia, both of which were compelled to send contingents. There were 100,000 cavalry and a numerous and powerful artillery. He had around him a brilliant staff of officers, Murat, Ney, Eugène Beauharnais and others. It seemed as if no power on earth could resist such an engine of destruction. Napoleon himself spoke of the expedition as the "last act" of the play.

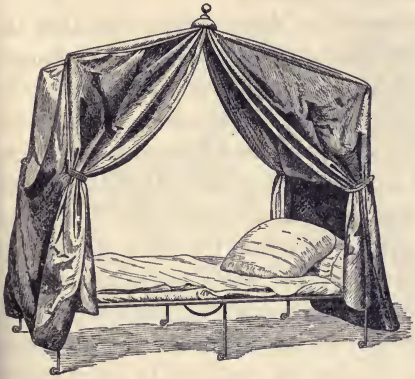
Napoleon invades Russia

It was not quite that, but it was a supremely important act, one full of surprises. From the very start it was seen that in numbers there is

Disorganization in the commissary department

The Russians continually retreat

sometimes weakness, not strength. This vast machine speedily commenced to give way beneath its own weight. The army had not advanced five days before the commissary department began to break down and bread was lacking. Horses, improperly nourished, died by the thousands, thus still further demoralizing the commissariat and imperiling the artillery. The Russians adopted the policy of not fighting but constantly retreating, luring the enemy farther and farther into a country which they took the pains to devastate as they retired, leaving no provisions or supplies for the invaders, no stations for the incapacitated, as they burned their villages on leaving them. Napoleon, seeking above everything a battle, in which he hoped to crush the enemy, was denied the opportunity. The Russians had studied the Duke of Wellington's methods in Portugal and profited by their study. It was 700 miles from the Niemen to Moscow. Napoleon had had no intention of going so far, but the tactics of his enemy forced him steadily to proceed. The Czar had announced that he would retire into Asia if necessary, rather than sign a peace with his enemy on the sacred soil of Russia. Napoleon hoped for a battle at Smolensk but only succeeded in getting a rear-guard action and a city in flames.



Napoleon's Camp Bed
Redrawn from a photograph.

The battle of Borodino

This policy of continual retreat, so irritating to the French Emperor, was equally irritating to the Russian people, who did not understand the reason and who clamored for a change. The Russians therefore took up a strong position at Borodino on the route to Moscow. There a battle occurred on September 7, 1812, between the French army of 125,000 men and the Russian of 100,000. The battle was one of the bloodiest of the whole epoch. The French lost 30,000, the Russians 40,000 men. Napoleon's victory was not overwhelming, probably because he could not bring himself to throw in the Old Guard. The

Russians retreated in good order, leaving the road open to Moscow, which city Napoleon entered September 14. The army had experienced terrible hardships all the way, first over roads soaked by constant rains, then later over roads intensely heated by July suns and giving forth suffocating clouds of dust. Terrible losses, thousands a day, had characterized the march of seven hundred miles from the Niemen to Moscow.

Napoleon enters Moscow September 14, 1812

Napoleon had resolved on the march to Moscow expecting that the Russians would consent to peace, once the ancient capital was in danger. But no one appeared for that purpose. He found Moscow practically deserted, only 15,000 there, out of a population of 250,000. Moreover the day after his entry fires broke out in various parts of the city, probably set by Russians. For four days the fearful conflagration raged, consuming a large part of the city. Still Napoleon stayed on, week after week, fearing the effect that the news of a retreat might produce, and hoping, against hope, that the Czar would sue for peace. Finally there was nothing to do, after wasting a month of precious time, but to order the retreat. This was a long-drawn-out agony, during which an army of 100,000 men was reduced to a few paltry thousands, fretted all along the route by which they had come by Russian armies and by Cossack guerilla bands, horrified by the sight of thousands of their comrades still unburied on the battlefield of Borodino, suffering indescribable hardships of hunger and exhaustion and finally caught in all the horrors of a fierce Russian winter, clad, as many of them were, lightly for a summer campaign. The scenes that accompanied this flight and rout were of unutterable woe, culminating in the hideous tragedy of the crossing of the Beresina, the bridge breaking down under the wild confusion of men fighting to get across, horses frightened, the way blocked by carts and wagons, the bridges raked by the fire of the Russian artillery. Thousands were left behind, many fell or threw themselves into the icy river and were frozen to death. In the river, says one writer, when the Russians came up later they saw "awful heaps of drowned soldiers, women, and children, emerging above the surface of the waters, and here and there rigid in death like statues on their ice-bound horses." A few thousand out of all the army finally got out of Russia and across the Niemen. Many could only crawl to the hospitals asking for "the rooms where people die." History has few ghastlier pages in all its annals.

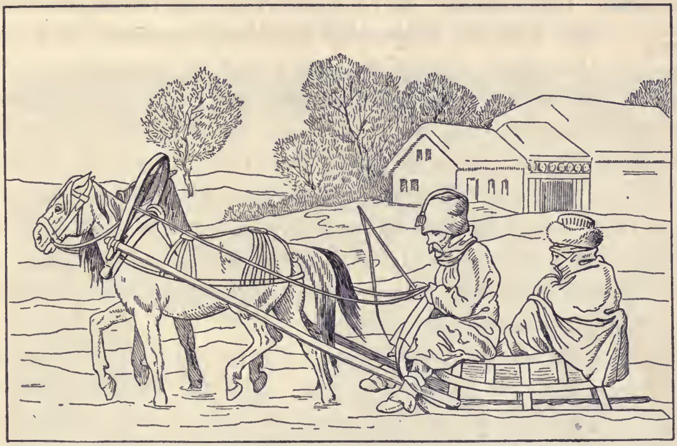
The burning of Moscow

The retreat from Moscow

The crossing of the Beresina

Napoleon plans a new campaign

Napoleon himself left the army in December, and traveled rapidly incognito to Paris, which he reached on the 18th. "I shall be back on the Niemen in the spring," was the statement with which he tried to make men think that the lost position would be soon recovered.



Napoleon Returning to France, December, 1812

Redrawn from a sketch by Faber du Faur.

Not made on the spot but probably presenting approximately the kind of equipage in which Napoleon travelled. He was accompanied by five other persons only.

Prussia joins Russia against Napoleon (February 1813)

He did not quite keep the promise. He did not get as far back again as the Niemen. But 1813 saw him battling for his supremacy in Germany, as 1812 had seen him battling for it in Russia. The Russian disaster had sent a thrill of hope through the ranks of his enemies everywhere. The colossus might be, indeed appeared to be, falling. Had not the auspicious moment arrived for annihilating him? Particularly violent was the hatred of the Prussians who had, more than other peoples, felt the ruthlessness of his tyranny for the last six years. They trembled with eagerness to be let loose and when their King made a treaty of alliance with Russia and subsequently made a more direct and personal appeal to his people than any Prussian monarch had ever made before, they responded enthusiastically. There was a significant feature about this Treaty of Kalisch with Russia. Russia was not to lay down her arms against Napoleon until Prussia had recovered an area equal to that which she had possessed before the battle of Jena. But the area was not to be the same, for Russia was to keep Prussia's Polish provinces, now included in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose doom was decreed. Prussia should have compensation in northern Germany.

Napoleon's doubtful allies

Could Napoleon rely on the Confederation of the Rhine and on his ally Austria? This remained to be seen. A reverse would almost surely cost him the support of the former and the neutrality of the latter. Their loyalty would be proportioned to his success. There was with them not the same popular wrath as with the Prussians. On the other hand their princes had a keen eye for the main chance. Austria surely would use Napoleon's necessities for her own advantage. The princes of the Rhenish Confederation wished to retain the advantages they had won largely through their complaisant coöperation with Napoleon during recent years. Austria wished to recover advantages she had lost, territory, prestige, badly tattered and torn by four unsuccessful campaigns.

The campaign of 1813 in Germany

Napoleon, working feverishly since the return from Russia, finally got an army of over 200,000 men together. But to do this he had to draw upon the youth of France, as never before, calling out recruits a year before their time for service was due. A large part of them were untrained, and had to get their training on the march into Germany. The army was weak in cavalry, a decisive instrument in following up a victory and clinching it.

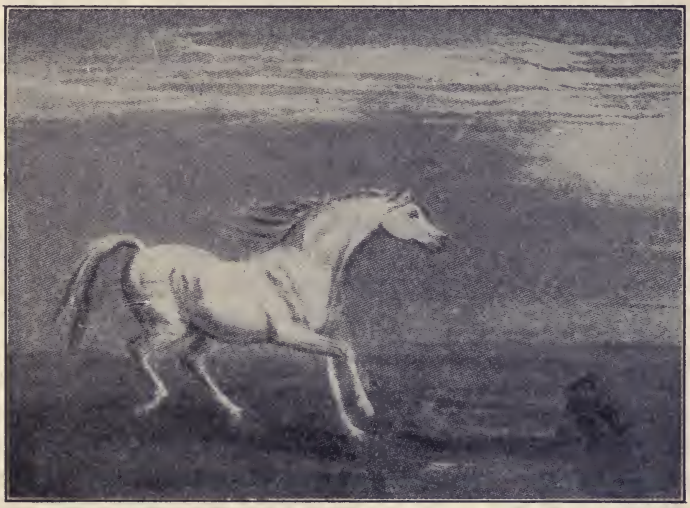
A fatal armistice in mid-campaign

Napoleon was back in central Germany before the Russians and Prussians were fully prepared. He defeated them at Lützen and at Bautzen in May, 1813, but was unable to follow up his victories because of the lack of sufficient cavalry, and the campaign convinced him that he could accomplish nothing decisive without reinforcements. He therefore agreed, in an unlucky moment, as it later proved, to a six weeks' armistice. During that time he did get large reinforcements but his enemies got larger. And during that interval the diplomatic intriguing went against him so that when the armistice was over Austria had joined the alliance of Russia, Prussia, and England, against him. He defeated the Austrians at Dresden (August 26–27), his last great victory. His subordinates were, however, beaten in various subsidiary engagements and he was driven back upon Leipsic. There occurred a decisive three days' battle, the "Battle of

Austria joins the alliance against Napoleon

the Nations," as the Germans call it (October 16–18). In point of numbers involved this was the greatest battle of the Napoleonic era. Over half a million men took part, at most 200,000 under Napoleon, 300,000 under the commanders of the allies. Napoleon was disastrously defeated and was sent flying back across the Rhine with only a small remnant of his army. The whole political structure which he had built up in Germany collapsed. The members of the Confederation of the Rhine deserted the falling star, and entered the alliance against him, on the guarantee of their possessions by the allies. Jerome fled from Westphalia and his brief kingdom disappeared. Meanwhile Wellington, who for years had been aiding the Spaniards, had been successful and was crossing the Pyrenees into southern France. The coils were closing in upon the lion, who now stood at bay.

The battle of Leipsic (October 16–18, 1813)



NAPOLEON'S WAR HORSE, "MARENGO"

The crash of the Napoleonic system

The allies moved on after the retreating French toward the Rhine. It had been no part of their original purpose to demand Napoleon's abdication. They now, in November, 1813, offered him peace on the basis of the natural frontiers of France, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. He would not accept but procrastinated,

To yield, or not to yield?

and made counter-propositions. Even in February, 1814, he could have retained his throne and the historic boundaries of the old Bourbon monarchy, had he been willing to renounce the rest. He dallied with the suggestion, secretly hoping for some turn in luck that would spring the coalition apart and enable him to recover the ground he had lost. In thus refusing to recognize defeat, refusing to accept an altered situation, he did great harm to France and completed his own downfall. His stiff, uncompromising, unyielding temper sealed his doom. He was no longer acting as the wise statesman, responsible for the welfare of a great people who, by their unstinted sacrifices, had put him under heavy obligations. His was the spirit of the gambler, thinking to win all by a happy turn of the cards. He was also will incarnate. With will and luck all might yet be retrieved.

The campaign in France (1814)

He had said on leaving Germany, "I shall be back in May with 250,000 men." He did not expect a winter campaign and he felt confident that by May he could have another army. The allies, however, did not wait for May but at the close of December, 1813 streamed across the Rhine and invaded France from various directions. France, victorious for eighteen years, now experienced what she had so often administered to others. The campaign was brief, only two months, February and March, 1814. Napoleon was hopelessly outnumbered. Yet this has been called the most brilliant of his campaigns. Fighting on the defensive and on inner lines, he showed marvellous mastery of the art of war, striking here, striking there, with great precision and swiftness, undaunted, resourceful, tireless. The allies needed every bit of their overwhelming superiority in numbers to compass the end of their redoubtable antagonist, with his back against the wall and his brain working with matchless lucidity and with lightning-like rapidity. They thought they could get to his capital in a week. It took them two months. However there could be but one end to such a campaign, if the allies held together, as they did. On the 30th of March Paris capitulated and on the following day the Czar Alexander and Frederick William III, the King of Prussia, made their formal entry into the city which the Duke of Brunswick twenty-two years before had threatened with destruction if it laid sacrilegious hands upon the King or Queen. Since that day much water had flowed under the bridge, and France and Europe had had a strange, eventful history, signifying much.

The allies enter Paris (March 31, 1814)

The victors would not longer tolerate Napoleon. He was forced to abdicate unconditionally. He was allowed to retain his title of Emperor but henceforth he was to rule only over Elba, an island nineteen miles long and six miles wide, lying off the coast of Tuscany whence his Italian ancestors had sailed for Corsica two centuries and a half before he was born. Thither he repaired, having said farewell to the Old Guard in the courtyard of the palace of Fontainebleau, kissing the flag of France made lustrous on a hundred fields. "Nothing but sobbing was heard in all the ranks," wrote one of the soldiers who saw the scene, "and I can say that I too shed tears when I saw my Emperor depart."

Louis XVIII becomes King of France

On the day that Napoleon abdicated, the Senate, so-called guardian of the constitution, obsequious and servile to the Emperor in his days of fortune, turned to salute the rising sun, and in solemn session proclaimed Louis XVIII King of France. The allies, who had conquered Napoleon and banished him to a petty island in the Mediterranean, thought they were done with him for good and all. But from this complacent self-assurance they were destined to a rude awakening. Their own errors and wranglings at the Congress of Vienna, whither they repaired in September, 1814 to divide the spoils and determine the future organization of Europe, and the mistakes and indiscretions of the Bourbons whom they restored to rule in France, gave Napoleon the opportunity for the most audacious and wonderful adventure of his life.

The mistakes of the Bourbons

Louis XVIII, the new king, tried to adapt himself to the greatly altered circumstances of the country to which he now returned in the wake of foreign armies after an absence of twenty-two years. He saw that he could not be an absolute king as his ancestors had been, and he therefore granted a charter to the French, giving them a legislature and guaranteeing certain rights which they had won and which he saw could not safely be withdrawn. His régime assured much larger liberty than France had ever experienced under Napoleon. Nevertheless certain attitudes of his and ways of speaking, and the actions of the royalists who surrounded him, and several unwise measures of government, soon rendered him unpopular and irritated and alarmed the people. He spoke of himself as King *by the grace of God*, thus denying the sovereignty of the people; he dated his first document, the Constitutional Charter, from "the nineteenth year of my reign," as if there had never been a Republic and a Napoleonic Empire; he restored the white flag and banished the glorious tricolor which had been carried in triumph throughout Europe. What was much more serious, he offended thousands of Napoleon's army officers by retiring or putting them on half pay, many thus being reduced to destitution, and all feeling themselves dishonored. Moreover many former nobles who had early in the Revolution emigrated from France and then fought against her received honors and distinctions. Then, in addition, the Roman Catholic clergy and the nobles of the court talked loudly and unwisely about getting back their lands which had been confiscated and sold to the peasants, although both the Concordat of 1802 and the Charter of 1814 distinctly recognized and ratified these changes and promised that they should not be disturbed. The peasants were far and away the most numerous class in France and they were thus early alienated from the Bourbons by these threats at their most vital interest, their property rights, which Napoleon had always stoutly maintained. Thus a few months after Napoleon's abdication the evils of his reign were forgotten, the terrible cost in human life, the burdensome taxation, the tyranny of it all, and he was looked upon as a friend, as a hero to whom the soldiers had owed glory and repute and the peasants the secure possession of their farms. In this way a mental atmosphere hostile to Louis XVIII, and favorable to Napoleon was created by a few months of Bourbon rule.

The peasantry alarmed

Napoleon, penned up in his little island, took note of all this. He also heard of the serious dissensions of the allies now that they were trying to divide the spoils at Vienna, of their jealousies and animosities, which, in January, 1815, rose to such a pitch that Austria, France, and England prepared to go to war with Prussia and Russia over the allotment of the booty. He also knew that they were intriguing at the Congress for his banishment to some place remote from Europe.

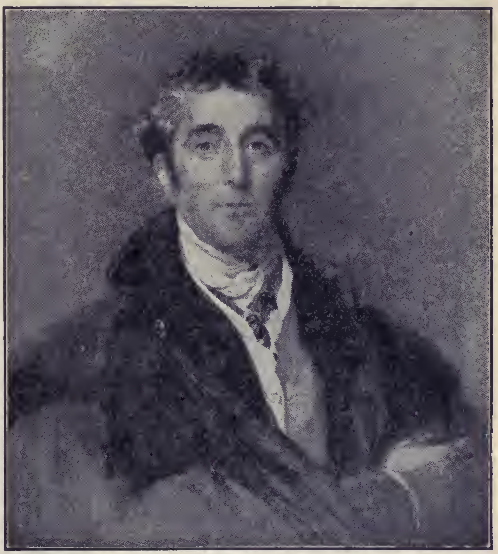
Dissension among the allies at Vienna

For ten months he had been in his miniature kingdom. The psychological moment had come for the most dramatic action of his life. Leaving the island with twelve hundred guards, and escaping the vigilance of the British cruisers, he landed at Cannes on March 1. That night he started on the march to Paris and on March 20 entered the Tuileries, ruler of France once more. The return from Elba will always remain one of the most romantic episodes of history. With a force so small that it could

Napoleon resolves to try again

The return from Elba

easily have been taken prisoner, he had no alternative and no other wish than to appeal directly to the confidence of the people. Never was there such a magnificent response. All along the route the peasants received him enthusiastically. But his appeal was particularly to the army, to which he issued one of his stirring bulletins. "Soldiers," it began, "we have not been conquered. We were betrayed. Soldiers! Come and range yourselves under the banner of your chief: his existence depends wholly on yours: his interests, his honor, and his glory are your interests, your honor, your glory. Come! Victory will march at double quick. The eagle with the national colors shall fly from steeple to steeple to the towers of Nôtre Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honor: then you will be able to boast of what you have done: you will be the liberators of your country."



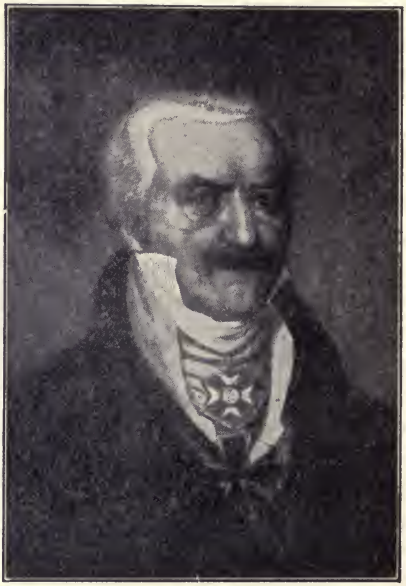
The Duke of Wellington
After the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

The soldiers flock to Napoleon's standard

Regiment after regiment went over to him. The royalists thought he would be arrested at Grenoble where there was a detachment of the army under a royalist commander. Napoleon went straight up to them, threw open his grey coat and said, "Here I am: you know me. If there is a soldier among you who wishes to shoot his Emperor, let him do it." The soldiers flocked over to him, tearing off the white cockades and putting on the tricolor, which they had secretly carried in their knapsacks. Opposition melted away all along the route. It became a triumphant procession. When lies would help, Napoleon told them—among others that it was not ambition that brought him back, that "the forty-five best heads of the government of Paris have called me from Elba and my return is supported by the three first powers of Europe." He admitted that he had made mistakes and assured the people that henceforth he desired only to follow the paths of peace and liberty. He had come back to protect the threatened blessings of the Revolution. The last part of this intoxicating journey he made in a carriage attended by only a half dozen Polish lancers. On March 20, Louis XVIII fled from the Tuileries. That evening Napoleon entered it.

Napoleon enters the Tuileries (March 20, 1815)

"What was the happiest period of your life as Emperor?" some one asked him at St. Helena. "The march from Cannes to Paris," was the quick reply.

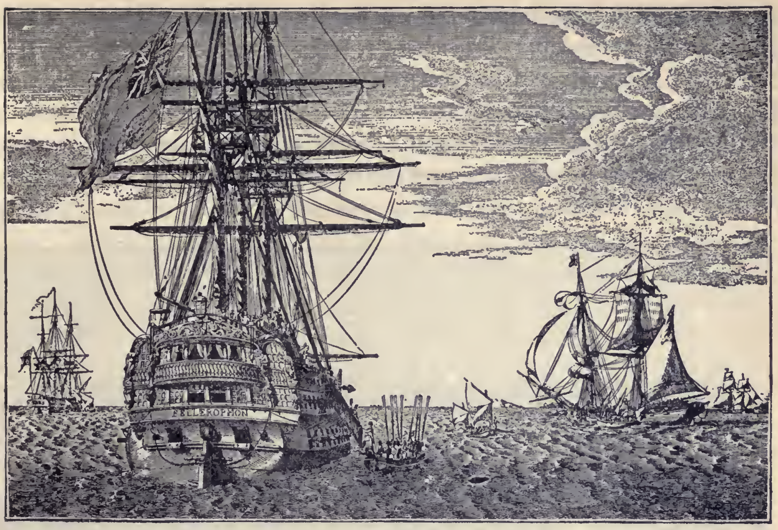


BLÜCHER
After a miniature by Müller.

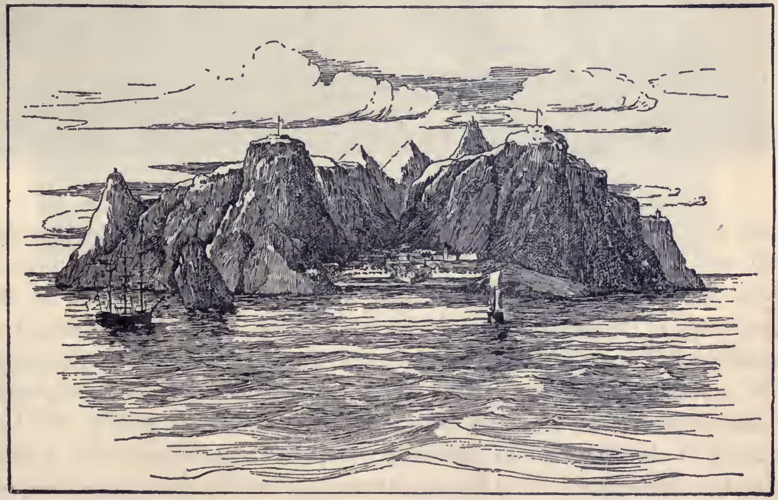
His happiness was limited to less than the "Hundred Days" which this period of his reign is called. Attempting to reassure France and Europe, he met from the former, tired of war, only half-hearted support, from the allies only remorseless opposition. When the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna heard of his escape from Elba they immediately ceased their contentions and banded themselves together against "this disturber of the peace of Europe." They declared him an outlaw and set their armies in motion. He saw that he must fight to maintain himself. He resolved to attack before his enemies had time to effect their union. The battlefield was in Belgium, as Wellington with an army of English, Dutch, Belgians, and Germans, and, at some distance from them, Blücher with a large army of Prussians, were there. If Napoleon could prevent their union, then by defeating each separately, he would be in a stronger position when the Russian and Austrian armies came on. Perhaps, indeed, they would think it wiser not to come on at all but to conclude peace. In Belgium consequently occurred a four

The "Hundred Days"

The campaign in Belgium



Napoleon Embarking on the "Bellerophon"
Designed and engraved by Baugeau.



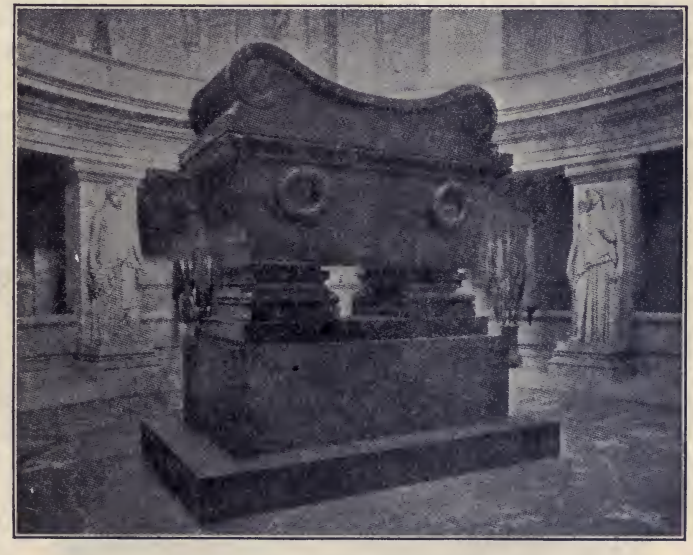
The Island of St. Helena
After the drawing by F. Clementson.

The Battle of Waterloo

days' campaign culminating on the famous field of Waterloo, twelve miles south of Brussels. There, on a hot Sunday in June, Napoleon was disastrously defeated (June 18, 1815). The sun of Austerlitz set forever. The battle began at half past eleven in the morning, was characterized by prodigies of valor, by tremendous charges of cavalry and infantry back and forth over a sodden field. Wellington held his position hour after hour as wave after wave of French troops rushed up the hill, foaming in and about the solid unflinching British squares, then, unable to break them, foamed back again. Wellington held on, hoping, looking for the Prussians under Blücher, who, at the beginning of the battle, were eleven miles away. They had promised to join him, if he accepted battle there, and late in the afternoon they kept the promise. Their arrival was decisive, as Napoleon was now greatly outnumbered. In the early evening, as the sun was setting, the last charge of the French was repulsed. Repulse soon turned into a rout and the demoralized army streamed from the field in utter panic, fiercely pursued by the Prussians. The Emperor, seeing the utter annihilation of his army, sought death, but sought in vain. "I ought to have died

Longwood, Napoleon's House at St. Helena at Waterloo," he said later, "but the misfortune is that when a man seeks death most he cannot find it. Men were killed around me, before, behind — everywhere. But there was no bullet for me." He fled to Paris, then toward the western coast of France hoping to escape to the United States, but the English cruisers off the shore rendered that impossible. Making the best of necessity he threw himself upon the generosity of the British. "I have come," he announced, "like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation." Instead of receiving it, however, he was sent to a rock in the South Atlantic, the island of St. Helena, where he was kept under a petty and ignoble surveillance. Six years later he died of cancer of the stomach at the age of fifty-two, leaving an extraordinary legend behind him to disturb the future. He was buried under a slab that bore neither name nor date and it was twenty years before he was borne to his final resting-place under the dome of the Invalides in Paris, although in his last will and testament he had said: "My wish is to be buried on the banks of the Seine in the midst of the French people whom I have loved so well."

Napoleon banished to St Helena



Napoleon's Tomb in the Invalides, Paris

THE REGENERATION OF PRUSSIA: Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, Chap. VII; Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, Vol. II, pp. 270–286; Rose, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, pp. 184–193; Marriott and Robertson, *The Evolution of Prussia*, Chap. VII, pp. 225–239; Schevill, *The Making of Modern Germany*, pp. 76–82; Priest, *Germany Since 1740*, pp. 55–65.

THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN: Fisher, *Napoleon*, pp. 189–201; Ropes, *The First Napoleon*, pp. 158–195; Johnston, *Napoleon*, pp. 174–187; Fournier, *Napoleon I*, Chap. XVII, pp. 536–579.

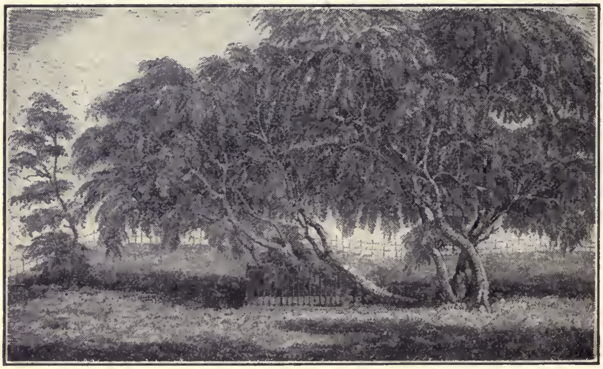
THE CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY, 1813: Fisher, pp. 201–212; Johnston, pp. 189–197; Ropes, pp. 195–217; Fournier, Chap. XVIII, pp. 580–642; Rose, *Life of Napoleon I*, Vol. II, Chap. XXXV, pp. 303–338.

THE CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE, 1814: Johnston, pp. 198–209; Fournier, Chap. XIX, pp. 643–680.

THE FIRST RESTORATION AND ELBA: Johnston, Chap. XVI, pp. 210–221; Fournier, pp. 680–693; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, Chap. XVIII, pp. 555–575.

WATERLOO: Fisher, pp. 217–242; Johnston, pp. 222–237; Ropes, pp. 242–295; Rose, Vol. II, pp. 417–471; Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, Part II, Book I; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Article, Waterloo Campaign.

NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA: Fournier, Chap. XXI, pp. 721–743; Rosebery, *Napoleon, the Last Phase*, Chaps. IV–VII, XII–XVI; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, Chap. XXIV, pp. 756–771.



TOMB OF NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA

CHAPTER XII

THE CONGRESSES

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Effects of the overthrow of Napoleon

The overthrow of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult problems ever presented to statesmen and diplomatists. As all the nations of Europe had been profoundly affected by his enterprises, so all were profoundly affected by his fall. The destruction of the Napoleonic régime must be followed by the reconstruction of Europe.

This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September, 1814 — June, 1815). Never before had there been seen such an assemblage of celebrities. "The city of Vienna," wrote one of the participants, "presents at this moment an overwhelming spectacle; all the most illustrious personages in Europe are represented here in the most exalted fashion." There were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and all the diplomats of Europe, of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most conspicuous. All the powers were represented except Turkey. There were representatives of the great European banking houses too, "money-changers," Wellington called them, and a multitude of adventurers and hangers-on of every stripe.

The main work of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the Allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, and needed now but to be carried out. The King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, was restored to his throne, and Genoa was given him that thus the state which borders France on the southeast might be the stronger to resist French aggression. Belgium, previously an Austrian possession, was annexed to Holland and to the House of Orange, now restored, that this state might be a barrier in the north. It was understood that, in general, the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the rearrangement of Europe, that is, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should receive them back again at the hands of collective Europe, though this principle was ignored whenever it so suited the interests of the Great Powers.

Principle of legitimacy

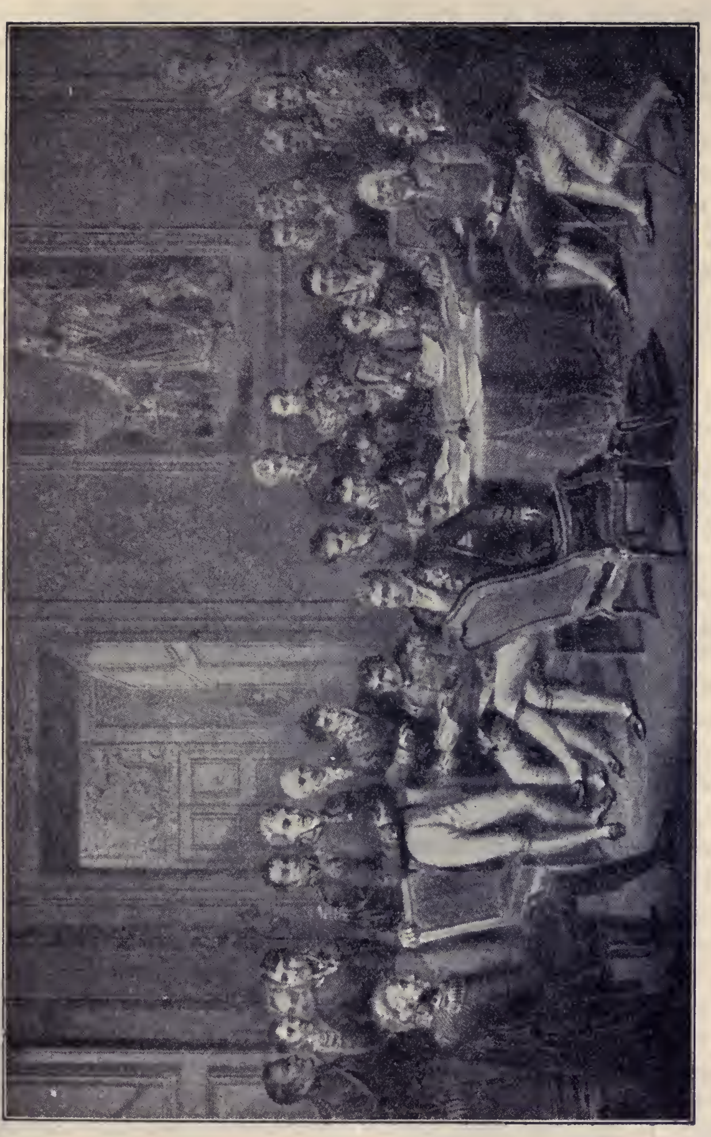
The Allies who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt that they should have their reward. The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe. He now demanded that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose government fell with Napoleon, be given to him. This state had been created out of Polish territories which Prussia and Austria had seized in the partitions of that country at the close of the eighteenth century. Alexander wished to unite them with a part of Poland that had fallen to Russia, thus largely to restore the old Polish kingdom and nationality to which he intended to give a parliament and a constitution. There was to be no incorporation of the restored kingdom in Russia, but the Russian Emperor was to be King of Poland. The union was to be merely personal.

Demands of Russia

Prussia was willing to give up her Polish provinces if only she could be indemnified elsewhere. She therefore fixed her attention upon the rich Kingdom of Saxony to the south, with the important cities of Dresden and Leipsic, as her compensation. To be sure there was a King of Saxony, and the doctrine of legitimacy would seem clearly to apply to him. But he had been faithful to his treaty obligations with Napoleon down to the battle of Leipsic, and thus, said Prussia, he had been a traitor to Germany, and his state was lawful prize.

Demands of Prussia

Russia and Prussia supported each other's claims but Austria and England and France opposed them stoutly, in the end even agreeing to go to war to prevent this aggrandizement of the two northern nations. It was this dissension among those who had conquered him that caused Napoleon to think that the opportunity was favorable for his return from Elba. But, however jealous the Allies were of each other, they, one and all, hated Napoleon and were firmly resolved to be rid of him.



THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA
After the painting by Isabey.

They had no desire for more war and consequently quickly compromised their differences. The final decision was that Russia should receive the lion's share of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia retaining only the province of Posen, and Cracow being erected into a free city; that the King of Saxony should be restored to his throne; that he should retain the important cities of Dresden and Leipsic, but should cede to Prussia about two-fifths of his kingdom; that, as further compensation, Prussia should receive extensive territories on both banks of the Rhine. Prussia also acquired Pomerania from Sweden, thus rounding out her coast line on the Baltic.

Russian acquisitions

Russia emerged from the Congress with a goodly number of additions. She retained Finland, conquered from Sweden during the late wars, and Bessarabia, wrested from the Turks; also Turkish territories in the southeast. But, most important of all, she had now succeeded in gaining most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia now extended farther westward into Europe than ever, and could henceforth speak with greater weight in European affairs.

Austrian acquisitions

Austria recovered certain Polish lands and received, as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po valley. She also recovered the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Thus, after twenty years of war, almost uninterruptedly disastrous, she emerged with considerable accessions of strength, and with a population larger by four or five millions than she had possessed in 1792. She had obtained, in lieu of remote and unprofitable possessions, territories which augmented her power in central Europe, the immediate annexation of a part of Italy, and indirect control over the other Italian states.

English acquisitions

England, the most persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the Allies for many years, found her compensation in additions to her colonial empire. She retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Heligoland in the North Sea, Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as has been already stated.

The future of Italy

Another question of great importance, decided at Vienna, was the disposition of Italy. The general principle of action had already been agreed upon, that Austria should receive compensation here for the Netherlands, and that the old dynasties should be restored. Austrian interests determined the territorial arrangements. Austria took possession, as has been said, of the richest and, in a military sense, the strongest provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, from which position she could easily dominate the peninsula, especially as the Duchy of Parma was given to Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon, and as princes connected with the Austrian imperial family were restored to their thrones in Modena and Tuscany. The Papal States were also reëstablished.

Italy a "geographical expression"

No union or federation of these states was effected. It was Metternich's desire that Italy should simply be a collection of independent states, should be only a "geographical expression." The doctrine of legitimacy, appealed to for the restoration of dynasties, was ignored by this congress of princes in the case of republics. "Republics are no longer fashionable," said the Czar to a Genoese deputation which came to protest against this arrangement. Genoa and Venice were handed over to others. Romilly mentioned in the English House of Commons that the Corinthian horses which Napoleon had brought from St. Mark's to Paris were restored to the Venetians, but that it was certainly a strange act of justice "to give them back their statues, but not to restore to them those far more valuable possessions, their territory and their republic," which had been wrested from them at the same time.

Other changes in the map of Europe, now made or ratified, were these: Norway was taken from Denmark and joined with Sweden; Switzerland was increased by the addition of three cantons which had recently been incorporated in France, thus making twenty-two cantons in all. The frontiers of Spain and Portugal were left untouched.

Criticism of the Congress

Such were the territorial readjustments decreed by the Congress of Vienna, which were destined to endure, with slight changes, for nearly fifty years. It is impossible to discover in these negotiations the operation of any lofty principle. Self-interest is the key to this welter of bargains and agreements. Not that these titled brokers neglected to attempt to convince Europe of the nobility of their endeavors. Great phrases, such as "the reconstruction of the social order," "the regeneration of the political system of Europe," a "durable peace based upon a just division of power" were used by the diplomats of Vienna in order to impress the peoples of Europe, and to lend an air of dignity and elevation to their august assemblage, but the peoples were not deceived. They witnessed the unedifying scramble of the conquerors for the spoils of victory. They saw the monarchs of Europe, who for years had been denouncing Napoleon for not respecting the rights of peoples, acting precisely in the same way, whenever it suited their pleasure.

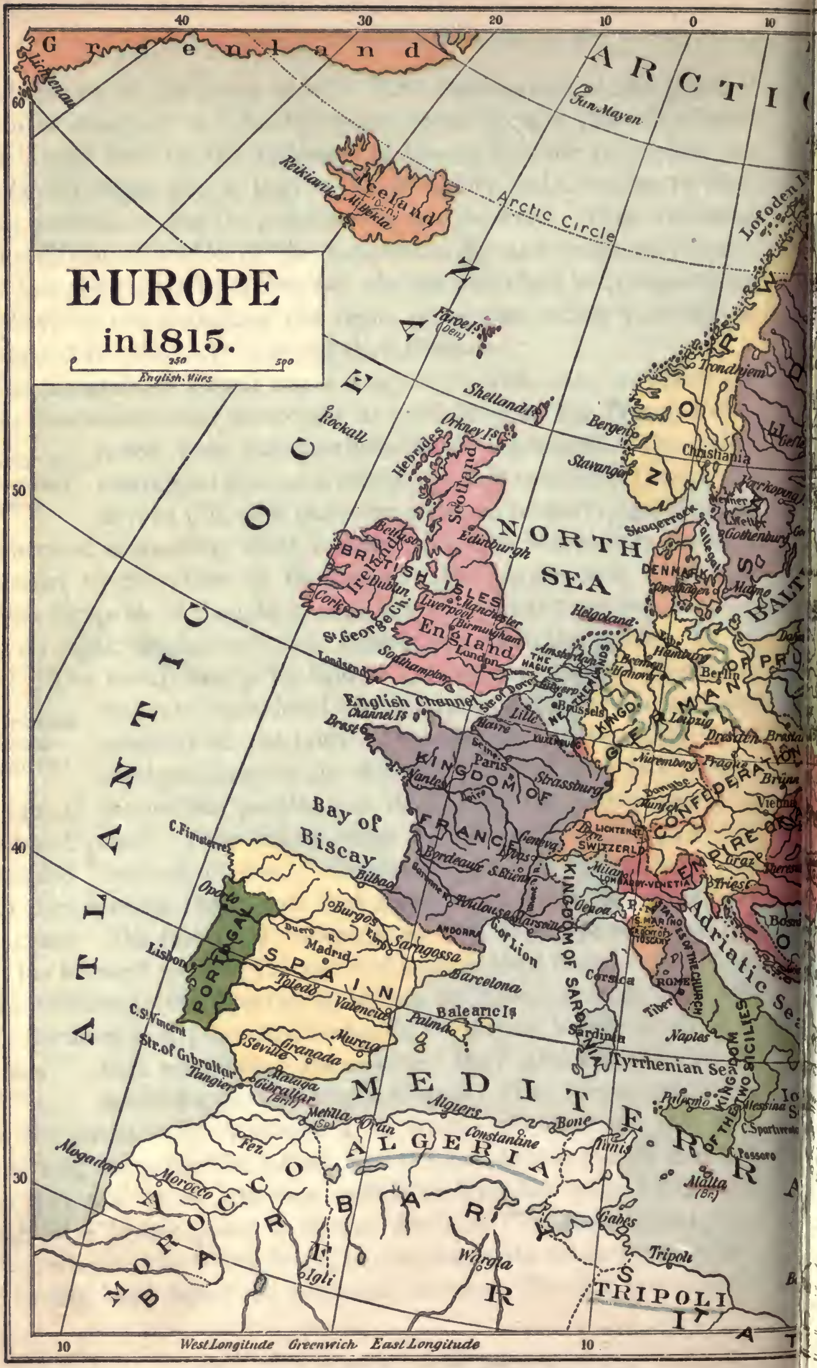
Character of the Congress of Vienna

The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats, to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy as proclaimed by the French Revolution were incomprehensible or loathsome. The rulers rearranged Europe according to their own desires, disposing of it as if it were their own personal property, ignoring the sentiment of nationality, which had lately been so wonderfully aroused, indifferent to the wishes of the people. The people were treated as children incapable of thought in such high matters as their own destiny, with no right, because of their inexperience and immaturity, to be heard. The world was to be held in tutelage as always hitherto by men who considered themselves appointed to that end, the anointed of the Lord. They did not strive so to draw the boundaries of the different states as to satisfy the aspirations of the various peoples and thus to lay the foundations of a permanent peace. They aimed rather in their adjustments to create a so-called "balance of power." Theirs could be no "settlement" because they ignored the factors that alone would make the settlement permanent. The history of Europe from 1815 to the present day has been the attempt to undo this cardinal error of the Congress of Vienna.

The principle of nationality ignored

The Holy Alliance

In addition to the Treaties of Vienna the allies signed in 1815 two other documents of great significance in the future history of Europe, that establishing the so-called Holy Alliance, and that establishing the Quadruple Alliance. The former proceeded from the initiative of Alexander I, of Russia, whose mood was now deeply religious under the influence of the tremendous events of recent years and the fall of Napoleon, which to his mind seemed the swift verdict of a higher power in human destinies. He himself had been freely praised as the White Angel, in contrast to the fallen Black Angel, and he had been called the Universal Saviour. He now submitted a



EUROPE in 1815.

250
500
English Miles
Greenland
Lichtenau
Iceland (Den.)
Reikiavik
Arctic Circle
Jan Mayen
ARCTIC
Lofoden Is.
Faroe Is. (Den.)
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Hebrides
Rockall
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH ISLES
Scotland
Ireland
England
Belfast
Dublin
Cork
Edinburgh
Liverpool
Manchester
Birmingham
London
Southampton
Landsend
St. George Ch.
English Channel
Channel Is.
NORTH SEA
Helgoland
Bergen
Stavanger
Christiania
Trondhjem
NORWAY
Skagerrack
Kattegat
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Gothenburg
Malmo
Gefle
Norrkoping
BALTIC
Amsterdam
THE HAGUE
KINGD. OF NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Brussels
Lille
Bremen
Hamburg
Hanover
Berlin
Leipzig
Dresden
Breslau
Prague
Brünn
Vienna
Nuremberg
Munich
Danube
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
Graz
Triest
Dover
Havre
Brest
Seine
Paris
Nantes
Loire
Strassburg
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Geneva
Lyons
St. Etienne
Bordeaux
Garonne
Toulouse
Marseille
Bay of Biscay
LICHTENST.
SWITZERLD.
Milan
LOMBARDY-VENETIA
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Genoa
S. MARINO
TUSCANY
STATES OF THE CHURCH
ROME
Tiber
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Palermo
Messina
C. Spartivento
C. Passaro
Malta (Br.)
Adriatic Sea
Bosnia
Corsica
Sardinia
Tyrrhenian Sea
C. Finisterre
Oporto
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
C. St. Vincent
Bilbao
Burgos
Duero
Ebro
Madrid
Saragossa
ANDORRA
SPAIN
Toledo
Valencia
Barcelona
Balearic Is.
Palma
Murcia
Seville
Granada
Malaga
Gibraltar (Brit.)
Str. of Gibraltar
Tangiers
G. of Lion
MEDITERRANEAN
Melilla (Sp.)
Oran
Algiers
Constantine
Bone
Tunis
Gabes
Tripoli
ALGERIA
BARBARY STATES
TRIPOLI
Fez
Morocco
Mogador
MOROCCO
Igli
Wargla
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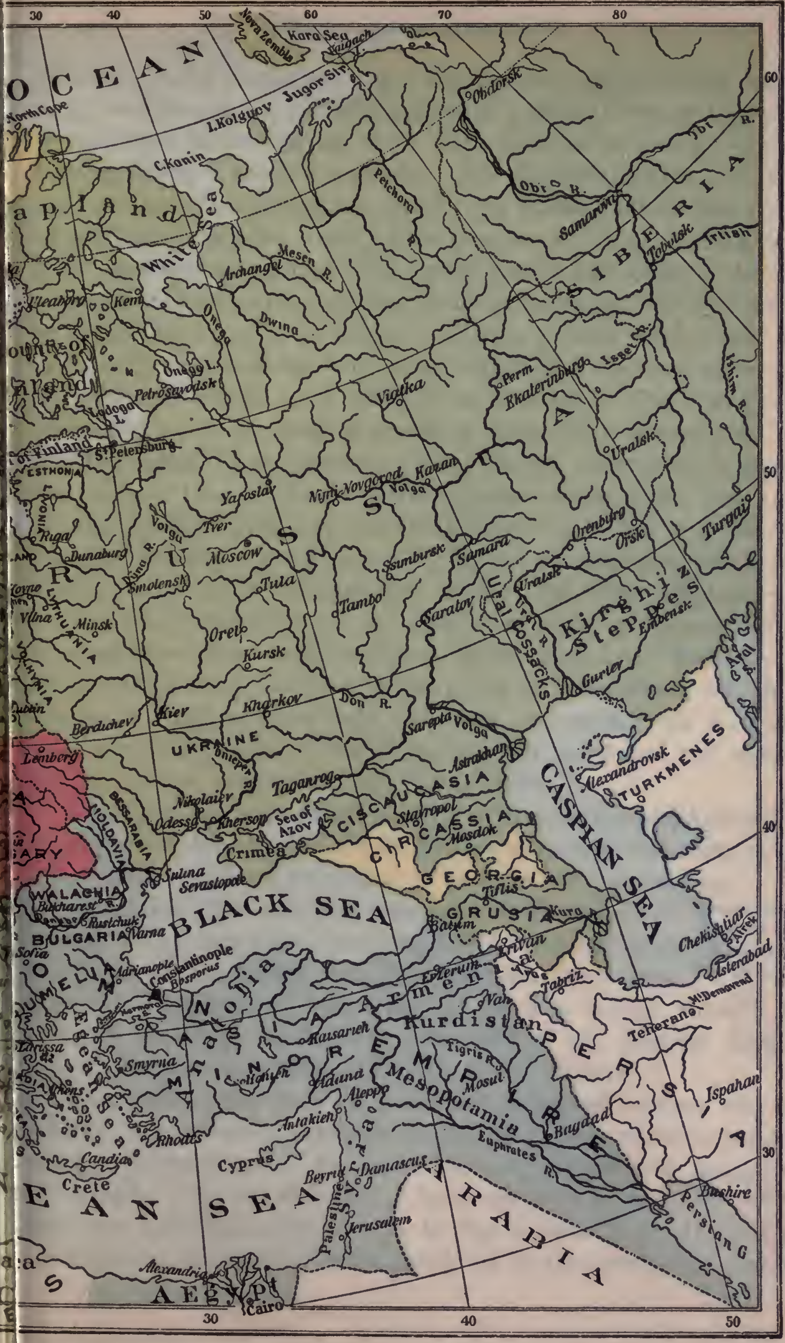
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OCEAN
Nova Zembla
Kara Sea
Vaigach
Jugor Str.
North Cape
I. Kolguev
C. Kanin
Obdorsk
Lapland
White Sea
Petchora
Mesen R.
Archangel
Obi R.
Samarovo
Irtish
Tobolsk
Iset R.
Ishim R.
SIBERIA
Uleaborg
Kem
Onega
Dwina
Onega L.
Petrosavodsk
Ladoga L.
Gulf of Finland
St. Petersburg
ESTHONIA
LIVONIA
Riga
Dunaburg
Vologda
Viatka
Perm
Ekaterinburg
Uralsk
Nijni-Novgorod
Kazan
Volga
Yaroslav
Tver
Moscow
Smolensk
Tula
Kovno
Vilna
Minsk
LITHUANIA
VOLHYNIA
Orel
Kursk
Tambov
Simbursk
Samara
Saratov
Orenburg
Orsk
Turgai
Uralsk
Ural R.
Ural Cossacks
Kirghiz Steppes
Embensk
Guriev
Aral
RUSSIA
Kharkov
Don R.
Kiev
Berdichev
Lemberg
UKRAINE
Dnieper R.
Sarepta
Volga
Astrakhan
Nikolaiev
Kherson
Taganrog
Odessa
BESSARABIA
MOLDAVIA
Sea of Azov
Crimea
CISCAUCASIA
Stavropol
CIRCASSIA
Mosdok
Alexandrovsk
TURKMENES
CASPIAN SEA
HUNGARY
Sulina
Sevastopol
WALACHIA
Bucharest
Danube R.
Rustchuk
BULGARIA
Varna
Sofia
BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
Tiflis
GRUSIA
Kura R.
Batum
Erivan
Chekishliar
Atrek
Asterabad
Mt. Demavend
Adrianople
Constantinople
Bosporus
RUMELIA
Marmora
Erzerum
Armenia
Tabriz
Van
Teheran
Larissa
Smyrna
Athens
Asia Minor
Anatolia
Kaisarieh
Kurdistan
Tigris R.
Mosul
PERSIA
Ispahan
Konieh
Adana
Aleppo
Mesopotamia
Antakieh
Rhodes
Candia
Crete
Cyprus
Syria
Beyrut
Damascus
Bagdad
Euphrates R.
Bushire
Persian G.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Palestine
Jerusalem
ARABIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
Alexandria
Aegypt
Cairo
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document to his immediate allies, Prussia and Austria, which was famous for a generation, and which gave the popular name to the system of repression which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign. The document stated that it was the intention of the powers henceforth to be guided, both in their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children, and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places. All those powers which might wish to make avowal of these "sacred principles shall be received into the Holy Alliance with as much cordiality as affection." The other powers, thus asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Czar and the other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, they did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe. As a matter of fact no state even made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name which was, in the opinion of all liberals, too good to be lost, so ironically did it contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the "Holy Allies."

The Quadruple Alliance (November 20, 1815)

The other document signed in 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time to time for the purpose of considering their common interests and the needs of Europe. The congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the influence of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

Metternich, 1773–1859

Metternich appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance is shown in the phrases, "Era of Metternich," "System of Metternich." He was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the nineteenth century.

A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary and scientific pretensions, his foible was omniscience. He was the prince of diplomatists, thoroughly at ease amid all the intriguing of European politics. His egotism was Olympian. He spoke of himself as being born "to prop up the decaying structure" of European society. He felt the world resting on his shoulders. "My position has this peculiarity," he says, "that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be." He asks the question: "Why, among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how?" He himself admitted at the end of a long career that he had "never strayed from the path of eternal law," that his mind had "never entertained error." He felt and said that he would leave a void when he disappeared.

Metternich's self-esteem

METTERNICH
After the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

On analysis, however, his thinking appears singularly negative. It consisted of his execration of the French Revolution. His life-long rôle was that of incessant opposition to everything comprehended in the word. He denounced it in rabid and lurid phrases. It was "the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be

Metternich's historical importance

burned out with the hot iron, the hydra with jaws open to swallow up the social order." He believed in absolute monarchy, and considered himself "God's lieutenant" in supporting it. He hated parliaments and representative systems of government. All this talk of liberty, equality, constitutions, he regarded as pestilential, the odious chatter of revolutionary French minds. He defined himself as a man of the status quo. Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness, such was the constant burden of his song. He was the convinced and resourceful opponent of all struggles for national independence, of all aspirations for self-government. Democracy could only "change daylight into darkest night."

Napoleon once said of Metternich that "he mistook intrigue for statesmanship." The acuteness of this characterization will be seen as we watch him at work upon his "system" in Austria, Germany, Italy, and Spain in the decade following the overthrow of the French Emperor.

REACTION IN EUROPE AFTER 1815

AUSTRIA

Lack of unity in the Austrian Empire

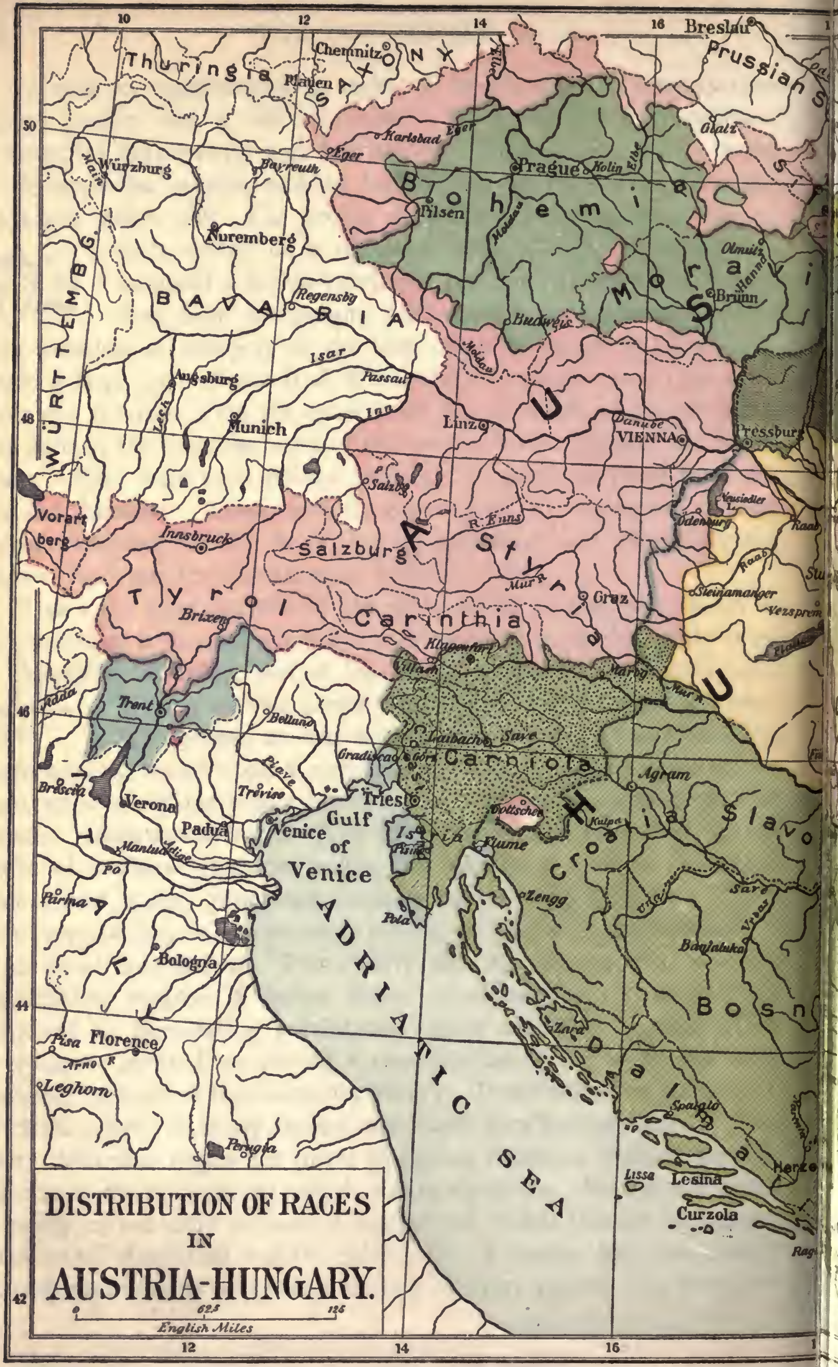
"The battle of Waterloo," remarked Napoleon at St. Helena, "will be as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as the battle of Philippi was dangerous to the liberties of Rome." Napoleon was not exactly an authority on liberty, but he did know the difference between enlightened despotism and unenlightened. His was, in the main, of the former sort. The kind that succeeded his in central Europe could not be so characterized. The style was set by Austria, the leading state on the Continent from 1815 to 1848. Austria was not a single nation, like France, but was composed of many races. To the west were the Austrian duchies, chiefly German, the ancient possessions of the House of Hapsburg; to the north Bohemia, an ancient kingdom acquired by the Hapsburgs in 1526; to the east the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying the immense plain of the middle Danube; to the south the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, purely Italian. The two leading races were the Germans, forming the body of the population in the duchies, and the Magyars, originally an Asiatic folk, encamped in the Danube valley since the ninth century and forming the dominant people in Hungary. There were many branches of the Slavic race in both Austria and Hungary. There were also Roumanians, a different people still, in eastern Hungary.

To rule so conglomerate a realm of twenty-eight or twenty-nine million people was a difficult task. This was the first problem of Francis I (1792–1835) and Metternich. Their policy was to resist all demands for reform, and to keep things as they were, to make the world stand still. The people were sharply divided into classes, each resting on a different basis. Of these the nobility occupied a highly privileged position. They enjoyed freedom from compulsory military service, large exemptions from taxation, a monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which in many cases they drew enormous revenues. On the other hand the condition of the peasants, who formed the immense mass of the people, was deplorable in the extreme. They were even refused the right to purchase relief from the heaviest burdens. Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favored few, oppression and misery for the masses, such was the condition of Austria in 1815.

Austria a land of the Old Régime

It was the fixed purpose of the government to maintain things as they were and it succeeded largely for thirty-three years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor, Ferdinand I (1835–48). During all this period Metternich was the chief minister. His system, at war with human nature, at war with the modern spirit, rested upon a meddlesome police, upon elaborate espionage, upon a vigilant censorship of ideas. Censorship was applied to theaters, newspapers, books. The frontiers were guarded that foreign books of a liberal character might not slip in to corrupt. Political science and history practically disappeared as serious studies. Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, in educational institutions. Particularly did this government fear the universities, because it feared ideas. Professors and students were subjected to humiliating regulations. Spies attended lectures. The government insisted on having a complete list of the books that each professor took out of the university library. Text-books were prescribed. Students might not study abroad, nor might they have societies of their own. Austrians might not travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given. Austria was sealed as nearly hermetically as possible against the liberal thought of Europe. Intellectual stagnation was the price paid. A system like this needed careful bolstering at every moment and at every point. The best pro-

The police system



DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Thuringia
Chemnitz
SAXONY
Plauen
Breslau
Prussian S
Glatz
Karlsbad
Eger
Würzburg
Bayreuth
Prague
Kolin
Elbe
Pilsen
Bohemia
Moldau
Nuremberg
Olmütz
Hanna
Brünn
Moravia
Regensburg
BAVARIA
WÜRTTEMBG
Budweis
Isar
Passau
Augsburg
Lech
Munich
Inn
Linz
Danube
VIENNA
Pressburg
Salzbg
Neusiedler L.
Odenburg
Raab
Vorarlberg
Innsbruck
Salzburg
R. Enns
Styria
AUSTRIA
Steinamanger
Vezsprem
Mur R.
Graz
Tyrol
Brixen
Carinthia
Klagenfurt
Villach
Marbg
Mur R.
HUNGARY
Trent
Adda
Belluno
Laibach
Save
Gradisca
Görz
Carniola
Piave
Agram
Brescia
Verona
Treviso
Triest
Gulf of Venice
Gottschee
Kulpa
Slavonia
Padua
Venice
Istria
Pisino
Fiume
Croatia
Mantua
Adige
Po
Parma
Zengg
Pola
Una
Save
Vrbas
Banjaluka
ITALY
Bologna
ADRIATIC SEA
Bosnia
Zara
Pisa
Florence
Arno R.
Leghorn
Dalmatia
Spalato
Narenta
Perugia
Lissa
Lesina
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Rag
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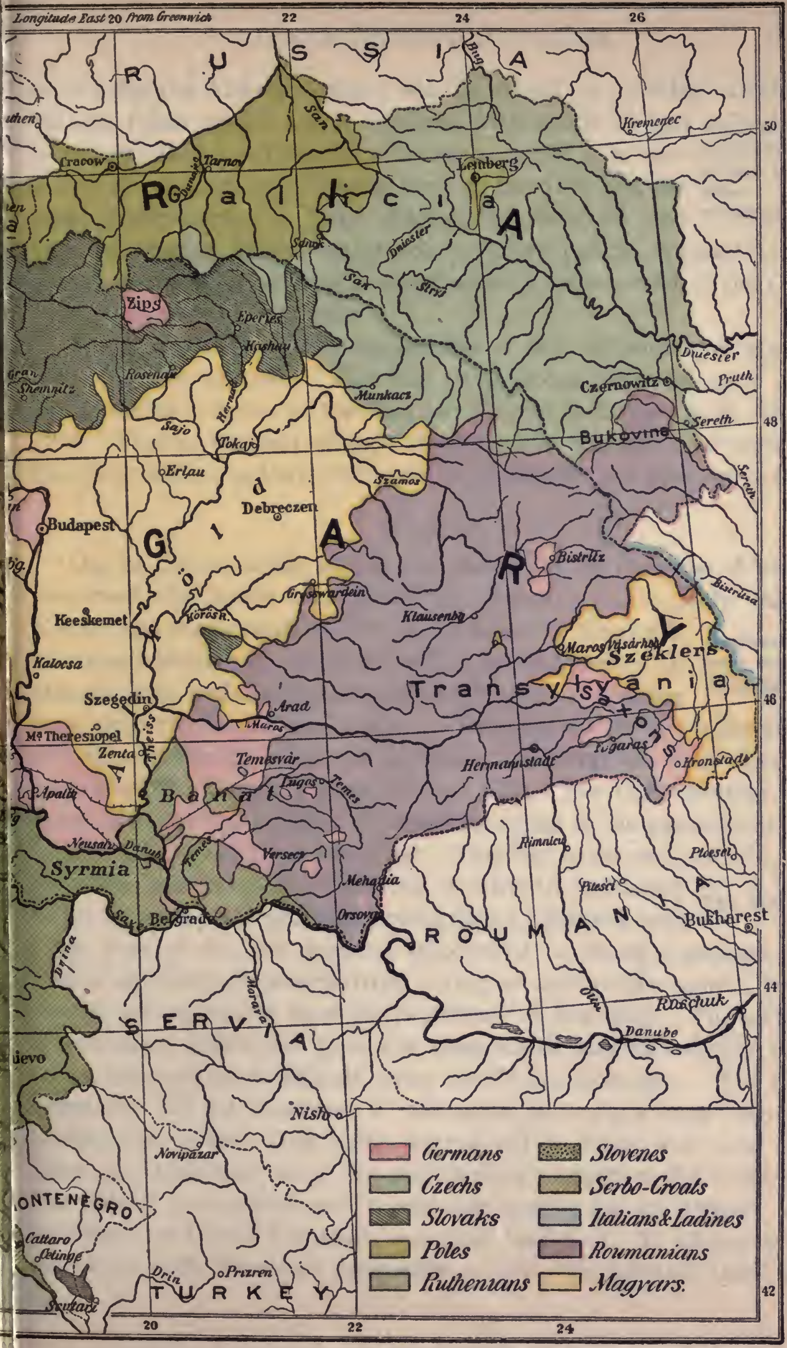
English Miles


Longitude East 20 from Greenwich
22
24
26
RUSSIA
Galicia
HUNGARY
Transylvania
Széklers
Saxons
Bukovina
Banat
Syrmia
ROUMANIA
SERVIA
MONTENEGRO
TURKEY
Cracow
Tarnov
Dunajec
San
Bug
Kremenec
Lemberg
Dniester
Sanok
Stryi
Zips
Eperies
Kaschau
Rosenau
Gran
Schemnitz
Hernad
Sajo
Tokaj
Munkacz
Dniester
Pruth
Czernowitz
Sereth
Erlau
Debreczen
Szamos
Budapest
Bistritz
Bistritza
Grosswardein
Klausenburg
Keeskemet
Körös R.
Kalocsa
Maros Vásárhely
Szegedin
Arad
Maros
Mª Theresiopel
Theiss
Zenta
Temesvár
Fogaras
Kronstadt
Hermannstadt
Apatin
Lugos
Temes
Neusatz
Danube
Versecz
Rimnicu
Ploesti
Pitesci
Mehadia
Save
Belgrade
Orsova
Bukharest
Drina
Morava
Olt
Rasciuk
Danube
Nish
Novipazar
Cattaro
Cetinje
Prizren
Drin
Scutari
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44
42
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22
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Germans
Czechs
Slovaks
Poles
Ruthenians
Slovenes
Serbo-Croats
Italians & Ladines
Roumanians
Magyars.

tection for the Austrian system was to extend it to other countries. Having firmly established it at home, Metternich labored with great skill and temporary success to apply it in surrounding countries, in Germany through the Diet and the state governments, in Italy through interventions and treaties, binding Italian states not to follow policies opposed to the Austrian, and in general by bringing about a close accord of the Great Powers on this illiberal basis.

Application of the Metternich system in other countries

We shall now trace the application of this conception of government in other countries. This will serve among other things to show the dominant position of the Austrian Empire in Europe from 1815 to 1848. Vienna, the seat of rigid conservatism, was now the center of European affairs, as Paris, the home of revolution, had been for so long.

GERMANY

Germany a loose confederation

One of the important problems presented to the Congress of Vienna concerned the future organization of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire had disappeared in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine, which he had created to take its place, had disappeared with its creator. Something must evidently be put in its place. The outcome of the deliberations was the establishment of the German Confederation which was the government of Germany from 1815 to 1866. The Confederation consisted of thirty-eight states. The central organ of the government was to be a Diet, meeting at Frankfort. This was to consist, not of representatives chosen by the people, but of delegates appointed by the different sovereigns and serving during their pleasure. They were to be, not deputies empowered to decide questions, but simply diplomatic representatives, voting as their princes might direct. Austria was always to have the presidency of this body. The method of procedure within the Diet was complicated and exceedingly cumbrous, making action difficult, delay and obstruction easy. The Confederation did not constitute a real nation but only a loose league of independent states. The states agreed not to make war upon each other and that was about the only serious obligation they assumed. The federal government was remarkable mainly for its defects. The legislature, or Diet of Frankfort, was most inefficient. In all important legislation each state had practically a veto. In addition there was

The Diet

really no executive, and the judicial branch was extremely rudimentary. It was left to the rulers of the separate states to carry out the decisions of the Diet. As a matter of fact they executed them only when they wished to.

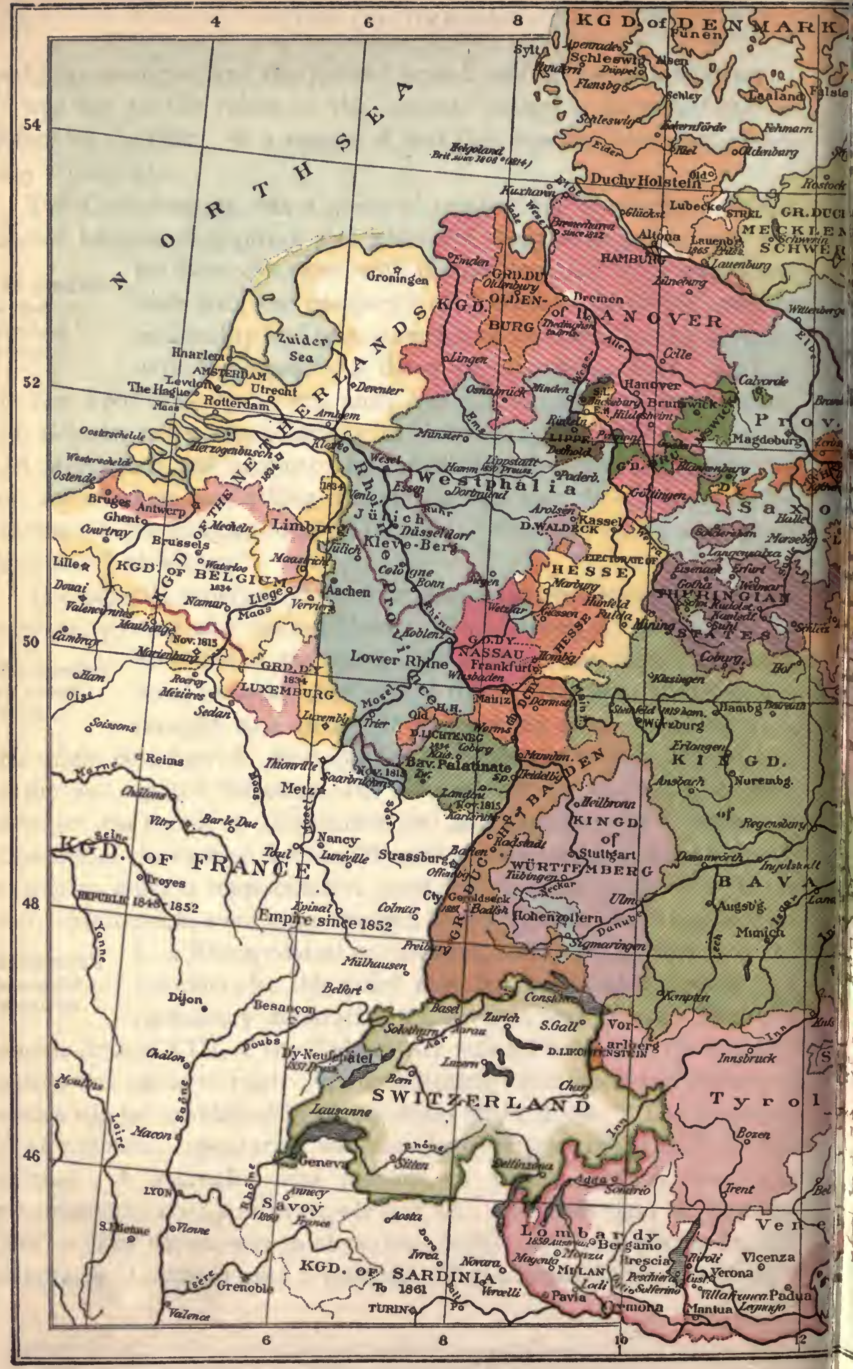
The Confederation a union of princes

The Confederation was a union of princes, not of peoples. It was created because each prince was jealous of every other prince, and was far more concerned with the preservation of his own power than with the prosperity of Germany. Now the spirit of nationality had been tremendously aroused by the struggles with Napoleon. All the more progressive spirits felt that the first need of Germany was unity and a strong national government. But German unity was, according to Metternich, an "infamous object" and Metternich was supported by the selfishness of the German rulers, not one of whom was willing to surrender any particle of his authority. Intense was the indignation of all Liberals at what they called this "great deception" of Vienna.

The demand for constitutions

The Liberals experienced another disappointment too. As they desired unity, they also desired liberty. They wished a constitution for each one of the thirty-eight states; they wished a parliament in each; they wished to have the reign of absolutism brought to a close. It had seemed at one moment as if this might be achieved. In appealing to his people to rally around him in the war against Napoleon, the King of Prussia had very recently promised his people a constitution and had urged at the Congress of Vienna that the Federal Act should require every member of the Confederation to grant a representative constitution to his subjects within a year. Metternich, even more opposed to free political institutions than to a strong central government, succeeded in thwarting the reformers at this point also, by having this explicit and mandatory declaration made vague and lifeless. Thus the famous Article XIII of the Federal Act which established the Confederation was made to read: "A constitution based upon the system of estates will be established in all the states of the union." The character of the promised constitution was not sketched; and the time limit was omitted. A journalist was justified in saying that all that was guaranteed to the German people was an "unlimited right of expectation." The future was to show the vanity even of expectation, the hollowness of even so mild a promise. The Liberals had desired some-

Metternich's successful opposition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6
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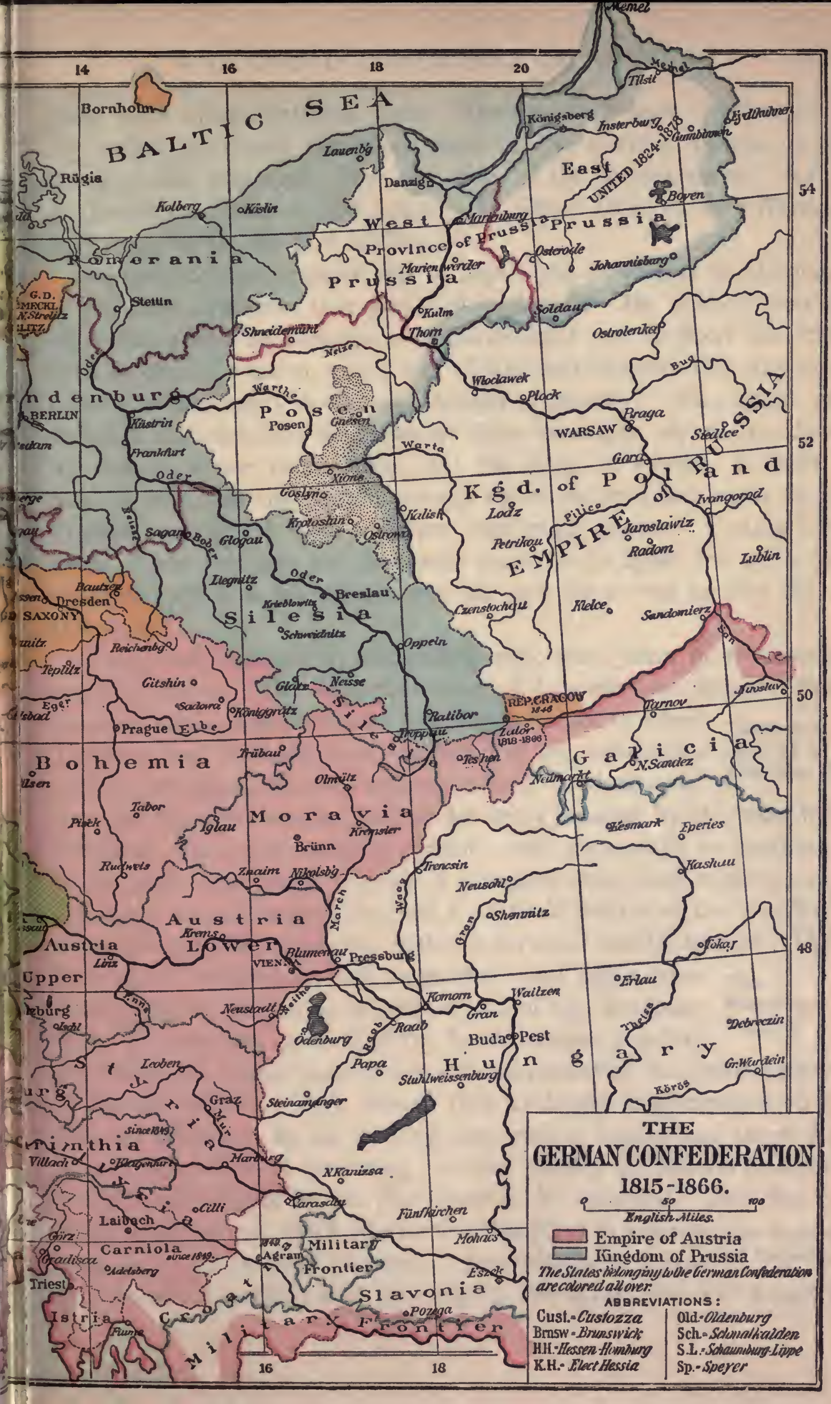
12
KGD. of DENMARK
Fünen
Sylt
Apenrade
Schleswig
Tondern
Düppel
Alsen
Flensbg
Schley
Laaland
Falster
Schleswig
Eckernförde
Fehmarn
Eider
Kiel
Oldenburg
Helgoland Brit. since 1808 (1814)
Duchy Holstein
Rostock
Kuxhaven
Elbe
Glückst
Lubeck
STREL
GR. DUCHY
MECKLENB.
SCHWERIN
Bremerhaven since 1822
Altona
Lauenbg 1865 Pruss.
Lauenburg
HAMBURG
Emden
GRD. DU. Oldenburg
OLDEN-BURG
Lüneburg
Groningen
Bremen
KGD. of HANOVER
NORTH SEA
NETHERLANDS
Zuider Sea
Haarlem
AMSTERDAM
Leyden
The Hague
Utrecht
Rotterdam
Maas
Deventer
Arnhem
Lingen
Osnabrück
Minden
Weser
Aller
Celle
Hanover
Brunswick
Wittenberge
Calvörde
Prov.
Magdeburg
Hildesheim
Rinteln
LIPPE Detmold
Pyrmont
Münster
Oosterschelde
Westerschelde
Ostende
Herzogenbusch 1834
Kleve
Wesel
Hamm 1850 Pruss.
Lippstadt
Paderb.
Westphalia
Dortmund
Essen
Venlo
Ruhr
Arolsen
D. WALDECK
Kassel
Göttingen
GD. BRUNSWICK
Blankenburg
Saxony
Halle
Merseburg
Bruges
Antwerp
Ghent
Courtray
Mecheln
Limburg
Jülich
Düsseldorf
Kleve-Berg
Rhine Province
Brussels
Lille
Waterloo
KGD. OF BELGIUM 1834
Maastricht
Cologne
Bonn
Siegen
ELECTORATE OF HESSE
Marburg
Eisenach
Erfurt
Gotha
Weimar
THURINGIAN STATES
Rudolst.
Douai
Namur
Liege
Aachen
Verviers
Wetzlar
Giessen
Hünfeld
Fulda
Meining.
Suhl
Valenciennes
Maubeuge
Nov. 1815
Koblenz
G.D.DY NASSAU
Homburg
HESSE
Coburg
Hof
Cambray
Marienburg
GRD. D.Y 1834 LUXEMBURG
Lower Rhine
Frankfurt
Wiesbaden
Kissingen
Ham
Oise
Rocroy
Mézières
Sedan
Luxembg
Mosel
Trier
Mainz
Darmst.
Main
Steinfeld 1819 ham.
Würzburg
Bamberg
Baireuth
Soissons
Old.
D. LICHTENBG 1834
Worms
Reims
Thionville
Nov. 1815
Saarbrücken
Bav. Palatinate
Mannheim
Heidelbg
Sp.
Erlangen
KINGD. of BAVARIA
Nuremberg
Ansbach
Marne
Châlons
Metz
Landau
Nov. 1815
Karlsruhe
Heilbronn
BADEN
Regensburg
Vitry
Bar le Duc
Nancy
Lunéville
Strassburg
Baden
Rastadt
KINGD. of WÜRTTEMBERG
Stuttgart
Donauwörth
Ingolstadt
Seine
KGD. OF FRANCE
Toul
Offenbg
Tübingen
Neckar
Troyes
REPUBLIC 1848-1852
Epinal
Colmar
Cty. Geroldseck 1819 Badish
Hohenzollern
Ulm
Augsbg.
Munich
Empire since 1852
Freiburg
GRD. DUCHY
Danube
Sigmaringen
Lech
Isar
Yonne
Mülhausen
Belfort
Constance
Kempten
Dijon
Besançon
Basel
Zurich
S. Gall
Vorarlberg
Solothurn
Aarau
Aar
D. LIECHTENSTEIN
Innsbruck
Doubs
Dy-Neufchâtel 1857 Pruss.
Luzern
Châlon
Bern
Chur
Moulins
SWITZERLAND
Tyrol
Lausanne
Inn
Loire
Macon
Saône
Rhône
Bozen
Geneva
Sitten
Bellinzona
Adda
Sondrio
Trent
LYON
Rhône
Annecy
Savoy (1860 France)
Aosta
S. Etienne
Vienne
Lombardy 1859 Austrian
Bergamo
Venetia
Vicenza
Ivrea
Novara
Magenta
Monza
Brescia
Rivoli
Verona
KGD. OF SARDINIA To 1861
MILAN
Peschiera
Custoza
Isère
Grenoble
Lodi
Solferino
Villafranca
Padua
Vercelli
Pavia
Cremona
Mantua
Legnago
Valence
TURIN
Po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Memel
Tilsit
BALTIC SEA
Bornholm
Rügia
Kolberg
Köslin
Lauenb'g
Danzig
Königsberg
Insterburg
Gumbinnen
Eydtkuhnen
East
UNITED 1824-1878
Boyen
West Province of Prussia
Prussia
Marienburg
Marienwerder
Osterode
Johannisburg
Pomerania
G.D. MECKL. N.Strelitz
Stettin
Kulm
Thorn
Soldau
Ostrolenka
Schneidemühl
Oder
Netze
Bug
Brandenburg
BERLIN
Küstrin
Frankfurt
Warthe
Posen
Gnesen
Wloclawek
Plock
Praga
WARSAW
Siedlce
RUSSIA
Warta
Xions
Goslyn
Krotoschin
Ostrowo
Kalish
Gora
Kgd. of Poland
EMPIRE of RUSSIA
Lodz
Pilica
Ivangorod
Jaroslawiz
Radom
Petrikau
Lublin
Sagan
Bober
Glogau
Liegnitz
Breslau
Krieblowitz
Silesia
Schweidnitz
Kielce
Sandomierz
Czenstochau
Bautzen
Dresden
SAXONY
Reichenbg.
Teplitz
Oppeln
San
Gitshin
Eger
Sadowa
Königgrätz
Glatz
Neisse
Silesia
REP. CRACOW 1846
Jaroslau
Tarnov
Karlsbad
Prague
Elbe
Ratibor
Troppau
Zator 1818-1866
Bohemia
Pilsen
Trübau
Teschen
Galicia
N.Sandez
Neumarkt
Olmütz
Tabor
Moravia
Pisek
Iglau
Kremsier
Brünn
Kesmark
Eperies
Budweis
Znaim
Nikolsb'g
Trencsin
Kaschau
Neusohl
Waag
March
Schemnitz
Gran
Austria
Krems
Lower
Passau
Austria
Blumenau
Pressburg
Tokay
Linz
VIENNA
Upper
Salzburg
Ischl
Enns
Erlau
Komorn
Waitzen
Gran
Neustadt
Leitha
Raab
Ödenburg
Buda
Pest
Theiss
Debreczin
Papa
Hungary
Stuhlweissenburg
Gr.Wardein
Leoben
Körös
Styria
Graz
Mur
Steinamanger
Since 1849
Carinthia
Villach
Klagenfurt
Marburg
N.Kanizsa
Cilli
Warasdin
Laibach
Fünfkirchen
Görz
Carniola since 1849
1849
Agram
Military Frontier
Mohacs
Gradisca
Adelsberg
Esseg
Triest
Slavonia
Croatia
Istria
Pozega
Fiume
Military Frontier
16
18

THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION 1815-1866.

0
50
100
English Miles.

🟥 Empire of Austria
🟦 Kingdom of Prussia

The States belonging to the German Confederation are colored all over.

ABBREVIATIONS:

Cust.-Custozza
Brnsw-Brunswick
H.H.-Hessen-Homburg
K.H.-Elect Hessia
Old.-Oldenburg
Sch.-Schmalkalden
S.L.-Schaumburg-Lippe
Sp.-Speyer

thing more substantial than hope. Austria and Prussia, the two leading states, governing the great mass of the German people, never executed this provision. Nor did many of the smaller states. A few of the princes, however, did, notably the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, the patron of Goethe and Schiller.

Metternich's programme was to secure the prevalence in Germany of the same principles that prevailed in Austria. He believed that to allow the people to participate in government was to flood the state with ignorance, passion, envy, and all uncharitableness: that any concessions to democracy would lead straight to anarchy. His purpose was to instill this idea into the minds of those sovereigns who did not have it; also to arouse timid rulers, like the King of Prussia, to such a pitch of fear, that they would actively coöperate with him in his efforts to stamp out liberal ideas wherever they might appear. Certain incidents of the day gave him favorable occasions to apply the system of repression which in his opinion was the only sure cure for the ills of this world.

Disappointment of German Liberals

The years immediately succeeding 1815 were years of restlessness and discontent. The disappointment of Liberals was intense, their criticism bitter, when they saw their hopes turned to ashes. The chief seat of disaffection was found in the universities and in newspapers edited by university men. Student societies kept alive the exalted feelings for unity aroused by the wars with Napoleon, and were ardently patriotic and democratic in sentiment. In the year 1817 a large number of delegates from these student societies in the various universities held a patriotic festival at the Wartburg, a castle famous in connection with the career of Martin Luther. Their festival was religious as well as patriotic and was a commemoration of the battle of Leipsic and of the Reformation. Its members partook of the Lord's Supper together and listened to impassioned speeches commemorating the great moments in German history. They showed their enthusiastic admiration of the Duke of Weimar. In the evening they built a bonfire and threw into it various symbols of the hated reaction, notably an illiberal pamphlet of which the King of Prussia had expressed his approval. Such was the Wartburg Festival, which Metternich described in gloomy language to the rulers of Germany. Somewhat later a student killed a journalist and playwright, Kotzebue, who was hated in

The Wartburg Festival

The murder of Kotzebue

university circles as a Russian spy. These and other occurrences played perfectly into the hands of Metternich who was seeking the means of establishing reaction in Germany as it had been established in Austria. He secured the passage by the frightened princes of the Carlsbad Decrees (1819). These decrees were rushed through the Diet by illegal and violent methods. By them Metternich became the conqueror of the Confederation. They were the work of Austria, seconded by Prussia. They signified in German history the suppression of liberty for a generation. They really determined the political system of Germany until 1848. They provided for a vigorous censorship of the press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to a close government supervision. All teachers who should propagate "harmful doctrines," that is, who should in any way criticise Metternich's ideas of government, should be removed from their positions and once so removed could not be appointed to any other positions in Germany. The student societies were suppressed. Any student expelled from one university was not to be admitted into any other. By these provisions it was expected that the entire academic community, professors and students, would be reduced to silence. Another provision was directed against the establishment of any further constitutions of a popular character. Thus free parliaments, freedom of the press, freedom of teaching, and free speech were outlawed.

The Carlsbad Decrees

The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning-point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in Germany as well as in Austria. Prussia now docilely followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. The King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia. He never kept this promise. On the other hand he inaugurated a peculiarly odious persecution of all Liberals, which was marked by many acts as inane as they were cruel. Prussia entered upon a dull, drab period of oppression.

Reaction the order of the day in Germany

Let us now see how the same ideas were applied in other countries.

SPAIN

In 1808 Napoleon had, as we have seen, seized the crown of Spain, and until 1814 had kept the Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, virtually a prisoner in France, placing his own brother Joseph on the vacant throne.

The Spaniards rose against the usurper and for years carried on a vigorous guerilla warfare, aided by the English, and ending finally in success. As their King was in the hands of the enemy they proceeded in his name to frame a government. Being liberal-minded they drew up a constitution, the famous Constitution of 1812, which was closely modeled on the French Constitution of 1791. It asserted the sovereignty of the people, thus discarding the rival theory of the monarchy by divine right which had hitherto been the accepted basis of the Spanish state. This democratic document however did not have long to live, as Ferdinand, on his return to Spain after the overthrow of Napoleon, immediately suppressed it and embarked upon a policy of angry reaction. The press was gagged. Books of a liberal character were destroyed wherever found, and particularly all copies of the constitution. Thousands of political prisoners were severely punished.

Ferdinand VII (1814–1833)

Vigorous and efficient in stamping out all liberal ideas, the government of Ferdinand was indolent and incompetent in other matters. Spain, a country of about eleven million people, was wretchedly poor and ignorant. The government, however, made no attempt to improve conditions. Moreover it failed to discharge the most fundamental duty of any government, that is, to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Spanish colonies in America had been for several years in revolt against the mother country and the government had made no serious efforts to put down the rebellion.

Inefficiency of the government

Such conditions, of course, aroused great discontent. The army particularly was angry at the treatment it had received and became a breeding place of conspiracies. A military uprising occurred in 1820 which swept everything before it and which forced the King to restore the Constitution of 1812 and to promise henceforth to govern in accordance with its provisions. The text of the constitution was posted in every city, and parish priests were ordered to expound it to their congregations.

Revolution of 1820

Thus revolution had triumphed again, and only five years after Waterloo. An absolute monarchy, based on divine right, had been changed into a constitutional monarchy based on the sovereignty of the people. Would the example be followed elsewhere? Would the Holy Alliance look on in silence? Had the revolutionary spirit been so carefully smothered in Austria, Germany, and France, only to blaze forth in outlying sections of Europe? Answers to these questions were quickly forthcoming.

ITALY

Italy, like other countries, had been profoundly affected by the liberal ideas of the French Revolution, and particularly by the restless activity of Napoleon who, from the beginning of his career to its close, had drawn her within the range of his policies and manipulations. At first the Italians had hailed him as the looked-for deliverer from oppression, a feeling that gave way to hatred when the youthful conqueror set up, in the place of the despotism overthrown, a despotism more severe, although at the same time more intelligent. For many years the fate of Italy was determined by his will. He did much to improve the laws, much to stimulate industry, much to break up musty old habits and conventions. New ideas, political and social, penetrated the peninsula with him. He shook the Italians out of their somnolence and imparted to them an energy they had not known for centuries. But he offended them by his heavy exactions of men and money for his constant wars, by his shameless robbery of their works of art, and by his treatment of the Pope.

Napoleon's activity in Italy

The awakening of Italy

Then he fell, and the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy. There were henceforth ten of them: Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not "fashionable." The one was given to Piedmont, the other to Austria.

The ten Italian states

These states were too small to be self-sufficient, and as a result Italy was for nearly fifty years the sport of foreign powers, dependent, henceforth, not upon France but upon Austria. This is the cardinal fact in the situation and is an evidence, as it is a partial cause, of the commanding position of the Austrian monarchy after the fall of Napoleon. Austria was given outright the richest part of the Po valley as a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Austrian princes or princesses ruled over the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, and were easily brought into the Austrian system. Thus was Austria the master of northern Italy; master of southern Italy, too, for Ferdinand, King of Naples, made an offensive and defensive

The dominance of Austria in Italy

treaty with Austria, pledging himself to make no separate alliances and to grant no liberties to his subjects beyond those which obtained in Lombardy and Venetia. Naples was thus but a satellite in the great Austrian system. The King of Piedmont and the Pope were the only Italian princes at all likely to be intractable. And Austria's strength in comparison with theirs was that of a giant compared with that of pygmies.

Thus the restoration was accomplished. Italy became again a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. Each of the restored princes was an absolute monarch. In none of the states was there a parliament. Italy had neither unity nor constitutional forms, nor any semblance of popular participation in the government. The use which the restored princes made of their unfettered liberty of action was significant.

Universal reaction

Hating the French, they undertook to extinguish all reminders of that odious people. They abolished all constitutions and many laws and institutions of French origin. Vaccination and gas illumination were forbidden for the simple reason that the French had introduced them. In Piedmont French plants in the Botanic Gardens of Turin were torn up, French furniture in the royal palace was destroyed in response to this vigorous and infantile emotion. In every one of the states there was distinct retrogression and the Italians lost ground all along the line—politically, industrially, socially. In general the Inquisition was restored. Education was handed over to the clergy. The course of studies was carefully purged of everything that might be dangerous. The police paid particular attention to "the class called thinkers."

Widespread discontent

Thus Italy was ruled by petty despots and in a petty spirit. Moreover most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined. The natural result of such conditions was deep and widespread discontent. All the progressive elements of the population which believed in freedom in education, in religion, in business were disaffected, as were also many who were dismissed from the army or from governmental positions on the ground that they had been contaminated with the previous French régime. The discontented joined the Carbonari, a secret society, and bided their time.

That time came when the news reached Italy of the successful and bloodless Spanish Revolution of 1820. In Naples a military insurrection broke out. The revolutionists demanded the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew much about it save that it was very democratic and possessed the advantage of being ready-made. The King immediately yielded and the constitution was proclaimed.

The Revolution of 1820 in Naples

THE CONGRESSES

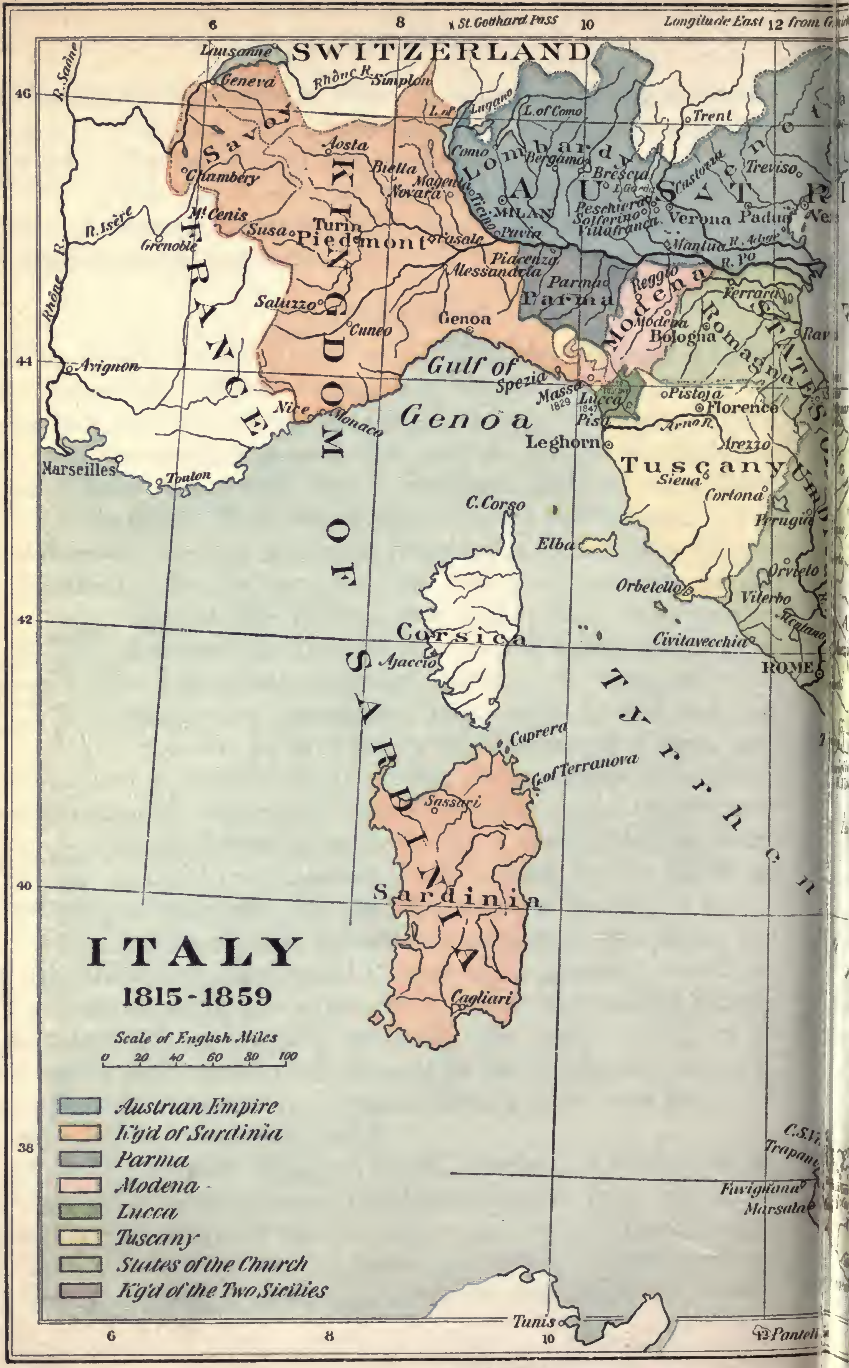
Thus in 1820 the Revolution, so hateful to the diplomats of 1815, had resumed the offensive. Spain and Naples had overthrown the régime that had been in force five years, and had adopted constitutions that were thoroughly saturated with the principles of Revolutionary France. There had likewise been a revolution against the established régime in Portugal. There was shortly to be one in Piedmont.

Metternich, the most influential personage in Europe, who felt the world resting on his shoulders, had very clear views as to the requirements of the situation that had arisen. Anything that threatened the peace of Europe was a very proper thing for a European congress to discuss. A revolution in one country may encourage a revolution in another and thus the world, set in order by the Congress of Vienna, may soon find itself in conflagration once more, the established order everywhere threatened. Metternich recommended as a sure cure the doctrine of the "right of intervention," a doctrine new in international law but which he succeeded in having applied for several years. The doctrine was that, as modern Europe was based upon opposition to revolution, the powers had the right and were in duty bound to intervene to put down revolution, not only in their own states respectively, but in any state of Europe, against the will of the people of that state, even against the will of the sovereign of that state, in the interests of the established monarchical order. A change of government within a given state was not a domestic but an international affair.

The powers prepare to suppress these revolutions

The doctrine of the right of intervention

Metternich won the support of Russia, Prussia, and Austria for this doctrine, which virtually denied the independence of every nation, the right of the people of any state to change their form of government to any other model than that of absolute monarchy. These were the original "Holy Allies," all absolute monarchs, and it was their steady,



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MILAN
Ticino
Peschiera
Solferino
Villafranca
Verona
Padua
Mt. Cenis
R. Isère
Grenoble
Susa
Turin
Piedmont
Casale
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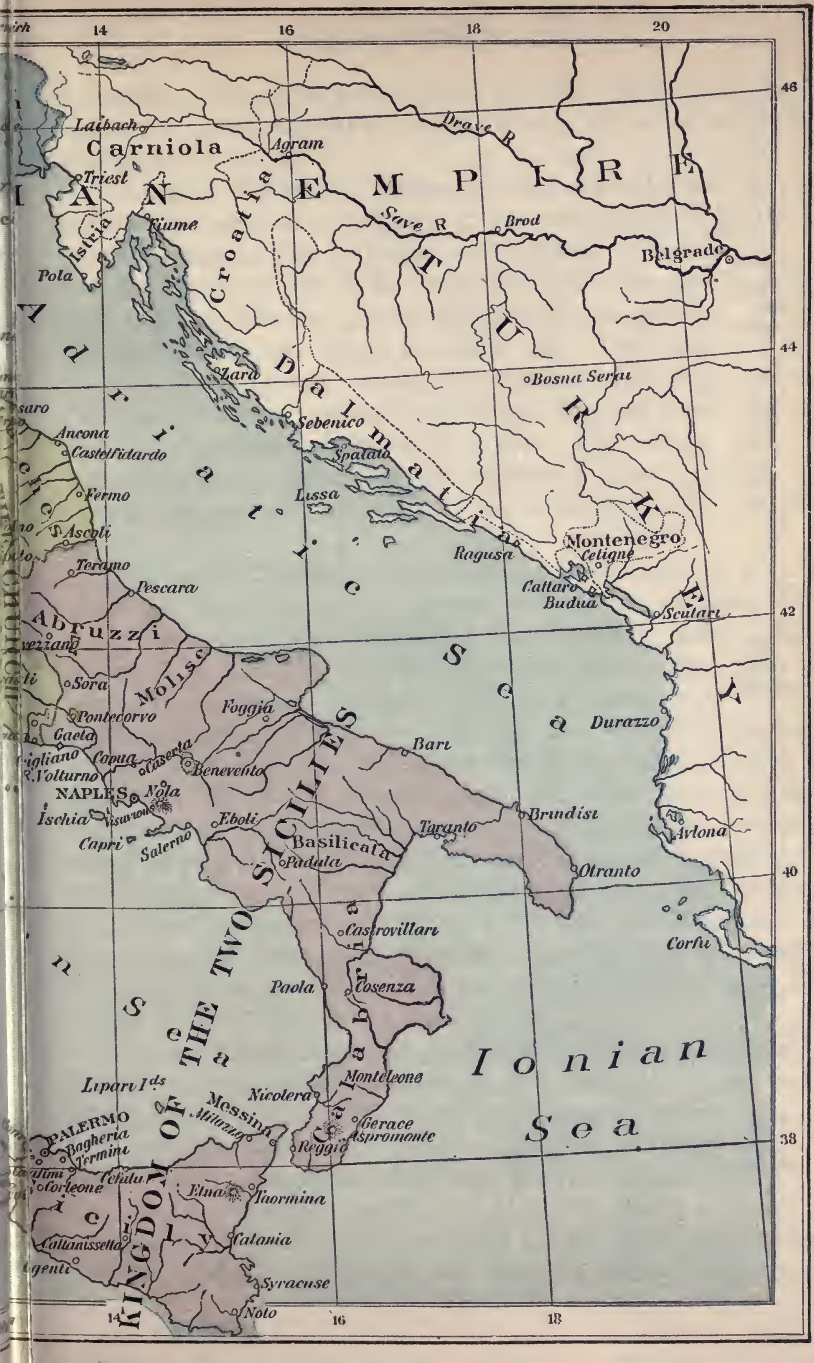
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Castelfidardo
Fermo
Ascoli
Teramo
Pescara
Abruzzi
Molise
Sora
Pontecorvo
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Capua
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Taranto
Basilicata
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Durazzo
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Corfu
Castrovillari
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Reggio
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KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
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undeviating support of the ominous principle which made the Holy Alliance a synonym everywhere for tyranny, odious to all liberals in Europe and America.

The Congress of Troppau, 1820

A Congress was held at Troppau in 1820 and at Laibach in 1821 to consider the question of Naples. It was participated in by the three powers mentioned and by France and England. The two last named did not join in the declaration of the new doctrine but they remained passive and the absolute powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia had their way. They commissioned Austria to send an army into the Kingdom of Naples, to abolish the constitution, and to restore absolutism. This was done. The results were for the Neapolitans most deplorable. The reaction that ensued was unrestrained. Hundreds were imprisoned, exiled, executed. Arbitrary government of the worst kind was meted out to this unfortunate people.

The Revolution in Piedmont

Just as this Neapolitan revolution was being snuffed out a similar revolution blazed up at the opposite end of the peninsula, in Piedmont, the revolutionists demanding the Spanish Constitution of 1812, as the most liberal one they knew of, and war against Austria as the great enemy of Piedmont and Italy. The King, Victor Emanuel I, rather than yield to the demand for a revolution abdicated and was succeeded by his brother, Charles Felix (March 13, 1821). The new King was a despot by nature and he now had the support of the same powers that had shown their intentions in regard to revolutions. Charles Felix, assisted by the Austrians, routed the revolutionists at Novara. The revolution was over. Once more the demand for constitutional freedom had been suppressed, once more Metternich had triumphed. Needless to say he was quite satisfied. "I see the dawn of a better day," he wrote. "Heaven seems to will it that the world shall not be lost."

The Congress of Verona

The two Italian revolutions had been suppressed. The doctrine of intervention was working satisfactorily to its authors. It was now applied again, this time to Spain, in which country, as we have seen, the revolutionary movement of these years had begun. The consideration of Spanish affairs had had to give way to the more immediate and pressing affairs of Italy. The principle there, however, was the same and the Allies now prepared to assert it. This was the work of the Congress of Verona (1822). Austria, Russia, and Prussia regarded a constitutional government in Spain as a menace to their own system of absolutism. They therefore commissioned France, now a thoroughly reactionary country, to restore Ferdinand to his former power. England opposed this policy with high indignation, but in vain. The French sent an army of a hundred thousand men into the peninsula which was easily victorious. The war was soon over and Ferdinand was back on his absolute throne, by act of France, supported by the Holy Alliance.

Reaction in Spain

There now began a period of odious reaction. All the acts passed by the Cortes since 1820 were annulled. An organization called the "Society of the Exterminating Angel" began a mad hunt for Liberals, throwing them into prison, shooting them down. The war of revenge knew no bounds. "Juntas of Purification" urged it on. Thousands were driven from the country, hundreds were executed. The French government, ashamed of its protégé, endeavored to stop the savagery, but with slight success. It is an odious chapter in the history of Spain.

The triumph of the Holy Alliance

The Holy Alliance, by these triumphs in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain, showed itself the dominant force in European politics. The system, named after Metternich, because his diplomacy had built it up and because he stood in the very center of it, seemed firmly established as the European system. But it had achieved its last notable triumph. It was now to receive a series of checks which were to limit it forever.

The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine

Having restored absolutism in Spain the Holy Allies considered restoring to Spain her revolted American colonies. In this purpose they encountered the pronounced opposition of England and the United States both of which were willing that Spain herself should try to recover them but not that the Holy Alliance should recover them for her. As England controlled the seas she could prevent the Alliance from sending troops to the scene of revolt. The President of the United States, James Monroe, in a message to Congress (December 2, 1823), destined to become one of the most famous documents ever written in the White House, announced that we should consider any attempt on the part of these absolute monarchs to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, as the "manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the

The "Metternich system" checked

United States." This attitude of England and the United States produced its effect. After this no new laurels were added to the Holy Alliance. A few years later Russia was herself encouraging and supporting a revolution on the part of the Greeks against the Turks, and in 1830 revolutions broke out in France and Belgium which demolished the system of Metternich beyond all possible repair.

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CHAPTER XIII

FRANCE UNDER THE RESTORATION

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVIII

The restoration of the Bourbons not a restoration of the Old Régime

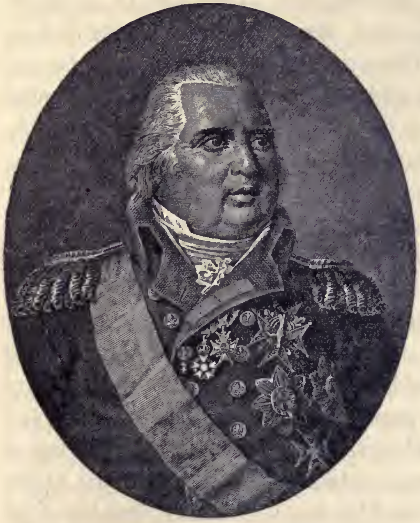
The House of Bourbon had been put back upon the throne of France by the Allies who had conquered Napoleon in 1814. It was put back a second time in 1815, after Waterloo. But the new monarch, Louis XVIII, recognized, as did the Allies, that the restoration of the royal line did not at all mean the restoration of the Old Régime. He saw that the day of the absolute monarchy had passed forever in France. The monarchy must be constitutional and must safeguard many of the acquisitions of the Revolution or its life would certainly be brief. The King, recognizing that he must compromise with the spirit of the age, issued in 1814 the Constitutional Charter. This established a parliament of two houses, a Chamber of Peers, appointed for life, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected for a term of five years, but by a restricted body of voters, for the suffrage was so limited by an age and property qualification that there were less than 100,000 voters out of a population of 29,000,000, and not more than 12,000 were eligible to become deputies. The Charter proclaimed the equality of all Frenchmen, yet only a petty minority were given the right to participate in the government of the country. France was still in a political sense a land of privilege, only privilege was no longer based on birth but on fortune. Nevertheless, this was a more liberal form of government than she had ever had under Napoleon, and was the most liberal to be seen in Europe, outside of England.

The Constitutional Charter of 1814

Provisions concerning civil rights

There was another set of provisions in this document of even greater importance than those determining the future form of government, namely, that in which the civil rights of Frenchmen were narrated. These provisions showed how much of the work of the Revolution and of Napoleon the Bourbons were prepared to accept. They were intended to reassure the people of France, who feared to see in the Restoration a loss of liberties or rights which had become most precious to them. It was declared that all Frenchmen were equal before the law, and thus the cardinal principle of the Revolution was preserved; that all were equally eligible to civil and military positions, that thus no class should monopolize public service, as had largely been the case before the Revolution; that no one should be arrested or prosecuted save by due process of law, that thus the day of arbitrary imprisonment was not to return; that there should be complete religious freedom for all sects, although Roman Catholicism was declared to be the religion of the state; that the press should be free. Those who had purchased the confiscated property of the crown, the church, and the nobles, during the Revolution were assured that their titles were inviolable.

Recognition of the work of the Revolution



Louis XVIII
From an engraving by P. Audouin, after the bust by A. Valois.

Louis XVIII (1814–1824)

The personality of Louis XVIII seemed admirably adapted to the situation in which France found itself. A man of moderate opinions, cold-blooded, skeptical, free from illusions, free from the passion of revenge, indolent by nature, Louis desired to avoid conflicts and to enjoy his power in peace. But there were difficulties in the way. He had been restored by foreign armies. His presence on the throne was a constant reminder of the humiliation of France. But a more serious feature was the character of the persons with whom he was in constant contact. The court was now composed of the nobles who had suffered greatly from the Revolution, who had been robbed of their property, who had seen many of their relatives executed by the guillotine. It was but natural that these men should have come back full of hatred for the authors of their woes, that they should detest the ideas of the Revolution and the persons who had been identified with it. These men were not free from passion, as was Louis XVIII. More eager to restore the former glory of the crown, the former rank of the nobility and the clergy, more bitter toward the new ideas than the King himself, they were the Ultra-royalists, or Ultras — men more royalist than the King, as they claimed. They saw in the Revolution only robbery and sacrilege and gross injustice to themselves. They bitterly assailed Louis XVIII for granting the Charter, a dangerous concession to the Revolution, and they secretly wished to abolish it, meanwhile desiring to nullify its liberal provisions as far as possible. Their leader was the Count of Artois, brother of Louis XVIII, who, the King being childless, stood next in line of succession.

The Ultras

For some years Louis XVIII was able to hold this extreme party in check and to follow a moderate policy. He was supported in this by the large majority of Liberals, moderate like himself, who until 1820 controlled Parliament. Much useful work was thus accomplished. The enormous war indemnity which the Allies had imposed in 1815 was paid off and this liberated the country from the army of occupation also imposed by them. The military system of France was reorganized and provision was made for an army of about 240,000 men. Promotion was to be for service and merit alone, a principle that was violently opposed by the Ultras as it destroyed all chances of the nobility securing a monopoly of the best positions. The legislation enacted at this time concerning the press and the electoral system was also of a liberal character.

The work of reorganization

The Ultras were indignant at the moderation of the King and Parliament and did their best to break it down. They were alert to seize upon every incident that might discredit the party in power. A number of radicals were elected to the Chamber of Deputies. The Ultras raged against them, painting a lurid future. The murder in 1820 of the Duke of Berry who stood in line for the throne gave them their chance. The King was so horrified by this crime, as were also many moderate members of Parliament, that he offered less and less resistance to the Ultras. The closing years of the reign were less liberal than the earlier ones. Louis XVIII died in 1824 and was succeeded by his brother, the Count of Artois, who assumed the title of Charles X.

Activity of the Ultras

Death of Louis XVIII (1824)

THE REIGN OF CHARLES X

Charles X (1824–1830)

The characteristics of the new King were well known. He was the convinced leader of the reactionaries in France from 1814 to 1830. He had been the constant and bitter opponent of his brother's liberalism, and had finally seen that liberalism forced to yield to the growing strength of the party which he led. He was not likely to abandon lifelong principles at the age of sixty-seven, and at the moment when he seemed about to be able to put them into force.

The coronation of the King revealed the temper of the new reign. France was treated to a spectacle of mediæval mummery that amused and at the same time disgusted a people that had never been known to lack an appreciation of the ridiculous. Charles was anointed on seven parts of his person with sacred oil, miraculously preserved, it was asserted, from the time of Clovis.

The nobles indemnified for property confiscated during the Revolution

The legislation urged by the King and largely enacted showed the belated political and social ideas of this government. Nearly a billion francs were voted as an indemnity to the nobles for their lands which had been confiscated and sold by the state during the Revolution. Many Frenchmen thought that France had more urgent needs than to vote money to those who had deserted the country and had then fought against her. But the King had been leader of the *émigrés* and was in entire sympathy with their point of view.

The law against sacrilege

Another law that cast discredit upon this reign, and helped undermine it with the great mass of Frenchmen, was the law against sacrilege. By this act burglaries committed in ecclesiastical buildings and the profanation of holy vessels were, under certain conditions, made punishable with death. This barbaric law was, as a matter of fact, never enforced, but it bore striking witness to the temper of the party in power, and has ever since been a mark of shame upon the Bourbon monarchy. It helped to weaken the hold of the Bourbons upon France. It created a feeling of intense bitterness among the middle and lower classes of society, which were still largely dominated by the rationalism of the eighteenth century. These classes began to fear the clerical reaction more even than the political and social. Their apprehension was not decreased when a little later they saw the King himself, clad in the violet robe of a

Clerical reaction

prelate and accompanied by the court, walking in a religious procession and carrying a lighted candle through the streets of Paris. Was it the purpose of the aristocratic and clerical party to restore both the nobility and the church to the proud position they had occupied before the Revolution?

The Polignac ministry

That it was, was proclaimed by Polignac, the most reactionary minister of this reign, who declared, on his accession to office in 1829, that his object was "to reorganize society, to restore to the clergy its former preponderance in the state, to create a powerful aristocracy and to surround it with privileges."

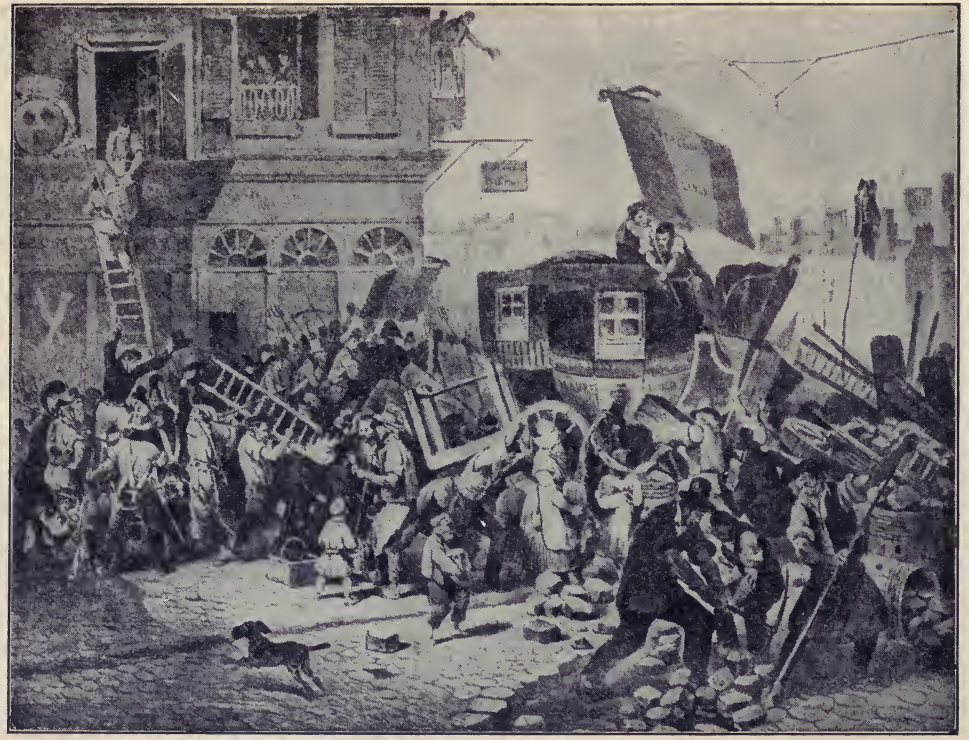
The appointment of this ministry, indeed, aroused a remarkable exhibition of hostile feeling, vastly intensified by this declaration which was a direct challenge to Liberals of every shade, since it stated, as clearly as language could, that all the characteristic work of the French Revolution must be undone, that the pre-Revolutionary state and society should be restored, that the constitutional, political, social, and economic reorganization, the large installment of freedom, achieved during that momentous and fruitful period, should be swept aside, and that older ideas and ideals were to be enthroned once more.

Conflict between Charles X and the Chamber of Deputies

The appointment of the Polignac ministry and its audacious and alarming announcement precipitated a crisis, which shortly exploded in a revolution. The Chamber of Deputies practically demanded the dismissal of the unpopular ministry. The King replied by declaring that "his decisions were unchangeable" and by dissolving the Chamber, hoping by means of new elections to secure one subservient to his will. But the voters thought otherwise. The elections resulted in a crushing defeat for the King and his ministry. Charles would not yield. His own brother, Louis XVI, had come to a tragic end, he said, because he had made concessions. Charles thought that he himself had learned something from history. In fact, he had learned the wrong lesson.

The Ordinances of July

Other methods of gaining his ends having failed, he now determined upon coercion. On July 26, 1830, he issued several ordinances, suspending the liberty of the press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, changing the electoral system, reducing the number of voters from 100,000 to 25,000, and ordering new elections. In other words, the King was the supreme lawgiver, not at



The Construction of a Barricade
After a lithograph by Victor Adam.

all hampered by the Charter. If these ordinances were to stand the people would enjoy their liberties simply at the humor of the monarch. Not to have opposed them would have been to acquiesce quietly in the transformation of the government into the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV.

But the people of Paris did not acquiesce. As the significance of the ordinances became apparent, popular anger began to manifest itself.

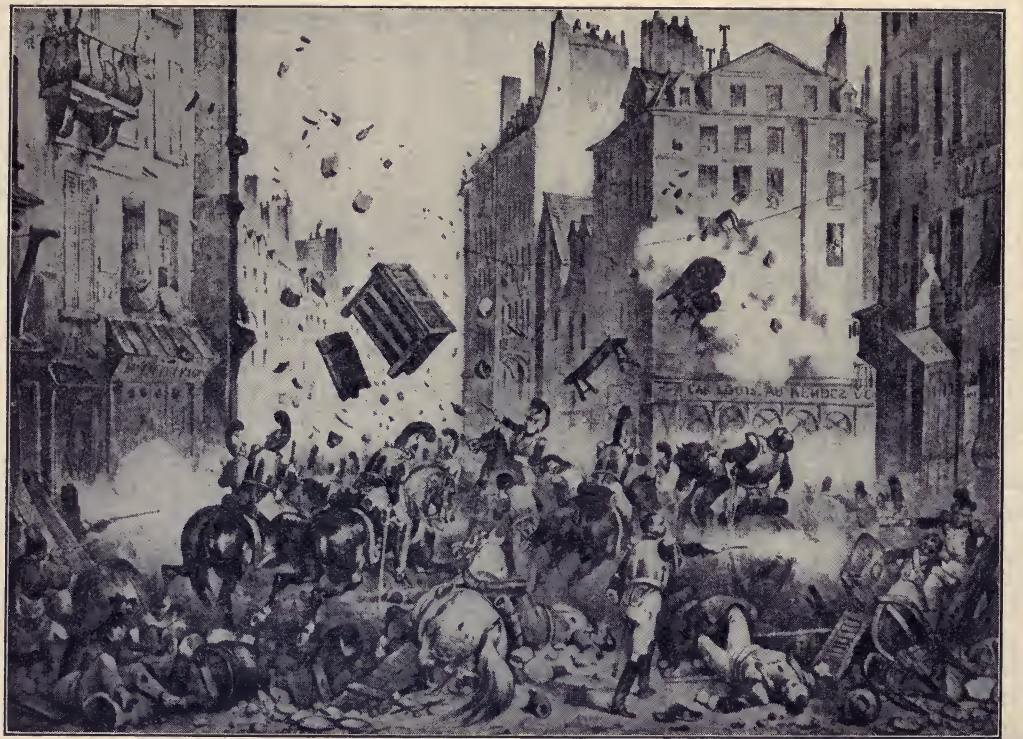
The July Revolution (1830)

Crowds assembled in the streets shouting "Down with the Ministry"; "Long live the Charter." On Wednesday, July 28, civil war broke out. The insurgents were mainly old soldiers, Carbonari, and a group of republicans and workmen — men who hated the Bourbons, who followed the tri-color flag as the true national emblem, rather than the white flag of the royal house. This war lasted three days. It was the July Revolution — the Glorious Three Days. It was a street war and was limited to Paris. The insurgents were not very numerous, probably not more than ten thousand. But the government had itself probably not more than fourteen thousand troops in Paris. The insurrection was not difficult to organize. The streets of Paris were narrow and crooked. Through such tortuous lanes it was impossible for the government to send artillery, a weapon which it alone possessed. The streets were paved with large stones. These could be torn up and piled in such a way as to make fortresses for the insurgents. In the night of July 27–28 the streets were cut up by hundreds of barricades made in this manner of paving stones, of overturned wagons, of barrels and boxes, of furniture, of trees and objects of every description. Against such obstacles the soldiers could make but little progress. If they overthrew a barricade and passed on, it would immediately be built up again behind them more threatening than before because cutting their line of reinforcements and of possible retreat. Moreover, the soldiers had only the flint-lock gun, a weapon no better than that in the hands of the insurgents. Again, the officers had no knowledge of street fighting, whereas the insurgents had an intimate knowledge of the city, of its streets, and lanes. Moreover, the soldiers were reluctant to fight against the people.

The character of fighting

Abdication of Charles X

The fighting continued amid the fierce heat of July. On July 31 Charles, seeing that all was lost, abdicated in favor of his nine year old grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, son of the murdered Duke of Berry, and fled to England with his family. For two years he



Street Fighting on July 28, 1830
After a lithograph.

lived in Great Britain, keeping a melancholy court in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, of somber memory in the life of Mary, Queen of Scots. Removing later to Austria, he died in 1836.

The House of Bourbon or the House of Orleans?

What was the future government to be, now that triumphant revolution had swept for the second time a Bourbon monarch from his throne? No serious consideration was given to the claims of the little Duke of Bordeaux, unimpeachable from the point of view of monarchical theory and practice. He was the legitimate sovereign of France but he was quietly ignored by a people who were tired of the legitimate monarchy. Those who had done the actual fighting undoubtedly wanted a republic. But the journalists and deputies and the majority of the Parisians were opposed to such a solution, having vivid and unpleasant memories of the former republic, and believing that the proclamation of the republic would embroil France with monarchical Europe. They favored Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who represented a younger branch of the royal family, a man who had always sympathized with liberal opinions. With such a man as king, it was said, there would be no more attempts to reënthrone the nobility and the clergy, but the government would be liberal, resting on the middle classes, and the Charter would be scrupulously observed.

Louis Philippe King

The final decision between monarchy and republic lay in the hands of Lafayette, the real leader of the Republicans. He finally threw his influence in favor of Louis Philippe, arguing that a monarchy under so liberal and democratic a prince would after all be "the best of republics." On August 7 the Chamber of Deputies called Louis Philippe to the throne, ignoring the claims of the legitimate ruler.

Such was the July Revolution, an unexpected, impromptu affair. Not dreamed of July 25, it was over a week later. One king had been overthrown, another created, and the Charter had been slightly modified. Parliamentary government had been preserved; a return to aristocracy prevented.

The end of the Restoration

This ends the Restoration and the reign of Louis Philippe now begins. Those who brought about the final overthrow of the elder Bourbons received no adequate reward. They had the tri-color flag once more, but the rich bourgeoisie had the government. The Republicans yielded, but without renouncing their principles or their hopes. Cavaignac, one of their leaders, when thanked for the abnegation of his party, replied, "You are wrong in thanking us; we have yielded because we are not yet strong enough. Later it will be different." The Revolution, in fact, gave great impetus to the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

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CHAPTER XIV

REVOLUTIONS BEYOND FRANCE

The influence of the Revolution of 1830 was felt all over Europe — in Poland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, England, and the Netherlands. It was the signal and encouragement for widespread popular movements which for a short time seemed to threaten the whole structure erected in 1815 at Vienna. It created an immediate problem for the rulers of Europe. They had bound themselves in 1815 to guard against the outbreak of "revolution," to watch over and assure the "general tranquillity" of Europe. They had adopted and applied since then, as we have seen, the doctrine of intervention in the affairs of countries infected by revolutionary fever, as the great preservative of public order. Would this self-constituted international police acquiesce in the overthrow of the legitimate king of France by the mob of Paris? Now that revolution had again broken out in that restless country, would they "intervene" as they had done in Spain and Italy? At first they were disposed to do so. Metternich's immediate impulse was to organize a coalition against this "king of the barricades." But when the time came this was seen to be impracticable, for Russia was occupied with a revolution in Poland, Austria with revolutions in Italy, Prussia with similar movements in Germany, and England was engrossed in the most absorbing discussion of domestic problems she had faced in many decades. Moreover, England approved the revolution. All the powers, therefore, recognized Louis Philippe, though with varying indications of annoyance. In one particular, consequently, the settlement of 1815 was undone forever. The elder branch of the House of Bourbon, put upon the throne of France by the Allies of 1815, was now pushed from it, and the revolution, hated of the other powers, had done it.

Widespread influence of the July Revolution

Powerlessness of the Holy Alliance

Another part of the diplomatic structure of 1815 was now overthrown. The Congress of Vienna had created an essentially artificial state to the north of France, the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It had done this explicitly for the purpose of having a barrier against France. The Belgian provinces, hitherto Austrian, were in 1815 annexed to Holland, to strengthen that state in order that it might be in a position to resist attack until the other powers should come to its rescue.

The Congress of Vienna and the Kingdom of the Netherlands

But it was easier to declare these two peoples formally united under one ruler than to make them in any real sense a single nation. Though it might seem by a glance at the map that the peoples of this little corner of Europe must be essentially homogeneous, such was not at all the case. There were many more points of difference than of similarity between them. They spoke different languages. They belonged to different religions, the Dutch being Protestant, the Belgians Catholic. They differed in their economic life and principles. The Dutch were an agricultural and commercial people and inclined toward free trade, the Belgians were a manufacturing people and inclined toward protection.

A union of two dissimilar peoples

For the Belgians the union with the Dutch was an unhappy one from the start. They saw themselves added to and subjected to another people inferior in numbers to themselves, whereas the feeling of nationality had been aroused in them as in other peoples by the spirit and example of the French Revolution and they had hoped for a larger and more independent life than they had ever had before.

A union so inharmoniously begun was never satisfactory to the Belgians. Friction was constant. The Belgians resented the fact that the officials in the state and army were nearly all Dutch. They objected to the King's attempts to force the Dutch language into a position of undue privilege. The evident desire of the King to fuse his two peoples into one was a constant irritation. The system was more and more disliked by the Belgians as the years went by.

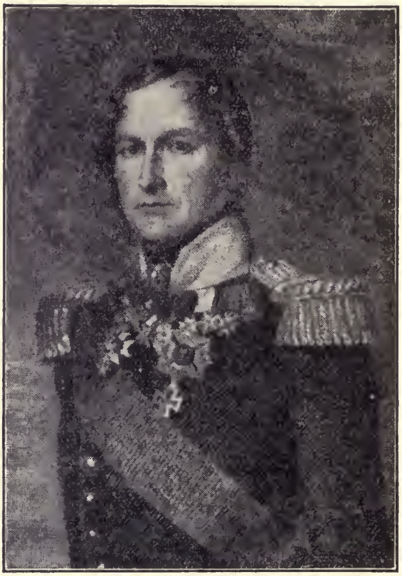
Friction between the Belgians and the Dutch

The July Revolution came as a spark in the midst of all this inflammable material. There was street fighting in Brussels as there had been in Paris. The revolution spread rapidly. The royal troops were driven out and on October 4, 1830, Belgium declared itself independent. A congress was called to deter-

The Belgians declare their independence

mine the future form of government. It decided in favor of a monarchy, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected as king Leopold of Coburg who, in July, 1831, was crowned.

Would the Great Powers which in 1815 had added Belgium to Holland consent to the undoing of their work? Would they recognize the new kingdom? They had suppressed revolutions in Spain and Italy, as we have seen. Would they do it again in the interest of their handiwork, the treaties of Vienna? Now, however, they were divided, and in this division lay the salvation of the new state. The Czar wished to intervene and Prussia seemed similarly inclined, but Louis Philippe, knowing that his own throne would be overthrown by the Parisians if he allowed these absolute monarchies to crush the new liberties of the Belgians, gave explicit warning that if they intervened France also would intervene "in order to hold the balance even."



Leopold I
Engraved by Levy after the painting by Winterhalter.

Recognition of the Kingdom of Belgium

The powers therefore made the best of the situation. At a conference in London, Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, and England recognized the independence of Belgium; they went further and formally promised to respect its neutrality forever.

This part of the work of the Congress of Vienna had consequently been undone. A new state had arisen in Europe, as a result of revolution.

The success of the Belgian revolution had to a considerable extent been rendered possible by a revolution in Poland, which ended in disastrous failure. Neither Russia, nor Prussia, nor Austria would have acquiesced so easily in the dismemberment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands had they not feared that if they went to war with France concerning it, France would in turn aid the Poles, and the future of the Poles was of far greater immediate importance to them than the future of the Netherlanders. The French Revolution of 1830 was followed by the rise of the Kingdom of Belgium; but it was also followed by the disappearance of the Kingdom of Poland.

REVOLUTION IN POLAND

In the Middle Ages Poland had been a more powerful state than Russia and included territory which stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea and from the Oder to the Dnieper. It had remained an independent state down to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. During that quarter its independence had been destroyed and its territory seized by its three neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in the famous, or rather infamous, partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795. Nothing was left of Poland on the map. The Poles made a brave and desperate resistance but "freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell." "No sophistry in the world," writes a recent historian, "can extenuate the villainy of the Second Partition," which was the critical one. "The theft of territory is its least offensive feature. It is the forcible suppression of a national movement of reform, the hurling back into the abyss of anarchy and corruption of a people who, by incredible efforts and sacrifices, had struggled back to liberty and order, which makes this great political crime so wholly infamous. Yet here again the methods of the Russian Empress were less vile than those of the Prussian King. Catherine openly took the risk of a bandit who attacks an enemy against whom he has a grudge; Frederick William II came up, when the fight was over, to help pillage a victim whom he had sworn to defend."[1]

The destruction of Poland

The crime of 1793

The effects of this assassination of an independent state by the three absolute monarchies of eastern Europe were destined to be momentous and far-reaching. The Polish question has been a factor in all the subsequent history of Europe. It is an important factor to-day. The Poles, naturally, like any freedom-loving people, refused to acquiesce in a fate so unmerited, so cruel. But they could only wait and hope.

A permanent Polish question

"No wise or honest man," wrote Edmund Burke at the time, "can approve of that partition, or can contemplate it without prognosticating great mischief from it to all countries at some future date." The particular effect of this odious act of the royal and titled highwaymen was the extraordinary intensification it gave to what was to prove one of the most vital and troublesome tendencies of modern history. As Lord Acton says: "This famous measure, the most revolutionary act of the old absolutism, awakened the theory of nationality in Europe, converting a dormant right into an aspiration, and a sentiment into a political claim."

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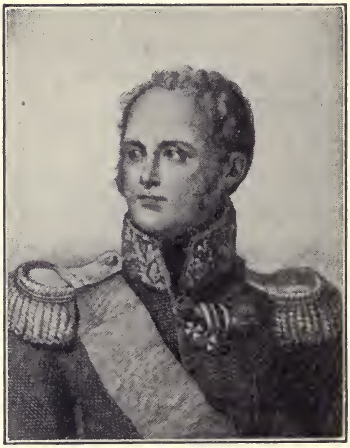
[1] Nisbet Bain, *Slavonic Europe*, p. 404.

The destruction of Poland arouses the spirit of nationality

The Polish people's passionate love of country was given an imperishable ideal, a pillar of cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night, riveting the attention of the nation so wantonly destroyed, pointing the way, not yet traversed, to a happy issue out of their troubles.

The Poles had hoped that the French Revolution, and, later, that Napoleon might restore their nationality. In this they were disappointed; but in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna they found unexpected aid, though it proved in the end illusory. Alexander I, Czar of Russia, was at that time aglow with generous and romantic sentiments and was for a few years a patron of liberal ideas in various countries. Under the influence of these ideas he conceived the plan of restoring the old Kingdom of Poland. Poland should be a kingdom entirely separate from the Empire of Russia. He would be Emperor of Russia and King of Poland. The union of the two states would be simply personal.

The restoration of the Kingdom of Poland in 1815



Alexander I
From an engraving by Aliais.

Alexander had desired to restore Poland to the full extent of its possessions in the eighteenth century. To render this possible Prussia and Austria must relinquish the provinces they had acquired in the three partitions. This, however, was not accomplished at the Congress of Vienna. Although Prussia and Austria did give back some of their Polish possessions, they retained some. The tragedy of Poland, then as now, was that the Poles, in spirit a single people, were subjects of three nations and as such might be forced to fight each other, in that most dreadful of conflicts, that of brother against brother.

Alexander I grants a constitution to Poland

The new Polish Kingdom, erected in 1815, was simply a part, therefore, of historic Poland, nor did it include all of the Polish territories that Russia had acquired. Of this new state Alexander was to be king. To it he granted a constitution, establishing a parliament of two chambers, with considerable powers. Roman Catholicism was recognized as the state religion; but a generous measure of toleration was given to other sects. Liberty of the press was guaranteed, subject to laws designed to prevent its abuse. The Polish language was made the official language. All positions in the government were to be filled by Poles, not by Russians. No people in central Europe possessed such liberal institutions as those with which the Poles were now invested. A prosperous career as a constitutional monarchy seemed about to begin. The Poles had never enjoyed so much civil freedom, and they were now receiving a considerable measure of home-rule. But this régime, well-meant and full of promise, encountered obstacles from the start. The Russians were opposed to the idea of a restored Poland, and particularly to a constitutional Poland, when they themselves had no constitution. Why should their old enemy be so greatly favored when they, the real supporters of the Czar, were not? The hatred of Russians and Poles, a fact centuries old, continued undiminished. Moreover, what the dominant class of Poles desired, far more than liberal government, was independence. They could never forget the days of their prosperity. Unfortunately they had not the wisdom or self-control to use their present considerable liberties for the purpose of building up the social solidarity which Poland had always lacked, by redressing the crying grievances of the serfs against the nobles, by making all Poles feel that they were a united people rather than two classes of oppressors and oppressed. They did not seek gradually to develop under the protection of their constitution a true and vigorous nationality, which might some day be strong enough to win its independence, but they showed their dissatisfaction with the limited powers Alexander had granted. They criticised the Czar's government for various things and were immediately warned by the Czar. Friction developed and grew at the very time that Alexander's early liberalism was fading away.

Friction between the Poles and the Russians

The Poles divided into two classes

His successor, Nicholas I, who came to the throne in 1825, was a thorough-going absolutist, animated by an entirely different temper. The spirit of unrest was strong among the mass of the lesser Polish nobility, a class little accustomed to self-control and also strongly influenced by the democratic ideas of western Europe. This party was now inflamed by the reports of the successful revolution in France; by the belief that the French would aid them if they strove to imitate their example. When, therefore, the Czar summoned the Polish army to prepare for a campaign whose object was the suppression of the Belgian revolution, the determination of the Liberals was quickly made. They rose in insurrection toward the end of 1830, declared that the House of Romanoff had ceased to rule in Poland, and prepared for a life and death struggle.

Influence of the July Revolution

Russia's military resources, however, were so great that Poland could not hope alone to achieve her national independence. The Poles expected foreign intervention, but no intervention came. Enthusiasm for the Poles was widespread among the people in France, in England, and in Germany. But the governments, none of which was controlled by public opinion, refused to move.

The Polish expectation of foreign aid disappointed

Thus Poland was left to fight alone with Russia and of the outcome there could be no doubt. The Poles fought with great bravery, but without good leadership, without careful organization, without a spirit of subordination to military authorities. The war went on from January, 1831, until September of that year, when Warsaw fell before the Russians. The results of this ill-advised and ill-executed insurrection were deplorable in the extreme. Poland ceased to exist as a separate kingdom and became merely a province of the Russian Empire. Its constitution was abolished and it was henceforth ruled with great severity and arbitrariness. The insurgents were savagely punished. Many were executed, many sent to Siberia. Thousands of Polish officers and soldiers escaped to the countries of western Europe and became a revolutionary element in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, always ready to fight for liberty. They were the sworn foes of tyranny everywhere as they were its most conspicuous victims. Even the Polish language seemed doomed, so repressive was the policy now followed by Russia. The Poles' sole satisfaction was a highly altruistic one, that by their revolt they had contributed greatly to the

The failure of the insurrection

success of the revolutions in France and Belgium. They had prevented the Holy Alliance from intervening to suppress the revolutions of 1830, as it had suppressed those of 1820.

REVOLUTION IN ITALY

Revolutions in Italy easily suppressed in 1831

Another country which felt the revolutionary wave of 1830 was Italy. Revolutions broke out in the duchies of Modena and Parma, whose rulers were forced to flee, and in parts of the Papal States. Hatred of Austria and dissatisfaction with local arbitrary and despotic governments were the causes. The revolutionists expected the hostility of Austria but they hoped for the support of France as well as of the people of other Italian states. But none was forthcoming, Louis Philippe feeling too insecure himself at home. The result was that Austrian troops appeared upon the scene and easily restored the exiled rulers. The Pope recovered his provinces. The episode was over. Reaction again held sway in Italy.

REVOLUTION IN GERMANY

Revolution in Germany

Thus in 1830 revolution raged with varying vehemence all about Germany — in France, in Belgium, in Poland, and in Italy. The movement also affected Germany itself. In Brunswick, Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, and in two Saxon duchies revolutionary movements broke out with the result that several new constitutions were added to those already granted. The new ones were chiefly in North German, whereas the earlier ones had been mainly in South German states. But the two great states, Austria and Prussia, passed unscathed and set themselves to bring about a reaction, as soon as the more pressing dangers in Poland and Italy and France were over, and they themselves felt secure. Using certain popular demonstrations, essentially insignificant, with all the effect with which he had previously used the Wartburg festival, Metternich succeeded in carrying reaction further than he had been able to even in the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819. Those decrees were aimed chiefly at the universities and the press. New regulations were adopted in 1832 and 1834 by which he secured not only the renewal of these but the enactment of additional repressive measures, restricting the rights of such parliaments as existed in various states and still further muzzling the universities and the press. Constitutional life in the few states where it existed was reduced to a minimum. The political history of Germany offers but little interest until the great mid-century uprising of 1848 shook this entire system of negation and repression to the ground.

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CHAPTER XV

THE REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIPPE

The career of Louis Philippe (1773–1850)

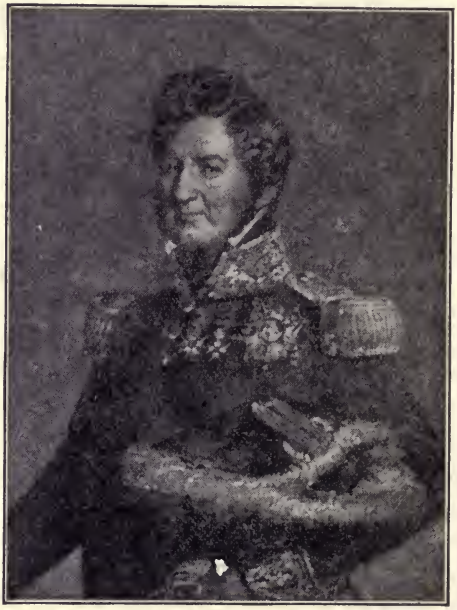
Louis Philippe, the new monarch of the French, was already in his fifty-seventh year. He was the son of the notorious Philippe Egalité, who had intrigued during the Revolution for the throne occupied by his cousin, Louis XVI, had, as a member of the Convention, voted for the latter's execution, and had himself later perished miserably on the scaffold. In 1789 Louis Philippe was only sixteen years of age, too young to take part in politics, although he became a member of the Jacobin Club. Later he joined the army and fought valiantly for the Republic at Valmy and Jemappes. Becoming suspected of treason he fled from France in 1793 and entered upon a life of exile that was to last twenty-one years. He went to Switzerland, where he lived for a while, teaching geography and mathematics in a school in Reichenau. Leaving Switzerland when his incognito was discovered he traveled as far north as the North Cape, and as far west as the United States. He finally settled in England and lived on a pension granted by the British government. Returning to France on the fall of Napoleon he was able to recover a large part of the family property, which, though confiscated during the Revolution, had not been actually sold. During the Restoration he lived in the famous Palais Royal in the very heart of Paris, cultivating relations that might some day prove useful, particularly appealing to the solid, rich bourgeoisie by a display of liberal sentiments and by a good-humored, unconventional mode of life. He walked the streets of Paris alone, talked and even drank with workmen with engaging informality, and sent his sons to the public schools to associate with the sons of the bourgeoisie — a delicate compliment fully appreciated by the latter. But beneath this exterior of republican simplicity there lay a strong ambition for personal power, a nature essentially autocratic.

His liberalism

His legal title to the throne

His legal title to his position was very weak. He was invited to ascend the throne by only 219 members of the Chamber of Deputies out of 430, a bare majority. Moreover, the Chamber had never been authorized to choose a king. The first part of the reign was troubled. It was very doubtful whether it could long endure. As the people were never asked whether they wished Louis Philippe as their king, his rule always lacked any popular sanction, such as Napoleon's had always possessed. It had many enemies who denied its right to exist, Legitimists, Bonapartists, and Republicans. The Legitimists defended the rights of Charles X and his descendants. They regarded Louis Philippe as a usurper, a thief who had treacherously and shamelessly stolen the crown of the young Duke of Bordeaux. This party was numerically small, so thoroughly had the reign of Charles X offended and alienated the nation. It gave Louis Philippe little trouble save through the biting sarcasms with which aristocratic society regaled itself at the expense of his honor and chivalry; also at the expense of his personal appearance. It attempted only one insurrection, which was easily put down.

Opposition of the Legitimists



Louis Philippe

Engraving by Pannier after the painting by Winterhalter.

Opposition of the Republicans

But Louis Philippe's struggle with the Republicans was far more severe. The latter had acquiesced in his rule at first on the assurance of Lafayette, in whom they reposed great confidence, that that rule would really constitute the best of republics, that the King was essentially democratic, that the popular throne would be surrounded by republican institutions. But both they and Lafayette were shortly undeceived. They had expected that the new government would adopt a broad, liberal, national policy, would consider the interests of all sections of the population, and would favor a democratic evolution of the country. Instead, they saw rapidly set up a narrow class system, which opposed democracy as it opposed aristocracy. The July Monarchy early asserted that its policy would be that of the "golden mean," neither conservative nor radical, but moderate. At the beginning the suffrage was broadened, by a reduction of age and property qualifications, so that the electorate was doubled and there were now about 200,000 voters, where there had formerly been 100,000. This might have been tolerable as a mere beginning in the right direction. But the government soon made it manifest that it was not only the beginning but the end, that there would be no further enlargement of the electorate. As a matter of fact this meant that it was the upper bourgeoisie who were henceforth to rule France, the wealthy or well-to-do bankers, manufacturers, merchants. The great mass of the people were to have no power. The argument was put forth that the propertied and educated were the only people fit to rule, that legislation considered wise for them was for the best of all as its benefits were diffused naturally through all classes. It was virtually the argument of the employer that what is good for him is good for the employee.

The policy of the "golden mean"

The reign of the wealthy

The July Monarchy was liberal, in one way. It was an assurance that there should be no return toward the Old Régime, no attempt to restore, more or less, directly or indirectly, the aristocracy and the clergy to their former position. That much was definitely settled, once for all. On the other hand it would have nothing to do with democracy, even as a remote ideal. Democracy meant anarchy, disorder, violence, as the Revolution had shown. What was wanted was moderation, the golden mean. The July Monarchy was the reign of the upper middle class, considered now, by itself, the only safe depository of power. No reversion to outworn, aristocratic ideals, no gradual progression toward democracy, but the steady maintenance, without further change, of the system established by the Charter as revised in 1830, such was the policy of the July Monarchy from which it never deviated.

No return to the Old Régime

No progress toward democracy

The Republicans did not share this opinion that all wisdom was limited to the bourgeoisie. They wished to press forward from present liberties to larger liberties, to educate the people more and more to self-government, to legislate with a view to the interests of all the classes and conditions of men that are contained in a great nation. To them it seemed that the July Monarchy was making a grotesque simplification of what was in reality a very tangled and complex problem in identifying the welfare of France with simply the welfare of a prosperous and educated class. The Republicans therefore became the enemies of the July Monarchy. They attempted insurrections which were serious, but which were put down. The Government adopted vigorous measures for their suppression, breaking up their societies, restricting the right of association, prosecuting their editors, crushing their newspapers under heavy fines, finally forbidding by law any argument for, or defense of, any other form of government than that of the existing monarchy, and forbidding anyone to declare himself an adherent of any fallen royal house.

Republican insurrections

These laws greatly weakened the moral position of the July Monarchy as they made individual liberty only an empty word. But they were successful in their immediate aim. They drove all rival parties, the Republicans included, to cover, and France was governed for eighteen years by the propertied classes, by an aristocracy of wealth. The Republicans, duped, seeing that the July Monarchy promised no growth in liberty, were the bitter enemies of the régime, but were effectually silenced for many long years. Their enmity however was a factor in the ultimate overthrow of this system.

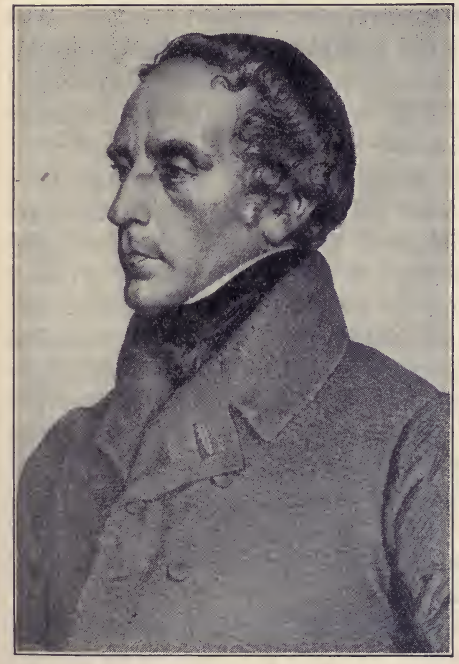
The September Laws, 1835

The parliamentary history of France during the ten years from 1830 to 1840 was marked by instability. There were ten ministries within ten years. But from 1840 to 1848 there was only one, that of Guizot. For several years after his accession to the throne Louis Philippe was careful to guard himself from all appearance of assuming personal power. But now that his enemies were overthrown and crushed he began to reveal his real purpose of being monarch in fact as well as in name. He had no intention of following the English theory that, in constitutional as distinguished from absolute monarchies, the king reigns but does not govern. He now found in Guizot a man who sympathized with his views of kingship,

The Guizot Ministry (1840–1848)

and who did not believe that the monarch should be simply an ornamental head of the state. Louis Philippe had in his chief minister a man after his own heart. Guizot, eminent as a professor, an historian, and an orator, held certain political principles with the tenacity of a mathematician. He refused to recognize that France needed any alteration in her political institutions. He believed in the Charter of 1814, as revised in 1830. Any further reform would be unnecessary and dangerous. Guizot's policy was one of stiff, unyielding conservatism. He opposed any extension of the suffrage, he opposed any legislation for the laboring classes, he opposed this, he opposed that. All discontent appeared to him frivolous, fictitious, merely the devious device of designing men bent on feathering their own nests.

Guizot's political principles



GUIZOT
After a lithograph by Lassalle from the portrait by Delaroche.

Year after year this negative policy, this policy of mere inertia, was pursued, arousing more and more disgust. "What have they done for the past seven years?" exclaimed a deputy in 1847, "Nothing, nothing, nothing." "France is becoming bored," said Lamartine. Yet this stagnant government was living in a world fermenting with ideas, apparently oblivious of the fact. The July Monarchy was a government of the bourgeoisie, of the well-to-do, of the capitalists. They alone possessed the suffrage. Consequently, the remainder of the population was, in a political sense, of no importance. The legislation enacted during these eighteen years was class legislation, which favored the bourgeoisie and which made no

Guizot's policy of rigid conservatism

attempt to meet the needs of the masses. Yet the distress of the masses was widespread and deep and should have received the careful and sympathetic attention of the government.

Growth of socialism

Their situation provoked discussion and many writers began to preach new doctrines concerning the organization of industry and the crucial question of the relations of capital and labor, doctrines henceforth called socialistic, and appealing with increasing force to the millions of laborers who believed that society weighed with unjustifiable severity upon them, that their labor did not by any means receive its proportionate reward. St. Simon was the first to announce a socialistic scheme for the reorganization of society in the interest of the most numerous class. He believed that the state should own the means of production and should organize industry on the principle of "Labor according to capacity and reward according to services." St. Simon was a speculative thinker, not a practical man of affairs. His doctrine gained in direct importance when it was adopted by a man who was a politician, able to recruit and lead a party, and to make a programme definite enough to appeal to the masses. Such a man was Louis Blanc, who was destined to play a great part in the overthrow of the July Monarchy and in the Republic that succeeded. In his writings he tried to convince the laborers of France of the evils of the prevailing economic conditions, a task which was not difficult. He denounced in vehement terms the government of the bourgeoisie as government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. It must be swept away and the state must be organized on a thoroughly democratic basis. Louis Blanc proclaimed the right of every man to employment and the duty of the state to provide it. This it could do if it would organize industry. Let the state establish, with its own capital, national workshops, let the workmen manage these and share the profits. The class of employers would thus disappear and the laborers would get the full result of their labor. Louis Blanc's theories, propounded in a style at once clear and vivid, were largely adopted by workingmen. A socialist party was thus created. It believed in a republic; but it differed from the other republicans in that, while they desired simply a change in the form of government, it desired a far more sweeping change in society.

Louis Blanc (1811–1882)

The amount of discontent with the government of France was great and growing. Yet it could accomplish nothing because the ministry was steadily supported by the Chamber of Deputies and that Chamber was elected by the two hundred thousand voters. On examination it was seen that Guizot obtained his never-failing majority by corrupt methods. The electoral assemblies which chose the deputies were so small, frequently consisting of not more than two hundred members, many of them office holders, that they could be bribed, in one way or another, to elect deputies pleasing to the ministry. Then within the Chamber the same methods would be used. About two hundred of the four hundred and thirty deputies were at the same time office holders. The ministry controlled them, as all promotions or increases of salary were dependent upon its favor. It needed to gain only a few more votes to have a majority and this was easy, as it had so many favors to distribute.

The Guizot ministry and parliamentary corruption

A reform party thus gradually grew up which did not at all wish to overthrow the monarchy but which did demand a change in the composition of the Chamber of Deputies and in the manner of electing it, parliamentary reform and electoral reform. Deputies should be forbidden to be at the same time office holders, and the number of voters should be so increased that it would be impossible to corrupt them. Against both these propositions, renewed year after year, during his entire ministry, Guizot resolutely set his face. He asserted that the reform movement was only the work of a few, that the people as a whole were entirely indifferent to it. To prove the falsity of this assertion the Opposition instituted, in 1847, a series of "reform banquets" which were attended by the people and addressed by the reformers. These banquets were instituted by those loyal to the monarchy, but hostile to its policy. Similar meetings, however, were instituted by the Republicans, who were opposed to the very existence of the monarchy.

Demand for electoral and parliamentary reform

The "reform banquets"

Great enthusiasm was aroused by these meetings all over the country. It was conclusively shown that the people were behind this demand for reform. But the ministry refused to budge and the King denounced the agitation as pernicious. He even denied the legal right of the people to hold such meetings. To test this right before the courts of law the Opposition arranged a great banquet for February 22, 1848, in Paris. Eighty-seven prominent deputies promised to attend. All were to meet in front of the church of the Madeleine and march to the banquet hall. In the night of February 21–22 the Government posted orders forbidding this procession and all similar meetings. Rather than force the issue the deputies who had agreed to attend yielded, though under protest. But a vast crowd congregated, of students, workingmen, and others. They had no leader, no definite purpose. The crowd committed slight acts of lawlessness, but nothing serious happened that day. But in the night barricades arose in the workingmen's quarters of the city. Some shots were fired. The Government called out the National Guard. It refused to march against the insurgents. Some of its members even began to shout, "Long live Reform!" "Down with Guizot!" The King, frightened at this alarming development, was willing to grant reform. Guizot would not consent and consequently withdrew from office. This news was greeted with enthusiasm by the crowds and, in the evening of February 23, Paris was illuminated and the trouble seemed ended. The contest thus far had been simply between Royalists, those who supported the Guizot ministry, and the reformers, and the fall of Guizot was the triumph of the latter. But the movement no longer remained thus circumscribed. The Republicans now entered aggressively upon the scene, resolved to arouse the excited people against Louis Philippe himself and against the monarchy. They marched through the boulevards and made a hostile demonstration before Guizot's residence. Some unknown person fired a shot at the guards. The guards instantly replied, fifty persons fell, more than twenty dead. This was the doom of the monarchy. The Republicans seized the occasion to inflame the people further. Several of the corpses were put upon a cart which was lighted by a torch. The cart was then drawn through the streets. The ghastly spectacle aroused everywhere the angriest passions; cries of "Vengeance!" followed it along its course. From the towers the tocsin sounded its wild and sinister appeal.

Resignation of Guizot

Thus began a riot which grew in vehemence hourly, and which swept all before it. The cries of "Long live Reform!" heard the day before, now gave way to the more ominous cries of "Long live the Republic!" Finally, on February 24th, the King abdicated in favor of his grandson, the little Count of Paris, and, under the incognito of "Mr. Smith" finally reached England. Guizot followed, as did Metternich somewhat later for reasons of his own. The King's life of exile was ended two years later by his death at Claremont.

The overthrow of Louis Philippe

He had abdicated in favor of his grandson, but the Republicans and

The rise of the second Republic

Socialists who had forced the abdication would not consent to the continuance of the monarchy. They were able to procure the creation of a Provisional Government, composed of the leaders of both parties, with Lamartine at its head and Louis Blanc as one of the members. The Provisional Government immediately proclaimed the Republic, subject to ratification by the people.

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CHAPTER XVI

CENTRAL EUROPE IN REVOLT

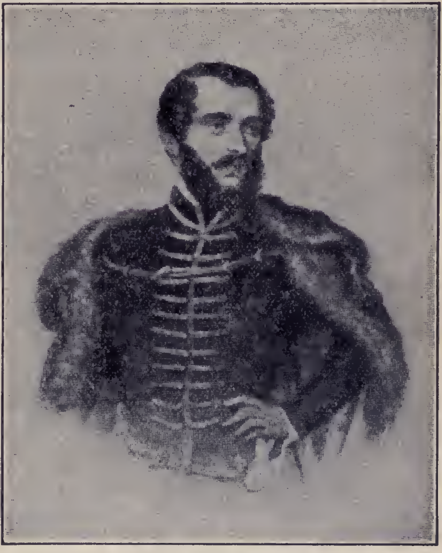
The great mid-century uprising

Vienna the storm center

(Central Europe at the opening of 1848 was in a restless, disturbed, expectant state. Everywhere men were wearied with the old order and demanding change. A revolutionary spirit was at work, the public mind in Germany, Italy, and Austria was excited. Into a society so perturbed and so active came the news of the fall of Louis Philippe. It was the spark that set the world in conflagration. The French Revolution of 1848 was the signal for the most wide-reaching disturbance of the century. Revolutions broke out from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from France to the Russian frontier. The whole system of reaction, which had succeeded Waterloo and which had come to be personified in the imperturbable Metternich, crashed in unutterable confusion. The great mid-century uprising of the people had begun, the most widespread convulsion Europe was destined to know until 1914. The storm center of this convulsion was Vienna, hitherto the proud bulwark of the established order. Here in the Austrian Empire one of the most confused chapters in European history began. It seemed for a time as if Austria was doomed to complete disruption, as if she was about to disappear as a great state.

Louis Kossuth. (1802–1894)

The immediate impulse came from Hungary where for several years a nationalistic movement had been in progress.) With this tendency toward a sharper assertion of the national spirit had been coupled an increasingly aggressive reform movement. The institutions of Hungary were thoroughly mediæval. The nobility alone possessed political power, at the same time being entirely exempt from taxation. (A liberal and democratic party, nourished on the ideas of western Europe, had grown up, led by Louis Kossuth, one of Hungary's greatest heroes,) and Francis Deák, whose personality is less striking, but whose services to his country were to be more solid and enduring. Kossuth had first come into notice as the editor of a paper which described in vivid and liberal style the debates in the Hungarian Diet. When it was forbidden to print these reports he had them lithographed. When this was forbidden he had them written out by hand by a corps of amanuenses and distributed by servants. Finally he was arrested and sentenced to prison. During his imprisonment of three years Kossuth applied himself to serious studies, particularly to that of the English language, with such success that he was able later to address large audiences in England and the United States with great effect. In 1840 he was released and obtained permission to edit a daily paper.



Louis Kossuth.

(Kossuth was the very incarnation of the great democratic ideas of the age. He wished to erase all distinctions between noble and non-noble, to fuse all into one common whole. He demanded democratic reforms in every department of the national life; abolition of the privileges of the nobility and of their exemption from taxation; equal rights and equal burdens for all citizens; trial by jury; reform of the criminal code. Kossuth's impassioned appeals were made directly to the people. He sought to create, and did create, a powerful public opinion clamorous for change. This vigorous liberal opposition to the established order, an opposition ably led and full of fire, grew rapidly) In 1847 it published its programme, drawn up by Deák. This demanded the taxation of the nobles, the control by the Diet of all national expenditures, larger liberty for the press, and a complete right of public meeting and association; it demanded also that Hungary should not be subordinate to Austrian policy, and to the Austrian provinces. Such was the situation when the great reform wave of 1848 began to sweep over Europe.

The demands of the Hungarians in 1847

The decisive intervention of Hungary

The overthrow of Metternich

(The effect of the news of the fall of Louis Philippe was electrifying. The passion of the hour was expressed in a flaming speech by Kossuth, who proved himself a consummate spokesman for a people in revolt. Of impressive presence, and endowed with a wonderful voice, he was revolutionary oratory incarnate. In a speech in the Diet, March 3, 1848, he voiced the feelings of the time, bitterly denouncing the whole system of Austrian government. The effect of this speech was immediate and profound, not only in Hungary but in Austria proper. Translated into German, and published in Vienna, it inflamed the passions of the people. Ten days later a riot broke out in Vienna itself, organized largely by students and workingmen. The soldiers fired and bloodshed resulted. Barricades were erected and the people and soldiers fought hand to hand. The crowd surged about and into the imperial palace, and invaded the hall in which the Diet was sitting, crying "Down with Metternich!" Metternich, who for thirty-nine years had stood at the head of the Austrian states, who was the very source and fount of reaction, imperturbable, pitiless, masterful, was now forced to resign, to flee in disguise from Austria to England, to witness his whole system crash completely beneath the onslaught of the very forces for which he had for a generation shown contempt.

The effect produced by the announcement of Metternich's fall was prodigious. It was the most astounding piece of news Europe had received since Waterloo. His fall was correctly heralded as the fall of a system hitherto impregnable.)

The March Laws

As Hungary, under the spell of Kossuth's oratory, had exerted an influence upon Vienna, so now the actions of the Viennese reacted upon Hungary. The Hungarian Diet, dominated by the reform and national enthusiasm just unchained and constantly fanned by Kossuth, passed on March 15th and the days succeeding the famous March Laws, by which the process of reforming and modernizing Hungary, which had been going on for some years, was given the finishing touch. These celebrated laws represented the demands of the Hungarian national party led by Kossuth. They swept away the old aristocratic political machinery and substituted a modern democratic constitution. Feudal dues were abolished, and liberty of the press, religious liberty, trial by jury were established. The March Laws also demanded a separate Hungarian ministry, composed exclusively of Hungarians. All this was conceded by Austria under the compulsion of dire necessity (March 31).

Revolution in Bohemia

The example of Hungary was speedily followed by Bohemia. Here there were two races: the Germans, wealthy, educated, but a minority, and the Czechs, a branch of the great Slavic race, poorer, but a majority, ambitious to make Bohemia a separate state, subject only to the Emperor. The Bohemians demanded (March 19) practically the same things that the Hungarians had demanded. The Emperor conceded them.

Revolution in the Austrian provinces.

Italy renounces Austrain control

The Austrian provinces west of Vienna made somewhat similar demands. These too were granted, of course because of the helplessness of the government. That helplessness was due chiefly to the critical situation in Italy. For the Italians had seized the propitious moment to attempt the overthrow of Austrian influence in Italy. Lombardy and Venetia rose against the hated foreigner. Venice, under the inspiring leadership of Daniel Manin, restored the republic which Napoleon had suppressed after his first campaign. Piedmont threw in its lot with these rebels and sent its army forward to aid in the war of liberation. So did other Italian states, under popular pressure, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples. At the same time several of these states gained liberal constitutions. Italy had thus practically declared her independence.

Revolution in Germany

Meanwhile there were March Days in Germany, too. The King of Prussia promised a constitution, intimidated thereto by an uprising of the people of Berlin, which was marked by the erection of barricades, great turbulence, and some bloodshed. He also promised to lead in the attempt to achieve unity for Germany. Preliminary steps were immediately taken to bring this about by a great German National Assembly or Parliament, popularly elected for the purpose. This Assembly met two months later in Frankfort amid the high hopes of the people. Constitutions were granted by their princes to several German states.

The March revolutions everywhere triumphant

Thus by the end of March, 1848, revolution, universal in its range, was everywhere successful. The famous March Days had demolished the system of government which had held sway in Europe for a generation. Throughout the Austrian Empire, in Germany and in Italy the revolution was triumphant.

Hungary and Bohemia had obtained sweeping concessions; a constitution had been promised the Austrian provinces; several Italian states had obtained constitutions; the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom had declared itself independent of Austria, and the rest of Italy was moving to support the rebels; a constitution had been promised Prussia, and a convention was about to meet to give liberty and unity to Germany.

Austria begins the work of restoration

But the period of triumph was brief. At the moment of greatest humiliation Austria began to show remarkable powers of recovery. In the rivalries of her races, and in her army lay her salvation. The Government won its first victory, not in Italy, which was the critical point, but in Bohemia. There, in March, the Germans and the Czechs had worked together for the acquisition of the reforms described above. But shortly serious differences drove the two races apart. These racial animosities, vigorously fanned by designing individuals, resulted in a clash between Germans and Czechs in the streets of Prague. Windischgrätz, commander of the imperial troops in Prague, seized this occasion to bombard the city (June, 1848). He subdued it and became dictator. The army had won its first victory, and that, too, by taking advantage of the bitter racial antagonisms in which the Austrian Empire so abounded.

Bohemia conquered

Italy partially conquered

In Italy also the army was victorious. The Italians, after the first flush of enthusiasm, began to be torn by jealousies and dissensions. The rulers of Tuscany, Naples, and the Papal States deserted the national cause, leaving Charles Albert of Piedmont, and the Lombard rebels, alone confronting the Austrians under Radetzky, a man who had served with credit in every Austrian war for sixty years and who now, at the age of eighty-two, was to increase his reputation. Radetzky defeated Charles Albert at Custozza, on July 25, 1848, and then agreed to an armistice of several months, expecting to complete his work later. Thus by the middle of the summer of 1848 the Austrian government was again in the saddle in Bohemia, and had partially recovered its power in Italy. It was only waiting for an opportunity to win back the ground it had lost in Hungary. The opportunity came with the outbreak of civil dissension in that country. The racial and national rivalries rose to the highest pitch. The Magyars, though a minority of the whole people, had always been dominant and the vic-

Civil dissension in Hungary

tory of March had been their victory. But the national feeling was strong and growing with Serbs, Croatians, and Roumanians. These, in the summer of 1848, demanded of the Hungarian Diet much the same privileges which the Magyars had won for themselves from the Vienna government. They wished local self-government and the recognition of their own languages and peculiar customs. To this the Magyars would not for a moment consent. They intended that there should be but one nationality in Hungary — that of the Magyars. Individual civil equality should be guaranteed to all the inhabitants of the kingdom of whatever race, but no separate or partly separate nations, and no other official language than their own. They, therefore, refused these demands point-blank. As a consequence, the bitterest race hatreds broke out in this Hungarian state, whose power had been so recently established and was so lightly grounded.

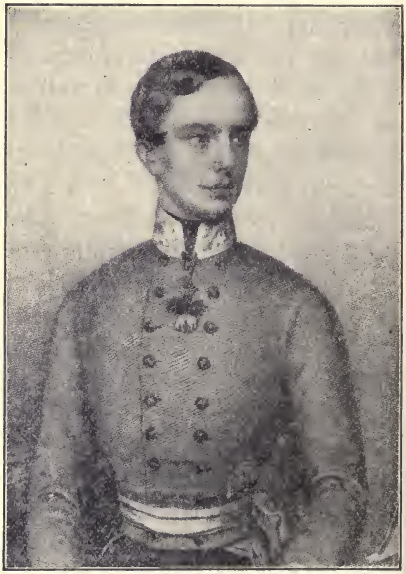
The Magyars would not grant to others the fundamental right which they had long so stoutly asserted for themselves, and which after vigorous struggles they had won, the right of nationality. They began, indeed, forthwith a policy of oppression, a policy of Magyarization, of compressing all these various peoples into one common mould, of forcible assimilation. This has ever since been the open sore in Hungarian politics.

Austria exploits the situation

The Magyars insisted that the Magyar language should be taught in all the schools in Croatia and should be used in all official communications between that province and the central government in Budapest. The Croatians resented this uncompromising and ungenerous policy and their resentment rapidly became rebellion. The Austrian government saw in this dissension the chance to regain its lost control. By indirect and tortuous methods it fanned this racial hatred, hoping to profit from the anger of the Magyars against the Slavs and of the Slavs against the Magyars. Needless to say the tension between Hungary and Austria increased daily. Finally in September, 1848, matters were precipitated when Jellachich, a man who hated the Hungarians with a deep and abiding hatred, and who had been appointed by the Austrian Emperor as governor of Croatia, began a civil war by leading an army of Croatians and Serbs against the Magyars. The Magyars, the dominant class in Hungary, were resolved to maintain their position against the rebellious Slavs and, if Austria supported them, against Austria herself.

On its side the reactionary party in Austria, emboldened by the partial successes of the army in Bohemia and Italy, resolved to tighten its grip upon the state. First it forced the Emperor Ferdinand to abdicate. He was succeeded December 2, 1848, by his nephew Francis Joseph I, a lad of eighteen, destined to a long and eventful reign. The purpose of this manoeuvre was to permit by a show of legality the abrogation of the March Laws in Hungary. Promises made by Ferdinand, it was held, were not binding upon his successor, and the promises of March were henceforth to be repudiated. Matters went rapidly from bad to worse. Austria prepared to subdue Hungary as she had subdued Bohemia. Hungary stiffened for the conflict.

Accession of Francis Joseph I



Francis Joseph I
At the time of his accession.

Thus it came about that the year 1849 saw a great war in Hungary. The Hungarians, in a frenzy of excitement, led by Kossuth, took the momentous step of declaring that the House of Hapsburg, as false and perjured, had ceased to rule; and that Hungary was an independent nation. Kossuth was appointed President of the indivisible state of Hungary. While the word republic was not uttered, such would probably be the future form of government if the Hungarians succeeded in achieving their independence.

Hungarian Declaration of Independence (April 14, 1849)

But this was not to be. The ungenerous conduct of the Magyars toward the other races in Hungary now received is natural reward. Not only did the Hungarian armies have to face Austrian troops but they had to fight the Slavs of Hungary who, eager for revenge, aided the Austrians. The Hungarians achieved some victories despite these odds, but their action in declaring their country independent complicated the situation disastrously. The matter be-

War in Hungary

came international. Foreign intervention brought this turbulent chapter abruptly to a close. The young Francis Joseph I made an appeal for aid to the Czar of Russia. Nicholas I showed the greatest alacrity in responding. The reasons that determined him were various. He was both by temperament and conviction predisposed to aid his fellow-sovereigns against revolutionary movements, if asked. He was an autocrat and interested in the preservation of autocracy wherever it existed. Also he had no desire to see a great republic on his very borders. Furthermore, a successful Hungary might make a restless Poland. Many Poles were fighting in the Hungarian armies.

Hungary conquered

Russian troops, variously estimated at from 100,000 to 200,000, now poured into Hungary from the east and north. The Austrians again advanced from the west. The Hungarians fought brilliantly and recklessly, urged on by the eloquence of Kossuth. They sought the aid of the Turks but did not receive it. They even appealed to the Slavs, promising them in adversity the rights they had refused in prosperity, but in vain. The overwhelming numbers of their opponents rendered the struggle hopeless. Kossuth resigned in favor of Görgei, a leading general. The latter was forced to capitulate at Világos, August 13, 1849. The war of Hungarian independence was over. Kossuth and others fled to Turkey, where they were given refuge. Nicholas proudly handed over to Francis Joseph his troublesome Hungary, which Austria, if left to her own resources, would probably have been unable to conquer. The punishment meted out to the Hungarians had no quality of mercy in it. Many generals and civilians were hanged. The constitutional privileges were entirely abolished. Hungary became a mere province of Austria, and was crushed beneath the iron heel. The catastrophe of 1849 seemed the complete annihilation of that country.

The conquest of Italy completed

Meanwhile Italy also had been reconquered by the revived military power of Austria. As we have seen, the Italian campaign of 1848 against Austria had been led by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia. He had not been successful and had been forced to sign an armistice at Custozza in August. But there were many republicans in Italy who believed that Charles Albert had been only half-hearted, that Italy could never be saved by constitutional monarchists. These republicans now decided to carry out their own views. They effected revolutions in both Florence and Rome and declared both of those states republics. The Grand Duke of Tuscany fled to the Kingdom of Naples, as did the Pope. The temporal power of the Pope was abolished.

The result of all these changes was that when the armistice was over and Charles Albert took the field in the spring of 1849 against Austria he took it alone. The republicans were neither able nor disposed to aid him. The Italians at this critical moment were divided among themselves. Had they been united they would have had difficulty enough in their struggle for independence. As it was, the case was hopeless. No help came to Charles Albert from the states to the south of Piedmont. At Novara, March 23, 1849, the Sardinian army was utterly overthrown. The King himself sought death on the battlefield, but in vain. "Even death has cast me off," he said. Believing that better terms could be made for his country if another sovereign were on the throne, he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, whose reign, begun in the darkest adversity, was destined to be glorious. Passing into exile, Charles Albert died a few months later. He had rendered, however, a great service to his house and to Italy, for he had shown that there was one Italian prince who was willing to risk everything for the national cause. He had enlisted the interest and the faith of the Italians in the government of Piedmont, in the House of Savoy. He was looked upon as a martyr to the national cause.

Abdication of Charles Albert

In the succeeding months the republics of Florence, Rome, and Venice were, one after the other, overthrown. The radiant hopes of 1848 had withered fast. A cruel reaction soon held sway throughout most of the peninsula. The power of Austria was restored, greater apparently than ever. Piedmont alone preserved a real independence, but was for the time being crushed beneath the burdens of a disastrous war and a humiliating peace.

Overthrow of the republics

Meanwhile the victories of the Liberals in Germany were being succeeded by defeats. Their hope had centered in the deliberations of the Parliament of Frankfort, consisting of nearly six hundred representatives, elected by universal suffrage. The assembly was composed of many able men, but it possessed only a moral authority. Though its existence had not been prevented by the rulers of the various states, because they had not dared to oppose what the people so plainly desired, still those rulers

The Parliament of Frankfort

gave it no positive support and played a waiting game, hoping to be able to prevent the execution of any decisions unfavorable to themselves. The Frankfort Parliament had been summoned in response to a popular demand for a real German nation, in place of the hollow mockery of the Confederation established in 1815 at Vienna. It was expected to draw up a constitution and it was also expected that this constitution would be democratic. Its aim was to achieve not only German unity but German political freedom, popular government in place of government by absolute monarchs or privileged classes. It was hoped that a great free German state would issue from its deliberations, unity resting upon a large measure of democracy.

Why the problem of German unity was so difficult

The task was very difficult for various reasons. The union must be federal because there were nearly forty states in Germany, each with its own history, its own traditions, its own dynasty, its own fears of the others. Moreover, a federation is difficult even between states that are equal in political development, and the political development of the German states was unequal. Some states possessed constitutions and parliaments and the people had had some experience in self-government. But the leading states, Prussia and Austria, had none of those things and were in their political development backward. Moreover these two states were rivals and neither was willing to sacrifice its identity and power for any such thing as a common German fatherland. There can be no federation without a sacrifice of power by the states entering it. Moreover the governing classes of both of these states hated everything that savored of democracy.

The Frankfort Parliament failed and the two streams of tendency, so characteristic of the century, the tendency toward unity and the tendency toward democracy were dammed up for a long while in Germany. Indeed the tendency toward democracy has remained dammed up to this very day. While unity was achieved a generation later, popular self-government has not yet been achieved.

Hostility of the German princes to unity and democracy

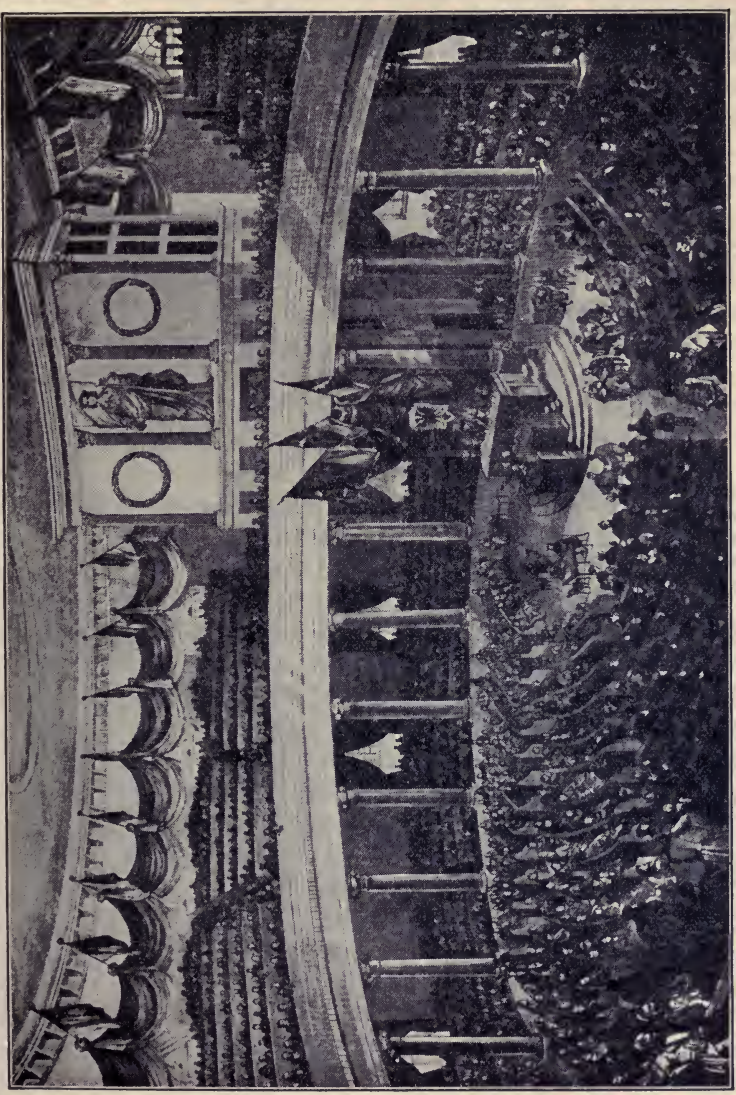
The Parliament failed, to some extent because of the mistakes of its members, but chiefly because of the resolute opposition of the princes of Germany, and, in particular, of Prussia and Austria. It however succeeded in drafting a constitution of many high merits, a constitution nobly planned, which guaranteed civil liberty to every German, equality before the law, responsible parliamentary control for the central government and for the government of the separate states. It was decided that the new German nation should have the same boundaries as the old Confederation, a decision which displeased Austria as she wished to be included with all her territories, not with simply a part of them. A most important question was what should be the form of the new government and who should be the executive? Should there be an emperor or a president or a board, and if an emperor, should his office be hereditary, or for life, or for a term of years? Should he be the monarch of Prussia or Austria, or should first one and then the other rule? The final decision was that Germany should be an hereditary empire, and on March 28, 1849, the King of Prussia was chosen to be its head. Austria announced curtly that she "would neither let herself be expelled from the German Confederation, nor let her German provinces be separated from the indivisible monarchy."

The center of interest now shifted to Berlin, whither a delegation went to offer to Frederick William IV the imperial crown of a united Germany. Would he accept it? If he would, the new scheme to which twenty-eight minor states had already assented would go into force, though this might involve a war with Austria, by this time largely recovered from her various troubles. Frederick William IV had declared in 1847 that he was willing to settle the German question, "with Austria, without Austria, yes, if need be, against Austria." Now, however, he was in a very different mood. He declined the offer of the Frankfort Parliament. The reasons were varied. Austria protested that she would never accept a subordinate position, and this protest alarmed him. And he disliked the idea of receiving a crown from a revolutionary assembly; rather, in his opinion, ought such a gift to come from his equals, the princes of Germany.

Rejection of the work of the Frankfort Parliament

Thus the two great German powers, Austria and Prussia, rejected the work of the Frankfort Parliament. Rebuffed in such high quarters, that body was unable to impose its constitution upon Germany, and it finally ended its existence wretchedly. In session for over a year it accomplished nothing. But the responsibility for the failure of Germans to achieve a real unity in 1848 and 1849 rests primarily not with it, but with the rulers of Prussia and Austria.

The collapse of the Frankfort Parliament was a bitter disappoint-



THE PARLIAMENT OF FRANKFORT
After the lithograph by May of the drawing by Bamberger.

ment. It drove a number of the more radical Germans to a bold and desperate attempt to establish a republic by force of arms, since these monarchs of Germany spurned the work of the Parliament.

A republican rising

An insurrection broke out in southwest Germany, a section devoted to the cause of liberty. The regular troops of Baden joined the insurgents, and the movement spread down the Rhine. "Some of the noblest and most generous spirits in Germany were to be found in this last and most desperate venture to maintain the cause of liberal unity against the sinister opposition of the German crowns. It was all in vain. Democratic idealism fell, not for the first or last time, before the trained battalions of Prussia."[1] The republicans were shot down or dispersed by Prussian troops in May, 1849. The republican party in Germany has never recovered from this blow.

Emigration of German Liberals to the United States

For men who held democratic and republican ideas and ideals intensely there was no hope in Germany. Many, not willing to abandon their convictions, their belief in liberty, not wishing to live under a régime which denied the most elementary rights to individuals, moreover not safe in such states and not desired, had only the sad resource of leaving the land of their birth, esteeming liberty more precious than subjection to absolute monarchs. One of these was Carl Schurz, a Prussian, whose part in the revolution of 1848 was most romantic and honorable. He, like many others, emigrated to the United States, with a heavy heart, because he believed that the cause of liberty was lost in Germany and in Europe, and that he had to make the poignant choice between liberty and his native land. Great was the gain of America. If these men could not have democratic institutions at home they would find them in the New World and could enjoy the opportunities they ensure.

The King of Prussia had refused the headship of a united Germany offered him by the Frankfort Parliament and had thus rendered its labors fruitless. But he now attempted to secure the leadership in another way, proposing a union of the purely German states under his own direction. This meant the exclusion of Austria, so largely non-German in her composition. Most of the smaller states joined this Prussian Union (1849). This action brought Prussia into sharp conflict with Austria, which had no desire to be edged out of Germany and which naturally resented this attempt of Prussia to snatch the leadership away from her. Austria, therefore, having finally set her Hungarian house in order, peremptorily ordered the King of Prussia to abandon his schemes, which he forthwith did. This was the famous "humiliation of Olmütz." Austria then demanded that the old German Confederation of 1815, which had been suspended in 1848, be revived with its Diet at Frankfort. This was done in 1851. Austria was stronger than ever in the Diet. The short-lived Prussian Union was dissolved.

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[1] Fisher, *The Republican Tradition in Europe*, p. 265.

The "humiliation of Olmütz"

The permanent results of this mid-century uprising of central Europe were very slight. Everywhere the old governments slipped back into the old grooves and resumed the old traditions. Two states, however, emerged with constitutions which they kept, Sardinia, whose Constitutional Statute granted by Charles Albert on March 4, 1848, established a real constitutional and parliamentary government, the only one in Italy; and Prussia, whose Constitution issued by the King in its final form in 1850 was far less liberal, yet sufficed to range Prussia among the constitutional states of Europe. By it the old absolutism of the state was changed, at least in form. There was henceforth a parliament consisting of two chambers. In one respect this document was a bitter disappointment to all Liberals. In the March Days of 1848 the King had promised universal suffrage, but the Constitution as finally promulgated rendered it illusory. It established a system unique in the world. Universal suffrage was not withdrawn, but was marvelously manipulated. The voters were divided in each electoral district throughout Prussia into three classes, according to wealth. The amount of taxes paid by the district was divided into three equal parts. Those voters who paid the first third were grouped into one class, those, more numerous, who paid the second third into another class, those who paid the remainder into still another class. The result was that a few very rich men were set apart by themselves, the less rich by themselves, and the poor by themselves. Each of these three groups, voting separately, elected an equal number of delegates to a convention, which convention chose the delegates of that constituency to the lower house of the Prussian Parliament. Thus in every electoral assembly two-thirds of the members belonged to the wealthy class. There was no chance in such a system for the poor, for the masses. This system, established by the Constitution of 1850, still

Results of the revolutions of 1848

Prussia's three-class system of election

exists in Prussia. It gives an enormous preponderance of political power to the rich. The first class consists of very few men, in some districts of only one; the second class is sometimes twenty times as numerous; the third sometimes a hundred, or even a thousand times. Thus though every man twenty-five years of age has the suffrage, the vote of a single rich man may have as great weight as the votes of a thousand workingmen. Thus is universal suffrage manipulated in such a way as to defeat democracy decisively and as to consolidate a privileged class in power, in the only branch of the government that has even the appearance of being liberal. Bismarck, no friend of Liberalism, once characterized this electoral system as the worst ever created. Its shrieking injustice is shown by the fact that in 1900 the Social Democrats, who actually cast a majority of the votes, secured only seven seats out of a total of nearly four hundred and fifty.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE FOUNDING OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

THE SECOND REPUBLIC

The Second Republic lasted nominally nearly five years, from February 24, 1848, to December 2, 1852, when the Second Empire was proclaimed. Practically, however, as we shall see, it came to an end one year earlier, December 2, 1851. During this period the state was administered successively by the Provisional Government, chosen on February 24th, and remaining in power for about ten weeks, then for about a year by the National Constituent Assembly, which framed the Constitution of the Republic, and then by the President and Legislative Assembly, created by this constitution. The history of the Republic was to be a very troubled one.

Stages in the history of the Second Republic

The Provisional Government was from the first composed of two elements. The larger number, led by Lamartine, were simply Republicans, desirous of a republican form of government in place of the monarchical. The other element was represented particularly by Louis Blanc who believed in a republic, but as a means to an end, and that end a social, economic revolution; who wished primarily to improve the condition of the laboring classes, to work out in actual laws and institutions the socialistic theories propounded with such effectiveness during the later years of the reign of Louis Philippe, and particularly the principle represented in the famous phrase, "the right to employment." What he most desired was not a mere political change, but a thoroughgoing reconstruction of society in the interest of the largest and weakest class, the poor, the wage-earners.

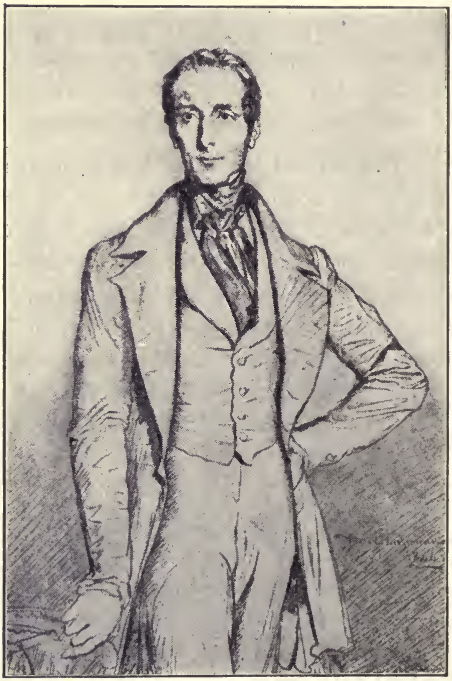
Two elements in the Provisional Government

The Provisional Government, divided as it was into Socialists and Anti-Socialists, ran the risk of all coalitions, that of being reduced to impotence by internal dissensions. Conflicts between the two great currents of opinion began on the very day of the proclamation of the Republic. Armed workmen came in immense numbers to the Hôtel de Ville and demanded that henceforth the banner of France should be the red flag, emblem of Socialism. Lamartine repelled this demand in a speech so brilliant and so persuasive that the workmen themselves stamped upon the red flag.

The question of the flag

But the Government, achieving an oratorical victory, saw itself forced to yield to the socialist party in two important respects. On motion of Louis Blanc, it recognized the so-called "right to employment." It promised work to all citizens, and as a means to this end it established, against its own real wishes, the famous National Workshops. It also established a Labor Commission, with Blanc at its head and with its place of meeting the Luxembourg Palace. This was a mere debating society, a body to investigate economic questions and report to the Government. It had no power of action, or of putting its opinions into execution. Moreover, by removing Louis Blanc from the Hôtel de Ville to another part of Paris, the Government really reduced his influence and that of his party. Naturally this irritated the Socialists.

The Labor Commission



Lamartine in 1832
After a lithograph by Chasseriau.

The National Workshops, too, were a source of ultimate disappointment to those who had looked to them to solve the complex labor problems of the modern industrial system. Conceded by the Provisional Government against its will, and to gain

The National Workshops

time, that Government did not intend that they should succeed. Their creation was intrusted to the Minister of Commerce, Marie, a personal enemy of Louis Blanc, who, according to his own admission, was willing to make this experiment in order to render the latter unpopular and to show workingmen the fallacy of his theories of production, and the dangers of such theories for themselves. The scheme was represented as Louis Blanc's, though it was denounced by him, was established especially to discredit him, and was a veritable travesty of his ideas. Blanc wished to have every man practice his own trade in real factories, started by state aid. They should be engaged in productive enterprises; moreover, only men of good character should be permitted to join these associations. Instead of this, the Government simply set men of the most varied sorts — cobblers, carpenters, metal workers, masons, to labor upon unproductive tasks, such as making excavations for public works. They were organized in a military fashion, and the wages were uniform, two francs a day.

Their rapid growth

It was properly no system of production that was being tried, but a system of relief for the unemployed, who were very numerous owing to the fact that many factories had had to close because of the generally disturbed state of affairs. The number of men flocking to these National Workshops increased alarmingly: 25,000 in the middle of March; 66,000 in the middle of April; over 100,000 in May. As there was not work enough for all, the number of working days was reduced for each man to two a week, and his total wage for the week fixed at eight francs. The result was that large numbers of men were kept idle most of the time, were given wretched wages, and had plenty of time to discuss their grievances. They furnished excellent material for socialist agitators. This experiment wasted the public money, accomplished nothing useful, and led to a street war of the most appalling kind.

The National Constituent Assembly

The Provisional Government was, as the name signified, only a temporary organization whose duty was to administer the state until an assembly should be elected to frame a Constitution. The Provisional Government established universal suffrage and thus political power passed suddenly from the hands of about two hundred thousand privileged wealthy persons to over nine million electors. The elections were held on April 23, and the National Constituent Assembly met on May 4, 1848. The assembly consisted of nine hundred men, about eight hundred of them moderate Republicans. The Socialists had almost disappeared.

The Assembly hostile to the Socialists

The Assembly showed at once that it was bitterly opposed to the opinions of the Socialists of Paris. The Provisional Government now laid down its powers, and the Assembly chose five of its members, all Anti-Socialists, with Lamartine as the head, as the new executive until the Constitution should be drawn up. All these men had been opposed to Louis Blanc. The Government, believing that the National Workships were breeding-spots of Socialism and dangerous unrest, resolved to root them out. It announced their immediate abolition, giving the workmen the alternative of enrolling in the army or going into the country to labor on public works. If they did not leave voluntarily, they would be forced to leave. The laborers, goaded to desperation, prepared to resist and to overthrow this Government which they had helped bring into existence, and which had proved so unsympathetic. Organized as a semi-military force, angered at the hostility of the bourgeoisie to all helpful social reform that could make their lives easier, they began a bitter fight. The Assembly saw the terrible nature of the conflict impending. General Cavaignac was given dictatorial powers by the Assembly, the Executive Commission of five resigning. During four June days (June 23–26, 1848) the most fearful street fighting Paris had ever known went on behind a baffling network of barricades. The issue was long doubtful, but finally the insurgents were put down. The cost was terrible. Ten thousand were killed or wounded. Eleven thousand prisoners were taken, and their deportation was immediately decreed by the Assembly. The June Days left among the poor an enduring legacy of hatred toward the bourgeoisie.

Abolition of the National Workshops

The June Days

A military dictatorship

The moderate republicans had definitely triumphed over the socialistic republicans. But so narrow had been their escape, so fearful were they for the future that the dictatorship of Cavaignac was continued until the end of October. Thus the Second Republic, proclaimed in February, 1848, after ten troubled weeks under a Provisional Government, passed under military leadership for the next four months. One-man power was rapidly developing.

The results of this socialist agitation and of the sanguinary Days of June were lamentable and far-reaching. The republic was immeasurably weakened by this dreadful fratricidal strife. It was gravely wounded in the house of its friends.

The framing of the Constitution

After the suppression of the Socialists in June the Assembly proceeded to frame the constitution, for which task it had been chosen. It proclaimed the Republic as the definitive government of France. It declared universal suffrage. It provided that there should be a legislature consisting of a single chamber, composed of 750 members, chosen for three years, to be renewed in full at the end of that period.

The powers of the executive

Discussion concerning the presidency

The executive was to be a president elected for four years and ineligible for reëlection save after a four years' interval. He was given very considerable powers. It was felt that the danger in giving him these would be neutralized by the shortness of his term and by his inability to be immediately reëlected. How he should be chosen was the most important question before the Constituent Assembly, and was long debated. The Assembly, dominated by its fundamental dogma of universal suffrage and popular sovereignty, was disposed to have the president chosen by all the voters. The danger in this procedure lay in the lack of political experience of the French electorate, and the probability that they would be blinded by some distinguished or famous name in making their choice, not guided by an intelligent analysis of character and of fitness for the high office. It was however decided that the people should choose the president and should be entirely untrammeled in their choice. In thus leaving the choice of the president to universal suffrage, this republican assembly was playing directly into the hands of a pretender to a throne, of a man who believed he had the right to rule France by reason of his birth, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the Great Napoleon and legitimate heir to his pretensions. At the time of the February Revolution this man was practically without influence or significance, but so swiftly did events move and opinion shift in that year 1848 that by the time the mode of choosing the president was decided upon, he was already known to be a leading candidate, a fact which stamped that decision as all the more foolhardy.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had become chief of the house of Bonaparte in 1832 at the age of twenty-four, on the death of Napoleon's son,

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte

A member of the Constituent Assembly

A candidate for the presidency

known as the "King of Rome." He was the son of Louis, the former King of Holland. He conceived his position with utmost seriousness. He believed that he had a right to rule over France, and that the day would come when he would. He adhered to this belief for sixteen years, though those years brought him no practical encouragement, but only the reverse. Gathering about him a few adventurers, he attempted in 1836, at Strassburg, and in 1840, at Boulogne, to seize power. Both attempts were puerile in their conception, and were bunglingly executed. Both ended in fiasco. He had gained the name of being ridiculous, a thing exceedingly difficult for Frenchmen to forgive or forget. As a result of the former attempt he had been exiled to the United States, from which country he shortly returned. As a result of the latter he was imprisoned in the fortress of Ham in northern France, from which he escaped in 1846, disguised as an ordinary mason, named Badinguet. He then went to England and in 1848, at the time of the Chartist risings, he was a special constable stationed in Trafalgar Square. This was certainly no record of achievement. But the stars in their courses were fighting for him. The Revolution of 1848 created his opportunity, as that of 1789 had created that of the First Napoleon. Like his great prototype, whom he constantly sought to imitate, he offered his services to the Republic. He was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly, where the impression he created was that of a mediocre man, with few ideas of his own, who could probably be controlled by others. His name, however, was a name to conjure with. This was his only capital, but it was sufficient. The word Naploeon was seen to be a marvelous vote-winner with the peasants, who, now that universal suffrage was the law of the land, formed the great majority. "How should I not vote for this gentleman," said a peasant to Montalembert, "I whose nose was frozen at Moscow?" Louis Napoleon was an avowed candidate for the presidency, and, as the most colorless, was the strongest. Cavaignac was the candidate of the democratic Republicans, who had governed France since February, but he was now hated by the workingmen for his part in the June Days. Thus when the presidential election was held in December, 1848, Louis Napoleon was overwhelmingly chosen with over five million votes to Cavaignac's million and a half. The new President entered upon his duties December 20, 1848. On that day before the

Assembly he swore "to remain faithful to the democratic republic," and said: "My duty is clear. I will fulfil it as a man of honor. I shall regard as enemies of the country all those who endeavor to change by illegal means that which France has established." He kept his oath for nearly three years and then he broke it, because he wished to remain in power, having no desire to retire to private life; yet the Constitution forbade the reëlection of the president at the end of the four-year term. Louis Napoleon therefore took a leaf out of the biography of Napoleon I, and climbed to power by carrying through a *coup d'état*, far more skillfully than his uncle had engineered that of the 19th of Brumaire.

The Coup d'état

The 2d of December, 1851, anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I and of the battle of Austerlitz, was chosen as the fateful day. During the early morning hours many of the military and civil leaders of France, republican and monarchist, were arrested in bed and taken to prison. A battalion of infantry was sent to occupy the Legislative Chamber. Placards were posted on all the walls of Paris, pretending to explain the President's purposes, which included a remodeling of the constitution in the direction of the system established by Napoleon I at the time of the Consulate. "This system, created by the First Consul at the beginning of the century, has already given to France repose and prosperity; it will guarantee them to her again." The people were called upon to approve or disapprove these suggestions.

Events of December 2

The significance of all this was at first not apparent to those who read the placards. But signs of opposition began to show themselves as their meaning became clearer. Some of the deputies, going to their hall of meeting, found entrance prevented by the military. Withdrawing to another place, and proceeding to impeach the President, they were attacked by the troops, who arrested a large number, and took them off to prison. Thus the leaders of France, civil and military, were in custody, and the President saw no organized authority erect before him. This was the work of December 2. Would the people resent the high-handed acts of this usurper?

The President had not neglected to make unprecedented preparations for this contingency. His police controlled all the printing establishments, whence usually in periods of crisis emerged flaming appeals to revolt; also all the bell towers, whence in revolutionary times the tocsin was accustomed to ring out the appeal to insurrection. Nevertheless, on the 3d, barricades were raised. On the 4th occurred the famous "massacre of the boulevards." Over 150 were killed and a large number wounded. Paris was cowed. The coup d'état was crowned with success. To prevent any possible rising of the provinces martial law was proclaimed in thirty-two departments, thousands of arbitrary arrests were made, and the work on which the Prince President entered on the night of December 2d was thoroughly carried out. Probably a hundred thousand arrests were made throughout France. All who appeared dangerous to Louis Napoleon were either transported, exiled, or imprisoned. This vigorous policy was aimed particularly at the Republicans, who were for years completely silenced.

The "massacre of the boulevards"

Having thus abolished all opposing leadership, Louis Napoleon appealed to the people for their opinion as to intrusting him with power to remodel the Constitution along the lines indicated in his proclamation. On December 20, 7,439,216 voted in favor of so doing, and only 640,737 voted in the negative. While the election was in no sense fair, while the issue presented was neither clear nor simple, while force and intimidation were resorted to, yet it was evident that a large majority of Frenchmen were willing to try again the experiment of a Napoleon.

The plébiscite

The Republic, though officially continuing another year, was now dead. Louis Napoleon, though still nominally President, was in fact an absolute sovereign. It was a mere detail when a year later (November 21, 1852) the people of France were permitted to vote on the question of reëstablishing the imperial dignity, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Bonaparte emperor, under the name of Napoleon III. 7,824,189 Frenchmen voted yes; 253,145 voted no. On the anniversary of the coup d'état, December 2, a day so fortunate for Bonapartes, Napoleon III was proclaimed Emperor of the French, and the Second Empire was established.

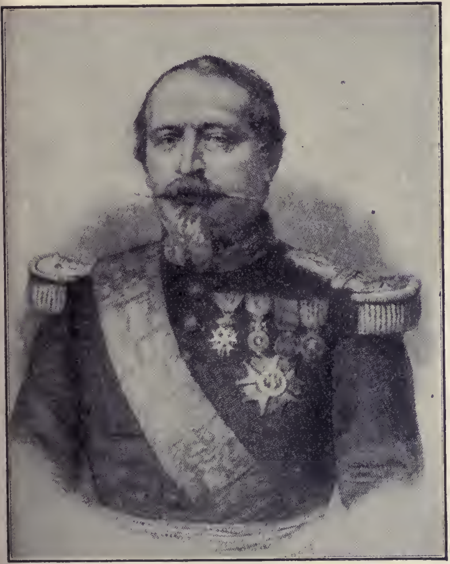
Napoleon III, Emperor, Dec. 2, 1852

THE SECOND EMPIRE

The President who, by the endless witchery of a name, by a profitable absence of scruples, and by favorable circumstances, had known how to become an Emperor, was destined to be the ruler of France and a leading figure in European politics for eighteen years. He announced at the outset that what France needed, after so turbulent a

The programme of the new Emperor

history, was government by an enlightened and benevolent despot. Then when the necessary work of reorganization had been carried through and the national life was once more in a healthy state, the autocratic would give way to a liberal form of government which the country would then be in a condition to manage and enjoy. As a matter of fact the history of the Second Empire falls into these two divisions — autocracy unlimited from 1852 to 1860, and a growing liberalism from 1860 to 1870, when the Empire collapsed, its programme woefully unrealized.


Napoleon III

The political institutions of the Empire

The political institutions of the Empire were largely based on those of the Consulate. The machinery was elaborate but was mainly designed to deceive the French people into thinking that they enjoyed self-government. The principle of universal suffrage was preserved but was ingeniously rendered quite harmless to the autocrat. There was a Legislative Body and there was a Senate, but their powers were very slight. The important fact was not the activity of these various bodies but of the one man. France was no longer a land of freedom. Since 1815 under the various régimes Parliament had been a serious factor in the life of the nation and men had had a training in political affairs. That promising development was now abruptly stopped. Repression was the order of the day. Particular ruthlessness was shown in the policy of crushing the republicans, as Napoleon III had a very clear instinct that they would never forgive him for overthrowing by violence the Republic which had honored him with its highest office and which he had solemnly sworn to protect from all enemies.

In politics a despot and a reactionary, stamping out every possible spark of independence, Napoleon was, however, in many other ways progressive. Particularly did he seek to develop the wealth of the country and his reign was one of increasing economic prosperity; manufactures, commerce, banking, all were greatly encouraged. It was a period of great business enterprises and fortunes were made quickly, and of a size hitherto unknown in France. Paris was modernized and beautified on a most elaborate scale and became the most attractive and comfortable capital in Europe. In 1853 Napoleon III married a young Spanish lady of remarkable beauty and of noble birth, Mlle. Eugénie de Montijo, "a marriage of love" as the Emperor told the French people. The Tuileries immediately became the center of a court life the most brilliant and luxurious of the nineteenth century.

The Empire both repressive and progressive

In 1856 Napoleon III was at the zenith of his power. The Empire had been recognized by all the other states of Europe. The Emperor had, with England and Piedmont as allies, waged a successful war against Russia in the Crimea.[1] He was supposed to have the best army in Europe, and he was honored in the face of all the world by having Paris chosen as the seat of the congress which drew up the treaties at the end of that war. And now an heir was born to him, the Prince Imperial, as interesting in his day and as ill-fated as the King of Rome had been in his. Fortune seemed to have emptied her full horn of plenty upon the author of the coup d'état.

The Congress of Paris, 1856

But the Empire had already reached its apogee, though this was not evident for some time. Had Napoleon limited his activity to the improvement and development of conditions at home his reign might have continued successful and advantageous. But he adopted a showy and risky foreign policy, whose consequences he did not foresee and which in the end entangled him in hopeless embarrassments and led directly to the violent and tragic overthrow of his Empire and the endless humiliation and suffering of France. The foreign policy reacted, after 1860, upon the home policy in a decided manner. The beginning of Napoleon's serious troubles was his participation in the Italian war of 1859.

The foreign policy of Napoleon III

To understand the course of the Second Empire from 1860 to 1870

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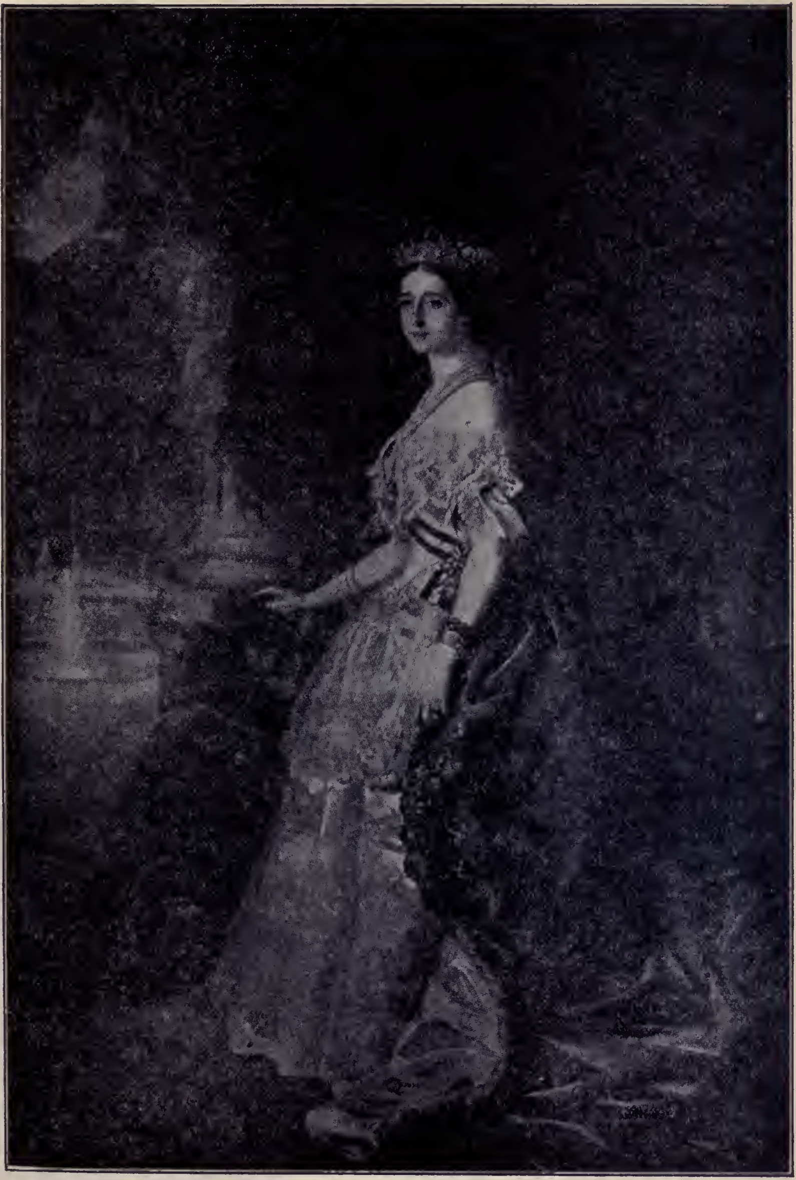
[1] See Chapter XXXIII.



Empress Eugénie
After the painting by Winterhalter.

one must study the part played by Napoleon III in the making of modern Italy, the consequences of which were to be for him so unexpected, so far-reaching, and in the end so disastrous. And correctly to appraise that policy we must first trace the history of the rise of the Kingdom of Italy.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE MAKING OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

Italy lacking in unity and freedom

Italy as we have seen was a land of small states, of arbitrary government, and of Austrian domination. The spirit of nationality, the spirit of freedom were nowhere recognized. Indeed, every effort was made to stamp them out whenever they appeared. Thus far these efforts had been successful. They were now about to break down utterly and a noble and stirring movement of reform was to sweep over the peninsula in triumph, completely transforming and immensely enriching a land which, greatly endowed by nature, had been sadly treated by man.

Joseph Mazzini (1805-1872)

The deepest aspirations of the Italian people had finally found a voice, clear, bold, and altogether thrilling, in the person of Joseph Mazzini. Mazzini was the spiritual force of the Italian *Risorgimento* or resurrection, as this national movement was called, the prophet of a state that was not yet but was to be, destined from youth to feel with extraordinary intensity a holy mission imposed upon him. He was born in 1805 in Genoa, his father being a physician and a professor in the university. Even in his boyhood he was morbidly impressed with the unhappiness and misery of his country. "In the midst of the noisy, tumultuous life of the students around me I was," he says, in his interesting though fragmentary autobiography, "somber and absorbed and appeared like one suddenly grown old. I childishly determined to dress always in black, fancying myself in mourning for my country."

As Mazzini grew up all his inclinations were toward a literary life. "A thousand visions of historical dramas and romances floated before my mental eye." But this dream he abandoned, "my first great sacrifice," for political agitation. He joined the Carbonari, not because he approved even then of their methods, but because at least they were a revolutionary organization. As a member of it, he was arrested in 1830. The governor of Genoa told Mazzini's father that his son was "gifted with some talent," but was "too fond of walking by himself at night absorbed in thought. What on earth has he at his age to think about? We don't like young people thinking without our knowing the subject of their thoughts." Mazzini was imprisoned in the fortress of Savona. Here he could only see the sky and the sea, "the two grandest things in Nature, except the Alps," he said. After six months he was released, but was forced to leave his country. For nearly all of forty years he was to lead the bitter life of an exile in France, in Switzerland, but chiefly in England, which became his second home.

His imprisonment

After his release from prison Mazzini founded in 1831 a society, "Young Italy," destined to be an important factor in making the new Italy. The Carbonari had led two revolutions and had failed. Moreover, he disliked that organization as being merely destructive in its aim, having no definite plan of reconstruction. "Revolutions," he said, "must be made by the people and for the people." His own society must be a secret organization; otherwise it would be stamped out. But it must not be merely a body of conspirators; it must be educative, proselyting, seeking to win Italians by its moral and intellectual fervor to an idealistic view of life, a self-sacrificing sense of duty. Only those under forty were to be admitted to membership, because his appeal was particularly to the young. "Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitude," he said; "you know not the secret of the power hidden in these youthful hearts, nor the magic influence exercised on the masses by the voice of youth. You will find among the young a host of apostles of the new religion." With Mazzini the liberation and unification of Italy was indeed a new religion, appealing to the loftiest emotions, entailing complete self-sacrifice, complete absorption in the ideal, and the young were to be its apostles. Theirs was to be a missionary life. He told them to travel, to bear from land to land, from village to village, the torch of liberty, to expound its advantages to the people, to establish and consecrate the cult. Let them not quail before the horrors of torture and imprisonment that might await them in the holy cause. "Ideas grow quickly when watered with the blood of martyrs." Never did a cause have a more dauntless leader, a man of purity of life, a man of imagination, of poetry, of audacity, gifted, moreover, with a marvelous command of persuasive language and with burning enthusiasm in his heart. The response was overwhelming. By 1833 the society

Founder of "Young Italy"

The methods of the society

reckoned 60,000 members. Branches were founded everywhere. Garibaldi, whose name men were later to conjure with, joined it on the shores of the Black Sea. This is the romantic proselyting movement of the nineteenth century, all the more remarkable from the fact that its members were unknown men, bringing to their work no advantage of wealth or social position. But, as their leader wrote later, "All great national movements begin with the unknown men of the people, without influence except for the faith and will that counts not time or difficulties."

Joseph Mazzini.

The aims of the society

The programme of this society was clear and emphatic. First, Austria must be driven out. This was the condition precedent to all success. War must come — the sooner the better. Let not Italians rely on the aid of foreign governments, upon diplomacy, but upon their own unaided strength. Austria could not stand against a nation of twenty millions fighting for their rights. "The only thing wanting to twenty millions of Italians, desirous of emancipating themselves, is not power, but *faith*," he said.

Unity a practicable ideal

At a time when the obstacles seemed insuperable, when but few Italians dreamed of unity even as an ultimate ideal, Mazzini declared that it was a practicable ideal, that the seemingly impossible was easily possible if only Italians would dare to show their power; and his great significance in Italian history is that he succeeded in imparting his burning faith to multitudes of others. Mazzini was a republican and he wished his country, when united, to be a republic. That a solution of the Italian problem lay in combining the existing states into a federation he did not for a moment believe.

Every argument for federation was a stronger argument for unity. "Never rise in any other name than that of Italy and of all Italy."

Mazzini worked at a great disadvantage as he was early expelled from his own country and was compelled to spend nearly all his lifetime as an exile in London, hampered by paltry resources, and cut off from that intimate association with his own people which is so essential to effective leadership.

Italy was not made as Mazzini wished it to be, as we shall see; nevertheless is he one of the chief of the makers of Italy. He and the society he founded constituted a leavening, quickening force in the realm of ideas. Around them grew up a patriotism for a country that existed as yet only in the imagination.

A variety of opinions and proposals

But to many serious students of the Italian problem Mazzini seemed far too radical; seemed a mystic and a rhetorician full of resounding and thrilling phrases, but with little practical sense. Men of conservative temperament could not follow him. There was a considerable variety of opinion. Some believed in independence as fervidly as did he but did not believe in the possibility of Italian unity, for Italy had been too long divided, the divisions were too deep-seated. Some believed, not in a single state of Italy but in a federation of the various states, with the Pope as president or leader. Others criticised this as a preposterous idea and denounced the Pope's government of his own states in scathing terms. Still others held that Italy was not at all republican in sentiment but was thoroughly monarchical and that a monarchy would be the natural form of its government. Some argued that, as it was impossible to drive the Austrians out, they should be included in the federation; and some thought that, though the Austrians could not be driven out, they might be bribed to leave by being offered fat pickings in the Balkan peninsula at the expense of the Turks. Austria might thus, for a consideration, make Italy a present of her independence, certainly a fanciful idea. Out of this fermentation of ideas grew a more vigorous spirit of unrest, of dissatisfaction, of aspiration.

Reaction in Italy after 1848

The events of 1848 and 1849 gave a decided twist to Italian evolution. At one moment Italy had appeared to be on the very point of achieving her independence and her unity. Then the reverses had come and she relapsed into her former condition. It seemed as if everything was to be as it had been, only worse because of all these blasted hopes and fruitless struggles. But things were not exactly as they had been. In one quarter there was a change, emphatically for the better. One state in the peninsula formed a brilliant exception to this sorry system of reaction — Piedmont. Though badly defeated on the battlefield at Custozza in 1848, and at Novara in 1849, it had gained an important moral victory. An Italian prince had risked his throne twice for the cause of Italian independence, conduct which for multitudes marked the House of Savoy as the leader of the future. Moreover, the king who had done this, Charles Albert, had also granted his people a constitution. He had abdicated after the battle of Novara, and his son, Victor Emmanuel II, then twenty-nine years of age, had come to the throne.

Victor Emmanuel II (1820–1878)

Austria offered Victor Emmanuel easy terms of peace if he would abrogate this constitution, Austria not liking constitutions anywhere and particularly in a state that was a neighbor, and prospects of aggrandizement were dangled before him. He absolutely refused. This was a turning point in his career, in the history of Piedmont, and in that of Italy. It won him the popular title of the Honest King. It made Piedmont the one hope of Italian Liberals. She was national and constitutional. Henceforth her leadership was assured. For the next ten years her history is the history of the making of the Kingdom of Italy. Thither Liberals who were driven out of the other states took refuge, and their number was large.

Piedmont a constitutional state

Victor Emmanuel was a brave soldier, a man, not of brilliant mind, but of sound and independent judgment, of absolute loyalty to his word, of intense patriotism. And he had from 1850 on, in his leading minister, Count Camillo di Cavour, one of the greatest statesmen and diplomatists of the nineteenth century.

Count Cavour (1810–1861)

Cavour was born in 1810. His family belonged to the nobility of Piedmont. He received a military education and joined the army as an engineer. But by his liberal opinions, freely expressed, he incurred the hostility of his superiors and was kept for a time in semi-imprisonment. He resigned his commission in 1831, and for the next fifteen years lived the life of a country gentleman, developing his estates. During these years, to vary the monotony of existence, he visited France and England repeatedly, interested particularly in political and economic questions. He was anxious to play a part in politics himself, though he saw no chance in a country as yet without representative institutions. "Oh! if I were an Englishman," he said, "by this time I should be something, and my name would not be wholly unknown." Meanwhile, he studied abroad the institutions he desired for his own country, particularly the English parliamentary system. Night after night he sat in the gallery of the House of Commons, seeking to make himself thoroughly familiar with its modes of procedure. He welcomed with enthusiasm the creation in 1848 of a parliament for Piedmont and of a constitution, which he had, indeed, been one of the boldest to demand. "Italy," he said, "must make herself by means of liberty, or we must give up trying to make her." This belief in parliamentary institutions Cavour held tenaciously all through his life, even when at times they seemed to be a hindrance to his policies. He believed that in the end, sooner or later, the people reach the truth of a matter. He was elected to the first Piedmontese Parliament, was taken into the cabinet in 1850, and became prime minister in 1852. He held this position for the remainder of his life, with the exception of a few weeks, proving himself a great statesman and an incomparable diplomat.

His interest in political and economic questions

Cavour Prime Minister, 1852

Cavour's mind was the opposite of Mazzini's, practical, positive, not poetical and speculative. He desired the unity and the independence of Italy. He hated Austria as the oppressor of his country, as an oppressor everywhere. But, unlike Mazzini, he did not underestimate her power, nor did he overestimate the power of his own countrymen. Cavour believed, as did all the patriots, that Austria must be driven out of Italy before any Italian regeneration could be achieved. But he did not believe with Mazzini and others that the Italians could accomplish this feat alone. In his opinion the history of the last forty years had shown that plots and insurrections would not avail. It was essential to win the aid of a great military power comparable in strength and discipline to Austria.

Cavour seeks to make Piedmont a model state

Cavour considered that the only possible leader in the work of freeing and unifying Italy was the House of Savoy and the Piedmontese monarchy, and he felt that the proper government of the new state, if it should ever arise, would be a constitutional monarchy. He wished to make Piedmont a model state so that, when the time came, the Italians of other states would recognize her leadership and join in her exaltation as best for them all. Piedmont had a constitution and the other states had not. He saw to it that she had a free political life and received a genuine training in self-government. Also he bent every energy to the development of the economic resources of his kingdom, by encouraging manufactures, by stimulating commerce, by modernizing agriculture, by building railroads. In a word he sought to make and did make Piedmont a model small state, liberal and progressive, hoping thus to win for her the Italians of the other states and the interest and approval of the countries and rulers of western Europe.

Cavour
From a lithograph by Desmaisons.

Cavour an incomparable diplomat

The fundamental purpose, the constant preoccupation of this man's life, determining every action, prompting every wish, was to gain a Great Power as an ally. In the pursuit of this elusive and supremely difficult object, year in, year out, Cavour displayed his measure as a diplomat, and stood forth finally without a peer. It is a marvelously absorbing story, from which we are precluded here because it cannot be properly presented except at length. The reader must go elsewhere for the details of this fascinating record, in which were combined, in rare harmony, sound judgment, practical sense, powers of clear, subtle, penetrating thought, unfailing attention to prosaic details, with imagination, audacity, courage, and iron nerve. A profound and accurate knowledge of the forces and personalities in the political life of Italy and of Europe, tact and sureness in appreciating the shifting scenes of the international stage, never-failing resourcefulness in the service of a steady purpose, such were some of the characteristics of this master in statecraft and diplomacy. Though the minister of a petty state of only five million people, his was the most dynamic personality in Europe.

Cavour seeks a military ally

Cavour was seeking an ally. He saw that the field was limited. It must be either England or France. The former country had no large army and was disposed to keep itself as free from European entanglements as possible. France on the other hand was supposed to have the best army in Europe and her ruler, Napoleon III, was an ambitious and adventurous person. "Whether we like it or not," said Cavour "our destinies depend upon France." He sought to ingratiate himself with Napoleon.

Why Piedmont participated in the Crimean War

The Crimean War gave an opportunity. Piedmont made an unconditional and very risky alliance in 1855 with France and England, then at war with Russia, and rendered a distinct service to them. They in turn rendered her the service of securing her admittance to the Congress of Paris which terminated that war, of thus securing her recognition as an equal among the powers of Europe. They also gave Cavour a chance to discuss the Italian question in an international gathering in which Austria sat.

The interview at Plombières (July 21, 1858)

Two years later Cavour received his great reward. Napoleon III bade him come to Plombières, a watering place in the Vosges mountains, where the Emperor was taking the cure. And there in a famous carriage drive which these two took through the forests of the Vosges, Napoleon holding the reins, and in subsequent interviews, they plotted to bring about a war which should result in driving Austria out of Italy. Italy was to be freed "from the Alps to the Adriatic." Piedmont should be given Lombardy and Venetia and a part of the Papal States. The Italian states should then be united in a confederation, with the Pope as president. France should receive Savoy, and possibly Nice.

Napoleon III and the principle of nationality

Such was the understanding of Plombières. The motives that influenced Napoleon to take this step which was to be momentous for himself as well as for Italy were numerous. The principle of nationality which he held tenaciously, and which largely determined the foreign policy of his entire reign, prompted him in this direction — the principle, namely, that people of the same race and language had the right to be united politically if they wished to be. Further, Napoleon had long been interested in

Italy. He had himself taken part in the revolutionary movements there in 1831, and had probably been a member of the Carbonari. Moreover, it was one of his ambitions to tear up the treaties of 1815, treaties that sealed the humiliation of the Napoleonic dynasty. These treaties still formed the basis of the Italian political system in 1858. Again, he was probably lured on by a desire to win glory for his throne, and there was always the chance, too, of gaining territory.

The war of 1859

Thus in 1859 there came about a war between Austria on the one hand and Piedmont and France on the other. The latter were victorious in two great battles, that of Magenta (June 4) and of Solferino (June 24). The latter was one of the greatest battles of the nineteenth century. It lasted eleven hours, more than 260,000 men were engaged, nearly 800 cannon. The Allies lost over 17,000 men, the Austrians about 22,000. All Lombardy was conquered, and Milan was occupied. It seemed that Venetia could be easily overrun and the termination of Austrian rule in Italy effected, and Napoleon's statement that he would free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic" accomplished. Suddenly Napoleon halted in the full tide of success, sought an interview with the Emperor of Austria at Villafranca, and there on July 11th, without consulting the wishes of his ally, concluded a famous armistice. The terms agreed upon by the two Emperors were: that Lombardy should pass to Piedmont, that Austria should retain Venetia, that the Italian states should form a confederation, that the rulers of Tuscany and Modena should be restored to their states, whence they had just been driven by popular uprisings.

The Preliminaries of Villafranca

Reasons for Napoleon's action

Why had Napoleon stopped in the middle of a successful campaign, and before he had accomplished the object for which he had come into Italy? The were several reasons. He had been shocked by the horrors of the battlefield. He saw that the completion of the conquest of Austria meant a far larger sacrifice of life. Prussia was preparing to intervene. Moreover Napoleon became apprehensive about the results of his policy. If it should end in the creation of a strong national kingdom, as seemed likely, would not this be dangerous to France? A somewhat enlarged Piedmont was one thing, but a kingdom of all Italy, neighbor to France, was something very different.

The news of the peace came as a cruel disappointment to the Italians, dashing their hopes just as they were apparently about to be realized. The Government of Victor Emmanuel had not even been consulted. In intense indignation at the faithlessness of Napoleon, overwrought by the excessive strain under which he had long been laboring, Cavour completely lost his self-control, urged desperate measures upon the King and, when they were declined, in a fit of rage, threw up his office.

Resignation of Cavour

The King by overruling Cavour showed himself wiser than his gifted minister. As disappointed as the latter, he saw more clearly than did Cavour that though Piedmont had not gained all that she had hoped to, yet she had gained much. It was wiser to take what one could get and bide the future than to imperil all by some mad course. Here was one of the great moments where the independence and common sense of Victor Emmanuel were of great and enduring service to his country.

Piedmont acquires Lombardy

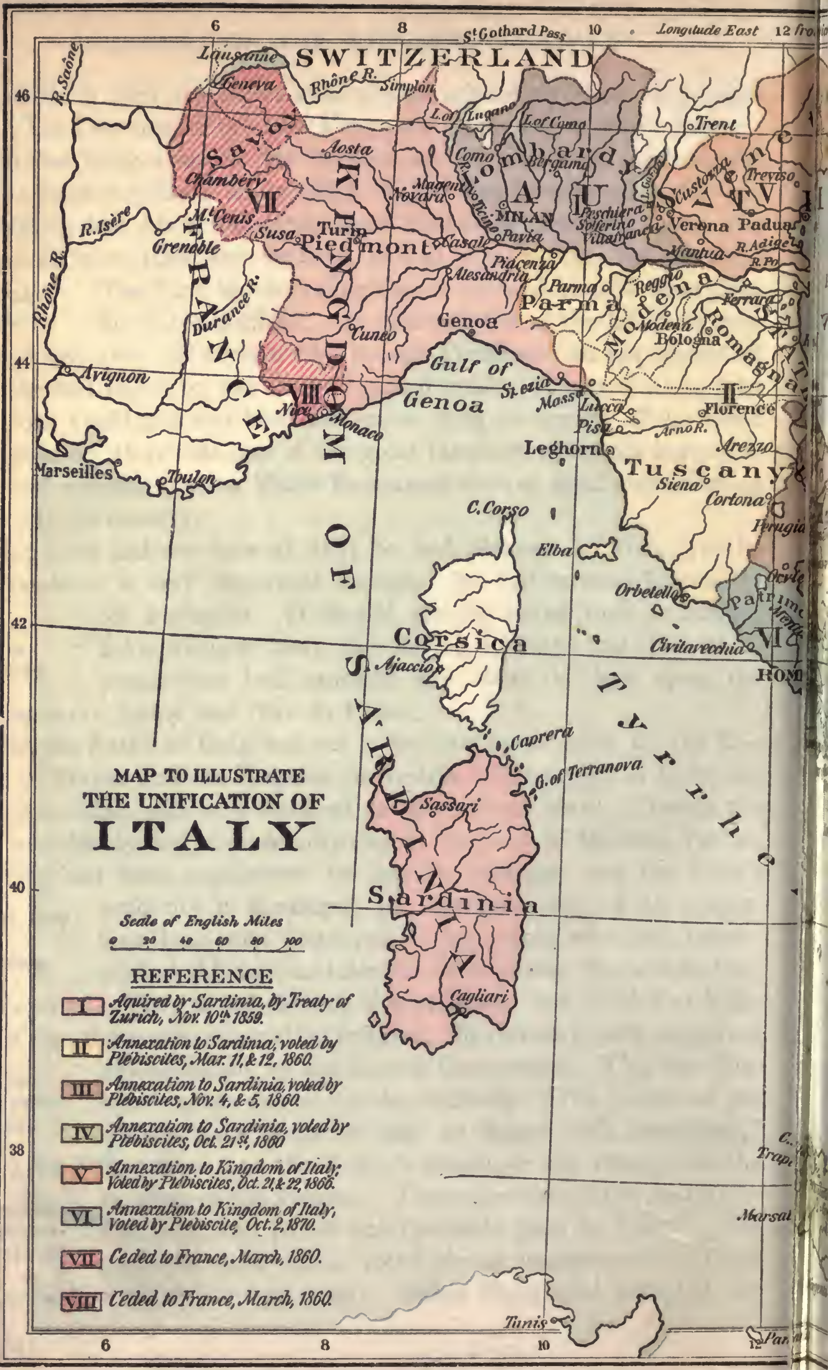
Napoleon had not done all that he had planned for Italy, yet he had rendered a very important service. He had secured Lombardy for Piedmont. It should also be noted that he himself acknowledged that the failure to carry out the whole programme had canceled any claim he had upon the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France.

Central Italy after Villafranca

But the future of Italy was not to be determined solely by the Emperor of France and the Emperor of Austria. The people of Italy had their own ideas and were resolved to make them heard. During the war, so suddenly and unexpectedly closed, the rulers of Modena, Parma, Tuscany had been overthrown by popular uprisings and the Pope's authority in Romagna, the northern part of his dominions, had been destroyed. The people who had accomplished this had no intention of restoring the princes they had expelled. They defied the two Emperors who had decided at Villafranca that those rulers should be restored. In this they were supported diplomatically by the English Government. This was England's great service to the Italians. "The people of the duchies have as much right to change their sovereigns," said Lord Palmerston, "as the English people, or the French, or the Belgian, or the Swedish. The annexation of the duchies to Piedmont will be an unfathomable good to Italy." The people of these states voted almost unanimously in favor of annexation (March 11–12, 1860). Victor Emmanuel accepted the

England's participation in affairs

Annexation of the duchies to Piedmont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VII
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KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Como
Lombardy
Bergamo
AUSTRIA
Venetia
Custozza
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Magenta
Novara
MILAN
Peschiera
Solferino
Villafranca
L. Garda
Verona
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Casale
Pavia
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Rhône R.
FRANCE
Durance R.
Piacenza
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Parma
Reggio
Modena
Ferrara
Romagna
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Genoa
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Nice
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Spezia
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Pisa
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Florence
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Leghorn
Marseilles
Toulon
Tuscany
Siena
Cortona
Perugia
C. Corso
Elba
Orbetello
Orvieto
Patrimony
VI
Civitavecchia
ROM
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Corsica
Ajaccio
Tyrrhenian
Caprera
G. of Terranova
Sassari
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Sardinia
Cagliari
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C.
Trap
Marsal
Tunis
Par
6
8
10
12

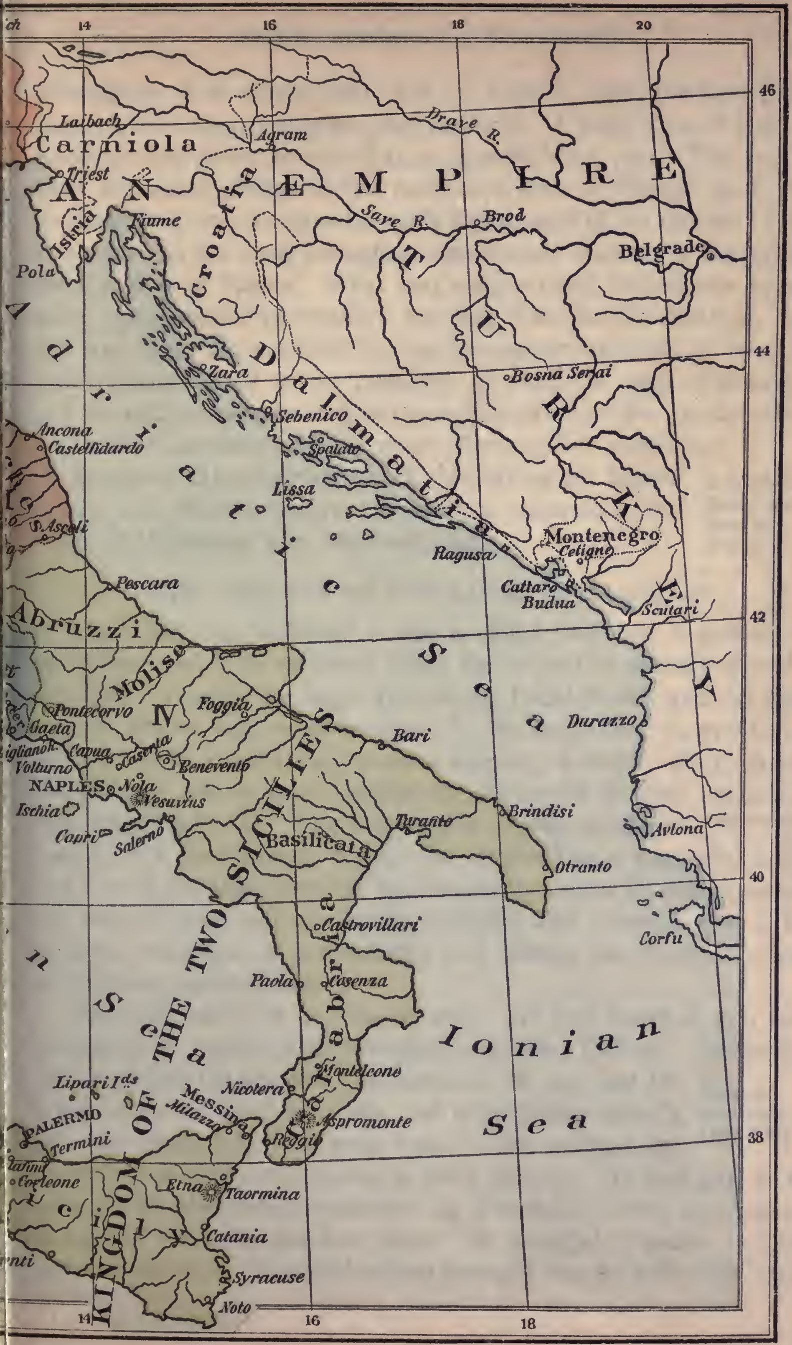
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Scale of English Miles

0 20 40 60 80 100

REFERENCE

- I Aquired by Sardinia, by Treaty of Zurich, Nov. 10th 1859.
- II Annexation to Sardinia, voted by Plébiscites, Mar. 11, & 12, 1860.
- III Annexation to Sardinia, voted by Plébiscites, Nov. 4, & 5, 1860.
- IV Annexation to Sardinia, voted by Plébiscites, Oct. 21st, 1860
- V Annexation to Kingdom of Italy; Voted by Plébiscites, Oct. 21, & 22, 1866.
- VI Annexation to Kingdom of Italy, Voted by Plebiscite, Oct. 2, 1870.
- VII Ceded to France, March, 1860.
- VIII Ceded to France, March, 1860.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Laibach
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Drave R.
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Croatia
E M P I R E
Save R.
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Belgrade
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T U R K E Y
Adriatic Sea
Zara
Dalmatia
Bosna Serai
Sebenico
Ancona
Castelfidardo
Spalato
Lissa
Ascoli
Montenegro
Cetigne
Ragusa
Cattaro
Budua
Scutari
Pescara
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Caserta
Benevento
Volturno
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Nola
Vesuvius
Ischia
Capri
Salerno
Brindisi
Taranto
Basilicata
Avlona
Otranto
Castrovillari
Corfu
Calabria
Paola
Cosenza
Ionian Sea
Monteleone
Lipari Ids
Nicotera
Messina
Milazzo
Aspromonte
PALERMO
Termini
Reggio
lafimi
Corleone
Etna
Taormina
Sicily
Catania
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Syracuse
Noto
n Sea
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES

sovereignty thus offered him, and on April 2, 1860, the first parliament of the enlarged kingdom met in Turin. A small state of less than 5,000,000 had grown to one of 11,000,000 within a year. This was the most important change in the political system of Europe since 1815. As far as Italy was concerned it made waste paper of the treaties of 1815. It constituted the most damaging breach made thus far in the work of the Congress of Vienna. What that congress had decided was to be a mere "geographical expression" was now a nation in formation. And this was being accomplished by the triumphant assertion of two principles utterly odious to the monarchs of 1815, the right of revolution and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies for themselves, for these annexations were the result of war and of plebiscites.

Cession of Savoy and Nice to France

Napoleon III acquiesced in all this, taking for himself Savoy and Nice in return for services rendered. The Peace of Villafranca was never enforced.

THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES

Much had been achieved in the eventful year just described, but much remained to be achieved before the unification of Italy should be complete. Venetia, the larger part of the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples still stood outside. In the last, however, events now occurred which carried the process a long step forward. Early in 1860 the Sicilians rose in revolt against the despotism of their new king, Francis II. This insurrection created an opportunity for a man already famous but destined to a wonderful exploit and to a memorable service to his country, Giuseppe Garibaldi, already the most popular military leader in Italy, and invested with a half mythical character of invincibility and daring, the result of a very spectacular, romantic career.

The Sicilian Insurrection

Giuseppe Garibaldi, 1807-1882

Garibaldi was born at Nice in 1807. He was therefore two years younger than Mazzini and three years older than Cavour. Destined by his parents for the priesthood he preferred the sea, and for many years he lived a roving and adventurous sailor's life. He early joined "Young Italy." His military experience was chiefly in irregular, guerilla fighting. He took part in the unsuccessful insurrection organized by Mazzini in Savoy in 1834, and as a result was condemned to death. He managed to escape to South America where, for the next fourteen years, he was an exile. He participated in the abundant wars of the South American states with the famous "Italian Legion," which he organized and commanded. Learning of the uprising of 1848 he returned to Italy, though still under the penalty of death, and immediately thousands flocked to the standard of the "hero of Montevideo" to fight under him against the Austrians. After the failure of that campaign he went, in 1849, to Rome to assume the military defense of the republic. When the city was about to fall he escaped with four thousand troops, intending to attack the Austrian power in Venetia. French and Austrian armies pursued him. He succeeded in evading them, but his army dwindled away rapidly and the chase became so hot that he was forced to escape to the Adriatic. When he landed later, his enemies were immediately in full cry again, hunting him through forests and over mountains as if he were some dangerous game. It was a wonderful exploit, rendered tragic by the death in a farmhouse near Ravenna, of his wife Anita, who was his companion in the camp as in the home, and who was as high-spirited, as daring, as courageous as he. Garibaldi finally escaped to America and began once more the life of an exile. But his story, shot through and through with heroism and chivalry and romance, moved the Italian people to unwonted depths of enthusiasm and admiration.

The defense of Rome

For several years Garibaldi was a wanderer, sailing the seas, commander of a Peruvian bark. For some months, indeed, he was a candle maker on Staten Island, but in 1854 he returned to Italy and settled down as a farmer on the little island of Caprera. But the events of 1859 once more brought him out of his retirement. Again, as a leader of volunteers, he plunged into the war against Austria and immensely increased his reputation. He had become the idol of soldiers and adventurous spirits from one end of Italy to the other. Multitudes were ready to follow in blind confidence wherever he might lead. His name was one to conjure with. There now occurred, in 1860, the most brilliant episode of his career, the Sicilian expedition and the campaign against the Kingdom of Naples. For Garibaldi, the most redoubtable warrior of Italy, whose very name was worth an army, now decided on his own account to go to the aid of the Sicilians who had risen in revolt against their king, Francis II of Naples.

Leader of "The Hunters of the Alps"

Determines to go to Sicily

On May 5, 1860, the expedition of "The Thousand," the "Red

The Expedition of "The Thousand"

Shirts," embarked from Genoa in two steamers. These were the volunteers, nearly 1,150 men, whom Garibaldi's fame had caused to rush into the new adventure, an adventure that seemed at the moment one of utter folly. The King of Naples had 24,000 troops in Sicily and 100,000 more on the mainland. The odds against success seemed overwhelming. But fortune favored the brave. After a campaign of a few weeks, in which he was several times in great danger, and was only saved by the most reckless fighting, Garibaldi stood master of the island, helped by the Sicilian insurgents, by volunteers who had flocked from the mainland, and by the incompetency of the commanders of the Neapolitan troops. Audacity had won the victory. He assumed the position of Dictator in Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel II (August 5, 1860).

GARIBALDI
From a photograph.

Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples

Garibaldi now crossed the straits to the mainland determined to conquer the entire Kingdom of Naples (August 19, 1860). The King still had an army of 100,000 men, but it had not even the strength of a frail reed. There was practically no bloodshed. The Neapolitan Kingdom was not overthrown; it collapsed. Treachery, desertion, corruption did the work. On September 6th, Francis II left

Naples for Gaeta and the next day Garibaldi entered it by rail with only a few attendants, and drove through the streets amid a pandemonium of enthusiasm. In less than five months he had conquered a kingdom of 11,000,000 people, an achievement unique in modern history.

Garibaldi plans to attack Rome

Garibaldi now began to talk of pushing on to Rome. To Cavour the situation seemed full of danger. Rome was occupied by a French garrison. An attack upon it would almost necessarily mean an attack upon France. Cavour therefore decided to intervene, to take the direction of events out of the hands of Garibaldi, and to guide the future evolution himself. At his instance therefore Victor Emmanuel led an army into the Papal States. But he did not lead it to Rome as he knew that Napoleon III, because of the strong Catholic feeling in France, would not permit him to annex the Papal capital. Napoleon, however, was willing that he should annex the Marches and Umbria, which were parts of the Pope's possessions. Only the city of Rome and the country round about it must not be touched.

Victor Emmanuel II
From the engraving by Metzmacher.

Intervention of Piedmont

Victor Emmanuel's army defeated the Papal troops at Castelfidardo (September 18, 1860). It then entered the territory of Naples. On November 7th, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi drove together through the streets of Naples. The latter refused all rewards and honors and with only a little money and a bag of seed beans for the spring planting sailed away to his farm on the island of Caprera.

Victor Emmanuel completed the conquest which Garibaldi had alone carried so far. The people in the Marches, Umbria, and the Kingdom of Naples voted overwhelmingly in favor of annexation to the new Kingdom of Italy, which had been created in this astonishing fashion.

The annexation of Naples, Umbria, and the Marches

On the 18th of February, 1861, a new Parliament, representing all Italy except Venetia and Rome, met in Turin. The Kingdom of Sardinia now gave way to the Kingdom of Italy, proclaimed on March 17. Victor Emmanuel II was declared "by the grace of God and the will of the nation, King of Italy."

The Kingdom of Italy proclaimed

A new kingdom, comprising a population of about twenty-two millions, had arisen during a period of eighteen months, and now took its place among the powers of Europe. But the Kingdom of Italy was still incomplete. Venetia was still Austrian and Rome was still subject to the Pope. The acquisition of these had to be postponed.

Nevertheless, Cavour felt that "without Rome there was no Italy." He was working on a scheme which he hoped might reconcile the Pope and the Catholic world everythere to the recognition of Rome as the capital of the new kingdom, when he suddenly fell ill. Overwork, the extraordinary pressure under which he had for months been laboring, brought on insomnia; finally fever developed and he died on the morning of June 6th, 1861, in the very prime of life, for he was only fifty-one years of age.

Death of Cavour

"Cavour," said Lord Palmerston, in the British House of Commons, "left a name 'to point a moral and adorn a tale.' The moral was, that a man of transcendent talent, indomitable industry, inextinguishable patriotism, could overcome difficulties which seemed insurmountable, and confer the greatest, the most inestimable benefits on his country. The tale with which his memory would be associated was the most extraordinary, the most romantic, in the annals of the world. A people which had seemed dead had arisen to new and vigorous life, breaking the spell which bound it, and showing itself worthy of a new and splendid destiny."

Throughout his life Cavour remained faithful to his fundamental political principle, government by parliament and by constitutional forms. Urged at various times to assume a dictatorship he replied that he had no confidence in dictatorships. "I always feel strongest," he said, "when Parliament is sitting." "I cannot betray my origin, deny the principles of all my life," he wrote in a private letter not intended for the public. "I am the son of liberty and to her I owe all that I am. If a veil is to be placed on her statue, it is not for me to do it."

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CHAPTER XIX

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Reaction in Germany after 1849

In 1848 and 1849 the liberal elements of Germany had made an earnest effort to achieve national unity but the work of the Parliament of Frankfort had been rejected by the sovereigns of the leading states and had been rendered null and void. The old Confederation was restored, resuming its sessions in May, 1851. A period of reaction in Germany began again, even more far-reaching in its scope than that which had followed the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Austria and Prussia took the lead in the familiar work of oppression.

Prussia given a constitution

One gain had been made in the turbulent year. The King of Prussia had granted a constitution and created a Parliament. Like the King of Piedmont he refused to abolish the constitution. Unlike the latter, however, he did not at all intend that the creation of a Parliament should mean the introduction of the English parliamentary system, with parliament, representing the people, the dominant authority in the state. The constitutional development of Piedmont and Prussia, starting at the same time, was to be utterly different. In passing from Italy to Germany we enter another atmosphere. In Piedmont, as we have seen, the constitution was honestly and vigorously applied and yielded its legitimate fruit in the political education of the people. Cavour believed that the free discussion of parliament was a safer and wiser guide than the autocratic determination of a monarch. Liberty was his ideal from which he never swerved, though it would often have been convenient for him if he had. On the other hand the King of Prussia did not propose to divide his power with any assembly. The assembly had no control over the ministry.

Prussia not a parliamentary state

While Prussia preserved her constitution the ministers developed great skill in really nullifying it, though pretending to maintain it. The government of Prussia was, after 1848 as before, a scarcely veiled autocracy. Reaction of the old, classic style was the order of the day. The press was not free. Public meetings might be held only by those favorable to the government. The police were active and unscrupulous.

A change came over Prussia, though not in the direction of free institutions and the development of a free public life, with the beginning of a reign, destined to prove most illustrious, that of William I.

William I
From a photograph taken in 1870.

William I (1797-1888)

William became King of Prussia in 1861. He was the son of the famous Queen Louise, was born in 1797, and had served in the campaign against Napoleon in 1814. He was now sixty-four years old. His mind was in no sense brilliant but was slow, solid, and sound. His entire lifetime had been spent in the army, which he loved passionately. In military matters his thorough knowledge and competence were recognized. He believed that Prussia's destinies were dependent upon her army. The army was necessary for his purpose which was to put Prussia at the head of Germany. "Whoever wishes to rule Germany must conquer it," he wrote in 1849, "and that cannot be done by phrases."

Army reform

William believed that the Prussian army needed strengthening, and he brought forward a plan that would nearly double it. He demanded the necessary appropriations of Parliament, which declined to grant them. A bitter and prolonged controversy arose between the Crown and the Chamber of Deputies, each side growing stiffer as the contest proceeded. The King was absolutely resolved not to abate one jot or tittle from his demands. On the other hand the Chamber persisted in asserting its control over the purse, as the fundamental power of any Parliament that intends to count for anything in the state. A deadlock ensued. The King was urged to abolish Parliament altogether. This he would not do because he had sworn to support the constitution which established it. He thought of abdicating. He never thought of abandoning the reform. He had written out his abdication and signed it, and it was lying upon his desk when he at last consented to call to the ministry as a final experiment a new man, known for his boldness, his independence, his devotion to the monarchy, Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck was appointed President of the Ministry September 23, 1862; on that very day the Chamber rejected anew the credits asked for by the King for the new regiments. The conflict entered upon its most acute phase and a new era began for Prussia and for the world.

Opposition of the Chamber

Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen (1815-1898)

In this interview Bismarck told the King frankly that he was willing to carry out his policy whether Parliament agreed to it or not. "I will rather perish with the King," he said, "than forsake your Majesty in the contest with parliamentary government." His boldness determined the King to tear up the paper containing his abdication and to continue the struggle with the Chamber of Deputies.

The man who now entered upon the stage of European politics was one of the most original and remarkable characters of his century. Born in 1815, he came of a noble family in Brandenburg and was an aristocrat to his finger tips. Receiving a university education, he entered the civil service of Prussia, only to leave it shortly, disgusted by its monotony. He then settled upon his father's estate as a country squire. Unlike Cavour in Italy, Bismarck was enraged when the King granted a constitution to Prussia in 1850. While Cavour saw in England the model of what he wished his own country to become, Bismarck said, "The references to England are our misfortune." Bismarck's political ideas centered in his ardent belief in the Prussian monarchy. It had been the Prussian kings, not the Prussian people, who had made Prussia great. This, the great historic fact, must be preserved. What Prussian kings had done, they still would do. A reduction of royal power would only be damaging to the state. Bismarck was the uncompromising foe of the attempts made in 1848 to achieve

Bismarck's previous career

Bismarck's political opinions

German unity, because he thought that it should be the princes and not the people who should determine the institutions and destinies of Germany. He hated democracy as he hated parliaments and constitutions.

His hatred of democracy

"I look for Prussian honor in Prussia's abstinence before all things from every shameful union with democracy," he said. In 1851 Bismarck was appointed Prussian delegate to the Diet in Frankfort where for the next eight years he studied and practised the art of diplomacy, in which he was later to win many sweeping victories. He made the acquaintance of all the important statesmen and politicians of Germany and studied their characters and ambitions. He became strongly anti-Austrian in his sentiments. As early as 1853 he told his government that there was not room in Germany for both Prussia and Austria, that one or the other must bend. His utterances and attitudes became more and more irritating to Austria. Consequently King William, wishing to continue on good relations with the latter power, appointed him in 1859 ambassador to St. Petersburg, or, as Bismarck put it, sent him "to cool off on the banks of the Neva." Later he was, for a short time, ambassador to France.

Such was the man, who, in 1862 at the age of forty-seven, accepted the position of President of the Prussian Ministry at a time when King and Parliament confronted each other in angry deadlock, and when no other politician would accept the leadership. For four years, from 1862 to 1866, the conflict continued. The Constitution was not abolished, Parliament was called repeatedly, the Lower House voted year after year against the budget, supported in this by the voters, the Upper House voted for it, and the King acted as if this made it legal. The period was one of virtual dictatorship and real suspension of parliamentary life. The King continued to collect the taxes, the army was thoroughly reorganized and absolutely controlled by the authorities, and the Lower House had no mode of opposition save the verbal one, which was entirely ineffective.

The period of conflict

Thus the increase in the army was secured. But an army is a mere means to an end. The particular end that Bismarck had in view was the creation of Germany unity by means of Prussia and for the advantage of Prussia. There must be no absorption of Prussia in Germany, as there had been of Piedmont in Italy, Piedmont as a separate state entirely disappearing. And in Bismarck's opinion this unity could only be achieved by war.

Army reform carried through

He boldly denied in Parliament the favorite theory of the Liberals, that Prussia was to be made great by a liberal, free, parliamentary government, by setting an example of progressiveness, as Piedmont had done, which would rally Germans in other states about her, rather than about their own governments. In what was destined to be the most famous speech of his life he declared in 1863 that what Germans cared about was not the liberalism of Prussia but her power. Prussia must concentrate her forces and hold herself ready for the favorable moment. "Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided — that was the great blunder of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron," in other words the army, not Parliament, would determine the future of Prussia.

BISMARCK
From a photograph.

"Blood and iron" policy

This "blood and iron" policy was bitterly denounced by Liberals, but Bismarck ignored their criticisms and shortly found a chance to begin its application.

Prussia's three wars

The German Empire is the result of the policy of blood and iron as carried out by Prussia in three wars which were crowded into the brief period of six years, the war with Denmark in 1864, with Austria in 1866, and with France in 1870, the last two of which were largely the result of Bismarck's will and his diplomatic ingenuity and unscrupulousness, and the first of which he exploited consummately for the advantage of Prussia.

The first of these grew out of one of the most complicated questions that have ever perplexed diplomatists and statesmen, the future of Schleswig and Holstein. These were two duchies in the Danish peninsula, which is itself simply an extension of the great plain of northern Germany. Holstein was inhabited by a population of about 600,000, entirely German; Schleswig by a population of from 250,000 to 300,000 Germans and 150,000 Danes. These two duchies had for centuries been united with Denmark, but they did not form an integral part of the Danish Kingdom. Their relation to Denmark was personal, arising from the fact that a Duke of Schleswig and Holstein had become King of Denmark, just as an Elector of Hanover had become a King of England. Holstein was a member of the German Confederation, but Schleswig was not. The Germans in Schleswig wished to bring about its admission to the Confederation but the Danes objected and in 1863 declared Schleswig incorporated in Denmark.

The Schleswig-Holstein question

There are other elements in the tangle which it is unnecessary to explain as the question of Schleswig and Holstein was not decided at all on its merits, was not decided as either the Danish or the German people wished it to be. Bismarck saw in the situation a chance for a possible aggrandizement of Prussia and a chance for a quarrel with Austria, both things which he desired for the greater glory of his country. He induced Austria to coöperate with Prussia in settling the Schleswig-Holstein question. The two powers delivered an ultimatum to Denmark allowing that country only forty-eight hours in which to comply with their demands. The Danes, not complying, Prussia and Austria immediately declared war. A war between one small state and two large ones could not be doubtful. Sixty thousand Prussians and Austrians invaded Denmark in February, 1864, and though their campaign was not brilliant, they easily won, and forced Denmark to cede the two duchies to them jointly (October, 1864). They might make whatever disposition of them they chose to.

Prussia and Austria make war on Denmark

But they could not agree. Austria wished them admitted together as an additional state of the German Confederation and the people of Germany were overwhelmingly in favor of this arrangement. But Bismarck's ideas were very different. He did not care for another German state. There were too many already, and this one would only be another enemy of Prussia and ally of Austria. Moreover, Bismarck wished to annex the duchies wholly or in part to Prussia. He desired aggrandizement in general, but this particular addition would be especially advantageous, as it would

Friction between Prussia and Austria

lengthen the coast line of Prussia, would bring with it several good harbors, notably Kiel, and would enable Prussia to expand commercially.

Thus the two powers were at variance over the disposition of their spoils. The situation was one that exactly suited Bismarck. Out of it he hoped to bring about the war with Austria which he had desired for the past ten years as being the only means whereby German unity could be achieved by Prussia and for Prussia's advantage. There was not room enough in Germany, he thought, for both powers. That being the case, he wished the room for Prussia. The only way to get it was to take it. As Austria had no inclination gracefully to yield, there would have to be a fight. Both began to arm.

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866

Finally war broke out in June, 1866. Bismarck had thus brought about his dream of a conflict between peoples of the same race to determine the question of control. It proved to be one of the shortest wars in history, one of the most decisive, and one whose consequences were most momentous. It is called the Seven Weeks' War. It began June 16, 1866, was virtually decided on July 3d, was brought to a close before the end of that month by the preliminary Peace of Nikolsburg, July 26, which was followed a month later by the definitive Peace of Prague, August 23. Prussia had no German allies of any importance. Several of the North German states sided with her, but these were small and their armies were unimportant. On the other hand, Austria was supported by the four kingdoms, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover; also by Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and Baden. But Prussia had one important ally, Italy, without whose aid she might not have won the victory. Italy was to receive Venetia, which she coveted, if Austria were defeated. The Prussian army, however, was better prepared. For years the rulers of Prussia had been preparing for war, perfecting the army down to the minutest detail, and with scientific thoroughness, and when the war began it was absolutely ready. Moreover, it was directed by a very able leader, General von Moltke.

Prussia conquers North Germany

Prussia had many enemies. Being absolutely prepared, as her enemies were not, she could assume the offensive, and this was the cause of her first victories. War began June 16. Within three days Prussian troops had occupied Hanover, Dresden, and Cassel, the capitals of her three North German enemies. A few days later the Hanoverian army was forced to capitulate. The King of Hanover and the Elector of Hesse were taken prisoners of war. All North Germany was now controlled by Prussia, and within two weeks of the opening of the war she was ready to attempt the great plan of Moltke, an invasion of Bohemia. The rapidity of the campaign struck Europe with amazement.

The battle of Königgrätz or Sadowa

Moltke sent three armies by different routes into Bohemia, and on July 3, 1866, one of the great battles of history, that of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, was fought. Each army numbered over 200,000, the Prussians outnumbering the Austrians, though not at the beginning. Since the battle of Leipsic in 1813, so many troops had not been engaged in a single conflict. King William, Bismarck, and Moltke took up their position on a hill, whence they could view the scene. The battle was long and doubtful. Beginning early in the morning, it continued for hours, fought with terrific fury, the Prussians making no advance against the Austrian artillery. Up to two o'clock it seemed an Austrian victory, but with the arrival of the Prussian Crown Prince with his army the issue was turned, and at half-past three the Austrians were beaten and their retreat began. They had lost over forty thousand men, while the Prussian loss was about ten thousand. The Prussian army during the next three weeks advanced to within sight of the spires of Vienna.

MOLTKE.
From the painting by Lenbach.

On June 24 the Austrians had been victorious over the Italians at Custozza. Yet the Italians had helped Prussia by detaining eighty thousand Austrian troops, which, had they been at Königgrätz, would probably have turned the day. The Italian fleet was also defeated by the Austrian at Lissa, July 20.

Results of the Austro-Prussian War

The results of the Seven Weeks' War were momentous. Fearing the intervention of Europe, and particularly that of France, which was threatened, and which might rob the victory of its fruits, Bismarck wished to make peace at once, and consequently offered lenient terms to Austria. She was to cede Venetia to Italy but was to lose no other territory. She was to withdraw from the German Confederation, which, indeed, was to cease to exist. She was to allow Prussia to organize and lead a new confederation, composed of those states which were north of the river Main. The South German states were left free to act as they chose. Thus Germany, north of the Main, was to be united.

Annexations to Prussia

Having accomplished this, Prussia proceeded to make important annexations to her own territory. The Kingdom of Hanover, the Duchies of Nassau and Hesse-Cassel, and the free city of Frankfort, as well as the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, were incorporated in the Prussian kingdom. Her population was thereby increased by over four and a half million new subjects, and thus was about twenty-four million. There was no thought of having the people of these states vote on the question of annexation, as had been done in Italy, and in Savoy and Nice. They were annexed forthwith by right of military conquest. Reigning houses ceased to rule on order from Berlin. Unwisely for themselves European nations allowed the swift consummation of these changes, which altered the balance of power and the map of Europe — a mistake which France in particular was to repent most bitterly. "I do not like this dethronement of dynasties," said the Czar, but he failed to express his dislike in action.

The North German Confederation (1867–1871)

The North German Confederation, which was now created, included all of Germany north of the river Main, twenty-two states in all. The constitution was the work of Bismarck. There was to be a president of the Confederation, namely the King of Prussia. There was to be a Federal Council (Bundesrath), composed of delegates sent by the sovereigns of the different states, to be recalled at their pleasure, to vote as they dictated. Prussia was always to have seventeen votes out of the total forty-three. In order to have a majority she would have to gain only a few adherents from the other states, which she could easily do.

There was also to be a Reichstag, elected by the people. This was Bismarck's concession to the Liberals. Of the two bodies the Reichstag was much the less important. The people were given a place in the new system, but a subordinate one.

The new constitution went into force July 1, 1867. This North German Confederation remained in existence only four years when it gave way to the present German Empire, one of the results of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

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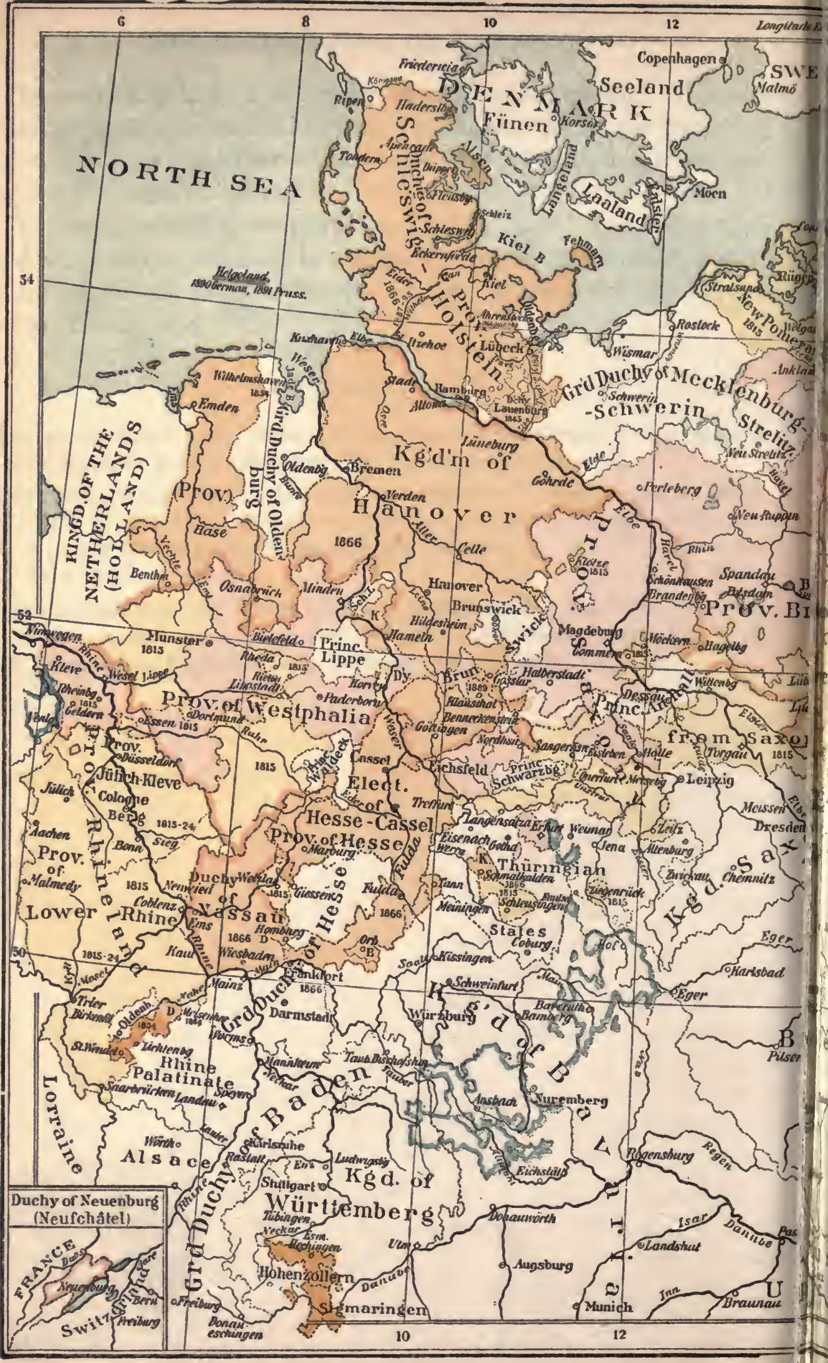
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Longitude E
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NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Seeland
SWE
Malmö
Fünen
Korsör
Langeland
Laaland
Falster
Moen
Fridericia
Königsau
Ripen
Hadersleben
Apenrade
Tondern
Düppel
Alsen
Flensburg
Duchies of Schleswig
Schleswig
Schlei
Eckernförde
Kiel B
Fehmarn
Eider 1866
Prov. Holstein
Kiel
Heligoland 1890 German, 1891 Pruss.
Cuxhaven
Elbe
Itzehoe
Lübeck
Hamburg
Altona
Stade
Lauenburg 1865
Wismar
Rostock
Stralsund
Rügen
New Pomerania 1815
Anklam
Grd Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin
Schwerin
Strelitz
Neu Strelitz
Havel
Wilhelmshaven 1854
Jade B.
Weser
Emden
Ems
Grd Duchy of Oldenburg
Oldenbg.
Bremen
Hunte
KINGD. OF THE NETHERLANDS (HOLLAND)
(Prov.)
Hase
Vechte
Benthm
Kg'd'm of Hanover
Lüneburg
Göhrde
Verden
1866
Celle
Aller
Elbe
Perleberg
Neu Ruppin
Rhin
Klötze 1815
Prov. Saxony
Schönhausen
Brandenbg
Spandau
Potsdam
Prov. Br
Osnabrück
Minden
Hanover
Brunswick
Leine
Hildesheim
Hameln
Schl.
K
Magdeburg
Möckern
Hagelbg
Nimwegen
Rhine
Kleve
Wesel
Lippe
Münster 1815
Bielefeld
Princ. Lippe
Rheda
Rietbg
Lippstadt
Horvey
Dy.
Paderborn
Brun.
Goslar
1889
Halberstadt
Klausthal
Blankenburg
Dessau
Princ. Anhalt
Wittenbg
Elster
Rheinbg 1815
Geldern
Venlo
Prov. of Westphalia
Essen 1815
Dortmund
Ruhr
Weser
Göttingen
Nordhsn.
Sangerhsn.
Eisleben
Saale
Halle
Torgau
1815
from Saxony
Prov.
Düsseldorf
Jülich-Kleve
Jülich
Cologne
Berg 1815-24
1815
Princ. Waldeck
Cassel
Elect. of Hesse-Cassel
Eder
Eichsfeld
Treffurt
Princ. Schwarzbg
Querfurt
Merseburg
Unstrut
Leipzig
Meissen
Dresden
Aachen
Bonn
Sieg
Prov. of Hesse
Marburg
Fulda
Langensalza
Erfurt
Weimar
Jena
Eisenach
Gotha
Werra
K.
Thüringian States
Schmalkalden 1866
Zeitz
Altenburg
Zwickau
Chemnitz
Kgd. of Saxony
Prov. of Malmedy
Lower Rhine
Rhineland
1815
Neuwied
Coblenz
Ems
Duchy of Nassau
Wetzlar
Giessen 1815
Grd Duchy of Hesse
Tann
Meiningen
1815 Schleusingen
Ranis
Ziegenrück 1815
Coburg
Hof
Eger
Karlsbad
Kau
Rhine
1866 D
Homburg
Wiesbaden
Orb. B
1866
Kissingen
Saale
1815-24
Kyll
Mosel
Trier
Birkenfeld
Oldenb. 1834
D
Meisenheim 1866
Nahe
Mainz
Frankfort 1866
Main
Darmstadt
Grd Duchy
Worms
Kg'd of Bavaria
Schweinfurt
Würzburg
Bamberg
Baireuth
Eger
B
Pilsen
St. Wendel
Lichtenbg
Rhine Palatinate
Saarbrücken
Landau
Speyer
Mannheim
Neckar
Taub. Bischofshm
Tauber
Grd Duchy of Baden
Ansbach
Nuremberg
Lorraine
Wörth
Alsace
Lauter
Karlsruhe
Rastatt
Enz
Ludwigsbg
Kgd. of Württemberg
Stuttgart
Altmühl
Eichstätt
Regensburg
Regen
Rhine
Tübingen
Neckar
Esm.
Hechingen
Hohenzollern
Sigmaringen
Danube
Ulm
Donauwörth
Augsburg
Isar
Landshut
Danube
Pas
Inn
Munich
Braunau
U
Freiburg
Donau-eschingen
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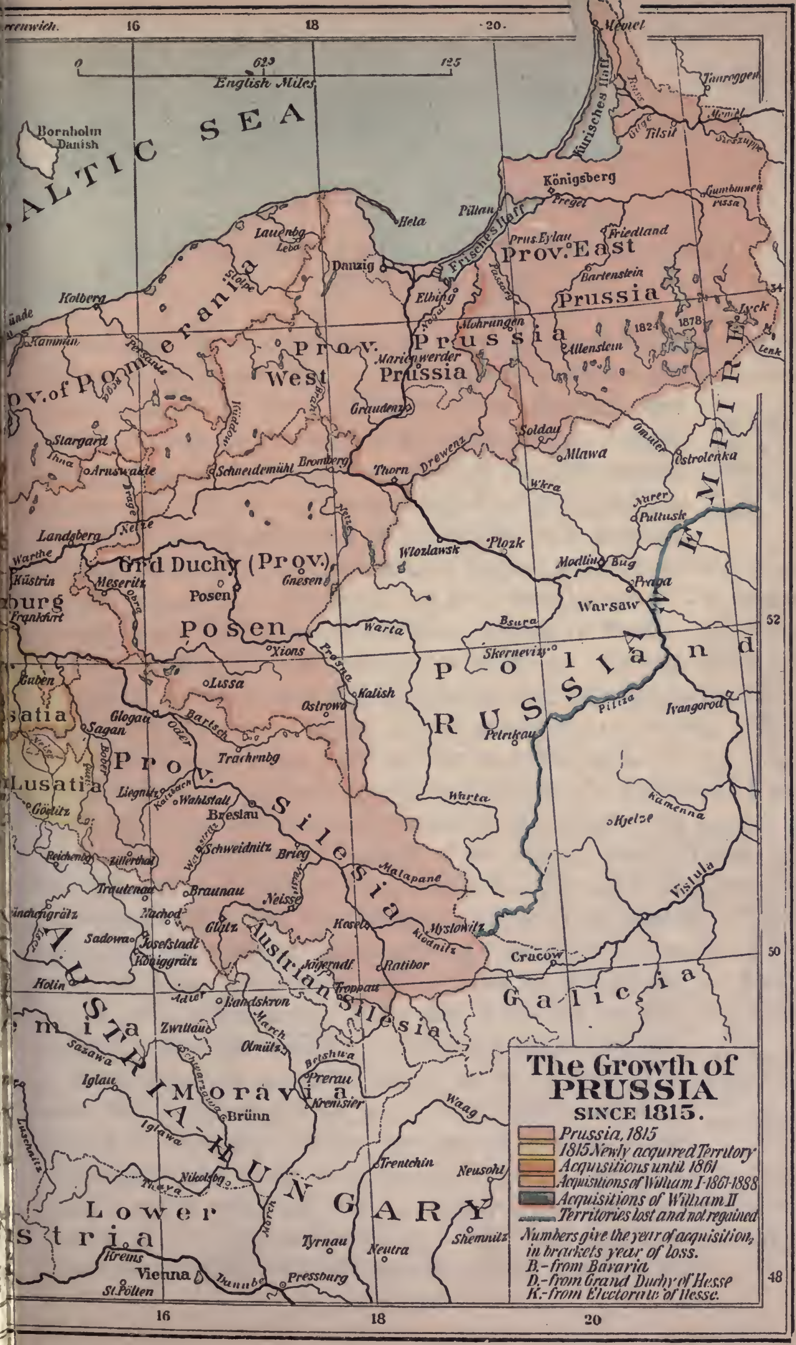
Duchy of Neuenburg (Neufchâtel)
FRANCE
Doubs
Neuenburg
Switzerland
Aare
Bern
Freiburg



Greenwich 16 18 20
0 62½ 125 English Miles
BALTIC SEA
Bornholm Danish
Memel
Kurisches Haff
Tauroggen
Tilsit
Memel
Königsberg
Pregel
Gumbinnen
Pillau
Frisches Haff
Hela
Lauenbg
Leba
Danzig
Elbing
Prus.Eylau
Friedland
Prov. East Prussia
Bartenstein
Lyck
1824
1878
Lenk
54
Kolberg
Kammin
Prov. of Pomerania
Stolpe
Prov. West Prussia
Mohrungen
Marienwerder
Allenstein
Graudenz
Stargard
Arnswalde
Schneidemühl
Bromberg
Thorn
Drewenz
Soldau
Mlawa
Ostrolenka
Pultusk
Wkra
Narew
Landsberg
Netze
Warthe
Küstrin
Meseritz
Grd Duchy (Prov.) Posen
Posen
Gnesen
Wloclawsk
Plozk
Modlin
Bug
Praga
Warsaw
Frankfurt
Xions
Warta
Bsura
Skernevizy
52
Guben
Lusatia
Lissa
Kalish
Ostrowo
Glogau
Sagan
Oder
Bartsch
Trachenbg
Prov. Silesia
Poland
RUSSIA
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Pilitza
Petrikau
Ivangorod
Liegnitz
Wahlstatt
Breslau
Görlitz
Warta
Kamenna
Kjelze
Reichenbg
Zillerthal
Schweidnitz
Brieg
Malapane
Trautenau
Braunau
Neisse
Nachod
Glatz
Kosel
Myslowitz
Vistula
Sadowa
Josefstadt
Königgrätz
Austrian Silesia
Jägerndf.
Ratibor
Crucow
50
Holin
Adler
Landskron
Troppau
Galicia
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Bohemia
Zwittau
March
Olmütz
Sazawa
Betshwa
Prerau
Iglau
Moravia
Kremsier
Brünn
Iglawa
Waag
Trentchin
Neusohl
Nikolsbg
Thaya
Lower Austria
Schemnitz
Tyrnau
Neutra
Krems
Vienna
Danube
Pressburg
St.Pölten
48
16 18 20

The Growth of PRUSSIA SINCE 1815.

- Prussia, 1815
- 1815 Newly acquired Territory
- Acquisitions until 1861
- Acquisitions of William I-1861-1888
- Acquisitions of William II
- Territories lost and not regained

Numbers give the year of acquisition, in brackets year of loss.
B.-from Bavaria
D.-from Grand Duchy of Hesse
K.-from Electorate of Hesse.

CHAPTER XX

THE SECOND EMPIRE AND THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

The year 1866 a turning point in modern history

The year 1866 is a turning point in the history of Prussia, of Austria, of France, of modern Europe. It profoundly altered the historic balance of power. By the decisiveness of the campaign, and by the momentous character of its consequences, Prussia, hitherto regarded as the least important of the great powers, had astounded Europe by the evidence of her strength. She possessed a remarkable army and a remarkable statesman. That both were the most powerful in Europe was not entirely proved, but the feeling was widespread that such was the case. The center of interest in central Europe shifted from Vienna to Berlin. The reputation of Napoleon III was seriously compromised. He had entirely misjudged the situation, had played a feeble and mistaken part, when he might have played one highly advantageous to his country. He had rather welcomed the war between Prussia and Austria. In his opinion, it would be long, exhausting both combatants. At the proper time he could intervene, and from the distress of the rivals could extract gain for France, possibly the left bank of the Rhine, which Prussia might be willing to relinquish in return for aid. His calculation was based upon his belief in the vast military superiority of Austria. The war came, and, contrary to expectation, it was short and swift. Prussia was victorious, not Austria. The battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, July 3, 1866, was decisive. Even then it was not too late for an intervention. Napoleon could have played a commanding part in determining the terms of peace had he threatened to come to the aid of Austria, as Austria desired. Had he refused to recognize the annexations of Prussia unless compensated, he could have secured important additions to France. But his policy was weak and vacillating. Accomplishing nothing for France, he yet irritated Prussia by a half-measure of insisting that the new confederation should not extend south of the river Main.

Napoleon's failure to use his opportunity

Another serious mistake of Napoleon was culminating at this very time, his Mexican policy, a most unnecessary, reckless, and disastrous enterprise. This ill-starred adventure began in an intervention of France, England, and Spain, whose citizens had loaned money to Mexico, the interest on which Mexico now refused to pay. A joint expedition was sent out in December, 1861, to compel the discharge of the financial obligations incurred by that country under treaty arrangements. But by April, 1862, it became clear to Spain and England that France had distinctly other purposes in this affair than those stated in the treaty of alliance. Napoleon's real intentions, shortly apparent, were the overthrow of the republic and the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico under a European prince. The English and Spaniards would give no sanction to such a scheme, and consequently entirely withdrew in April, 1862. The expedition now became one purely French. The question of financial honesty on the part of Mexico was lost sight of, and a war began, a war of aggression, entirely uncalled for, but a war which in the end punished its author more than it did the Mexicans, one of the most dishonorable, as it was one of the most costly and disastrous, for the Second Empire.

The Mexican Expedition

Napoleon was a man of ideas, a man of imagination. Unfortunately his ideas were frequently vast yet vague, his imagination frequently unsound, deceptive. He evidently dreamed of building up a Latin Empire in the New World, under his protection, a sort of bulwark and outpost of the Latin element, designed to hem in the overflowing Anglo-Saxon element. Thus his favorite theory of nationalities would win another victory; also the colonies of Spain and France would be more secure, French commerce would find new outlets, the materials for French industries would be more easily procured. "And," said Napoleon, "we shall have established our beneficent influence in the center of America."

Napoleon's purposes

Mexico was a Republic but there was a faction among the Mexicans which wished to overthrow it. This faction, under French inspiration and direction, held an assembly which decreed that Mexico should henceforth be an Empire and that the imperial crown should be offered to Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria. This assembly represented, perhaps, 350,000 people out of about 7,000,000. It offered a fatal gift. This young prince of thirty-one was of at-

Napoleon overthrows the Mexican Republic

tractive and popular manners, and of liberal ideas. Young, handsome, versatile, half poet, half scientist, he was living in a superb palace, Miramar, overlooking the Adriatic, amid his collections, his objects of art, and with the sea which was his passion always before him. From out of this enchanting retreat he now emerged to become the central figure of a short and frightful tragedy. Mexico lured him to his doom. Influenced by his own ambition and that of his spirited wife, Carlotta, daughter of Leopold I, King of Belgium, and receiving definite promises of French military support until 1867, he accepted the imperial crown and arrived in Mexico in May, 1864.

Disastrous outcome of this adventure

This entire project, born in the brain of Napoleon III, was to prove hopeless from the start, disastrous to all who participated in it, to the new Emperor and Empress, and to Napoleon. The difficulties confronting the new monarch were insuperable. A guerilla warfare was carried on successfully by Juarez, using up the French soldiers and putting them on the defensive. Even the communications of the French army with the sea were seriously threatened. Maximilian at last issued a decree that any enemies taken with arms would be summarily shot — a decree that made him hated by all Mexicans, and that gave to the war a character of extreme atrocity. A greater danger threatened the new empire when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox. The United States had looked from the first with disapprobation upon Napoleon's project. Now that the Civil War was over, she threatened intervention. Napoleon was unwilling to risk a conflict with this country, and consequently promised to withdraw his troops speedily from Mexico. Maximilian could not remain long an Emperor without Napoleon's support. His wife, Carlotta, returning to Europe to persuade Napoleon in frantic personal interviews not to desert them, received no promise of support from the man who had planned the whole adventure, and in the fearful agony of her contemplation of the impending doom of her husband became insane. Maximilian was taken by the Mexicans and shot June 19, 1867. The phantom Empire vanished.

Intervention of the United States

A most expensive enterprise for the French Emperor. It had eaten into the financial resources of his country, already badly disorganized. It had prevented his playing a part in decisive events occurring in central Europe in 1864–66, in the Danish war, and the Austro-Prussian

Discomfiture of Napoleon III

war, the outcome of which was to alter so seriously the importance of France in Europe by the exaltation of an ambitious, aggressive, and powerful military state, Prussia. It had damaged him morally before Europe by the desertion of his protégés to an appalling fate before the threats of the United States. He had squandered uselessly his military resources and had increased the national debt. It has been asserted that the Mexican war was as disastrous for Napoleon III as the Spanish war had been for Napoleon I.

Napoleon makes concessions to the Liberals

Feeling that his popularity was waning Napoleon decided to win over the Liberals, who had hitherto been his enemies, by granting in 1868 certain reforms which they had constantly demanded, larger rights to the Legislative Chamber, greater freedom of the press, the right, under certain conditions, to hold public meetings. The Empire thus entered upon a frankly liberal path. The result was not to strengthen, but greatly to weaken it. Many new journals were founded, in which it was assailed with amazing bitterness. A remarkable freedom of speech characterized the last two years of Napoleon's reign. A movement to erect a monument to a republican deputy, Baudin, who had been shot on the barricades in 1851 at the time of the coup d'état, seemed to the Government to be too insulting. It prosecuted the men who were conducting the subscription. One of these was defended by a brilliant, impassioned young lawyer and orator from the south of France, thirty years of age, who was shortly to be a great figure in politics, a founder of the Third Republic. Gambetta conducted himself not as a lawyer defending his client, but as an avenger of the wrongs of France for the past seventeen years, impeaching bitterly the entire reign of Napoleon III. Particularly did he dwell upon the date of December 2. The coup d'état, he said, was carried through by a crowd of unknown men "without talent, without honor, and hopelessly involved in debts and crimes." "These men pretend to have saved society. Do you save a country when you lay parricidal hands upon it?" The end of this remarkable discourse remains famous: "Listen, you who for seventeen years have been absolute master of France. The thing that characterizes you best, because it is evidence of your own remorse, is the fact that you have never dared to say: 'We will place among the solemn festivals of France, we will celebrate as a national anniversary, the Second of December.' . . . Well! this anni-

Dramatic emergence of Léon Gambetta

versary we will take for ourselves; we will observe it always, always without fail; every year it shall be the anniversary of our dead, until the day when the country, having become master itself once more, shall impose upon you the great national expiation in the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity."

Bitter attacks upon Napoleon III

This address had a prodigious effect. Nothing so defiant, so contemptuous of the Government, had been heard in France since 1851. Though Gambetta's client lost his case, it was generally felt that the Empire emerged from that court-room soundly beaten. It was clear that there was a party in existence bent upon revenge, and willing to use all the privileges a now liberal Emperor might grant, not gratefully, but as a means of completely annihilating the very Empire, a Republican party, aggressive, and growing, already master of Paris, and organizing in the departments.

"Revenge for Sadowa"

Thus clouds were gathering, thicker and ever darker, around the throne of the Third Napoleon. There were domestic troubles, but, in the main, it was the foreign relations that inspired alarm and should have inspired caution. Over these years hung the German peril, the unmistakable challenge that lay in the astonishing success and the aggressive elation of Prussia. That was the sore point. The instinct of the French people saw in the battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, as they called it, a humiliating defeat for France, though it was a battle exclusively between Prussia and Austria, France being no party to the war. The instinct was largely right. At least the Peace of Prague involved and indicated the diminution of the authority and importance of France. For a reorganization so sweeping in central Europe, as the overthrow of Austria, her expulsion from Germany, and the consolidation and aggrandizement of Prussia, a powerful military state, upset the balance of power. A feeling of alarm spread through France. "Revenge for Sadowa," was a cry often heard henceforth. Its meaning was that if one state like Prussia should be increased in area and power, France also, for consenting to it, had a right to a proportionate increase, that the reciprocal relations might remain the same.

From 1866 to 1870 the idea that ultimately a war would come between Prussia and France became familiar to the people and governments of both countries. Many Frenchmen desired "revenge for Sadowa." Prussians were proud and elated at their two successful wars, and intensely conscious of their new position in Europe. The newspapers of both countries during the next four years were full of crimination and recrimination, of abuse and taunt, the Government in neither case greatly discouraging their unwise conduct, at times even inspiring and directing it. Such an atmosphere was an excellent one for ministers who wanted war to work in, and both France and Prussia had just such ministers. Bismarck believed such a war inevitable, and, in his opinion, it was desirable as the only way of completing the unification of Germany, since Napoleon would never willingly consent to the extension of the Confederation to include the South German states. All that he desired was that it should come at precisely the right moment, when Prussia was entirely ready, and that it should come by act of France, so that Prussia could pose before Europe as merely defending herself against a wanton aggressor.

Bismarck regards a war with France as inevitable

With responsible statesmen in such a temper it was not difficult to bring about a war. And yet the Franco-Prussian war broke most unexpectedly, like a thunderstorm, over Europe. Undreamed of July 1, 1870, it began July 15. It came in a roundabout way. The Spanish throne was vacant, as a revolution had driven the monarch, Queen Isabella, out of that country. On July 2, news reached Paris that Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of the King of Prussia, had accepted the Spanish crown. Bismarck was behind this Hohenzollern candidacy, zealously furthering it, despite the fact that he knew Napoleon's feeling of hostility to it. Great was the indignation of the French papers and Parliament and a most dangerous crisis developed rapidly. Other powers intervened, laboring in the interests of peace. On July 12, it was announced that the Hohenzollern candidacy was withdrawn.

The Hohenzollern candidacy

The tension was immediately relieved; the war scare was over. Two men, however, were not pleased by this outcome, Bismarck, whose intrigue was now foiled and whose humiliation was so great that he thought he must resign and retire into private life, and Gramont, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, a reckless, blustering politician who was not satisfied with the diplomatic victory he had won but wished to win another which would increase the discomfiture of Prussia. The French ministry now made an additional demand that the King of Prussia should promise that this Hohenzollern candidacy should never be renewed. The King declined to do so and authorized Bismarck to publish an account of the incident. Here was Bismarck's opportunity which he used ruthlessly and joyously to provoke the French to declare war. His account, as he himself says, was intended to be "a red flag for the Gallic bull." The effect of its publication was instantaneous. It aroused the indignation of both countries to fever heat. The Prussians thought that their King, the French that their ambassador had been insulted. As if this were not sufficient the newspapers of both countries teemed with false, abusive, and inflammatory accounts. The voice of the advocates of peace was drowned in the general clamor. The head of the French ministry declared that he accepted this war "with a light heart." This war declared by France on July 15 grew directly out of mere diplomatic fencing, The French people did not desire it, only the people of Paris. inflamed by an official press. Indeed, until it was declared, the French people hardly knew of the matter of dispute. It came upon them unexpectedly. The war was made by the responsible heads of two Governments. It was in its origin in no sense national in either country. Its immediate occasion was trivial. But it was the cause of a remarkable display of patriotism in both countries.

The Ems despatch

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870

The war upon which the French ministry entered with so light a heart was destined to prove the most disastrous in the history of their country. In every respect it was begun under singularly inauspicious circumstances. France declared war upon Prussia alone, but in a manner that threw the South German states, upon whose support she had counted, directly into the camp of Bismarck. They regarded the French demand, that the King of Prussia should pledge himself for all time to forbid the Prince of Hohenzollern's candidature, as unnecessary and insulting. At once Bavaria and Baden and Würtemberg joined the campaign on the side of Prussia.

South German states join Prussia

The French military authorities made the serious mistake of grossly underestimating the difficulty of the task before them. Incredible lack of preparation was revealed at once. The French army was poorly equipped, and was far inferior in numbers and in the ability of its commanders to the Prussian army. With the exception of a few ineffectual successes the war was a long series of reverses for the French. The Germans crossed the Rhine into Alsace and Lorraine, and succeeded, after several days of very heavy

The Germans invade France

fighting, in shutting up Bazaine, with the principal French army, in Metz, a strong fortress which the Germans then besieged.

The battle of Sedan

On September 1, another French army, with which was the Emperor, was defeated at Sedan and was obliged on the following day to surrender to the Germans. Napoleon himself became a prisoner of war. The French lost, on these two days, in killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, nearly one hundred and twenty thousand men.

The fall of the Empire

Disasters so appalling resounded throughout the world. France no longer had an army; one had capitulated at Sedan; the other was locked up in Metz. The early defeats of August had been announced in Paris by the Government as victories. The deception could no longer be maintained. On September 3 this despatch was received from the Emperor: "The army has been defeated and is captive; I myself am a prisoner." As a prisoner he was no longer head of the government of France; there was, as Thiers said, a "vacancy of power." On Sunday, September 4, the Legislative Body was convened. But it had no time to deliberate. The mob invaded the hall shouting, "Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic!" Gambetta, Jules Favre, and Jules Ferry, followed by the crowd, proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville and there proclaimed the Republic. The Empress fled. A Government of National Defense was organized, with General Trochu at its head, which was the actual government of France during the rest of the war.

The Franco-German war lasted about six months, from the first of August, 1870, when fighting began, to about the first of February, 1871. It falls naturally into two periods, the imperial and the republican. During the first, which was limited to the month of August, the regular armies were, as we have seen, destroyed or bottled up. Then the Empire collapsed and the Emperor was a prisoner in Germany. The second period lasted five months. France, under the Government of National Defense, made a remarkably courageous and spirited defense under the most discouraging conditions.

The Germans, leaving a sufficient army to carry on the siege of Metz, advanced toward Paris. They began the siege of that city on September 19. This siege, one of the most famous in history, lasted four months, and astonished Europe. Immense stores had been collected in the city, the citizens were armed, and the defense was energetic.

The Parisians hoped to hold out long enough to enable new armies to be organized and diplomacy possibly to intervene. To accomplish the former a delegation from the Government of National Defense, headed by Gambetta, escaped from Paris by balloon, and established a branch seat of government first at Tours, then at Bordeaux. Gambetta, by his immense energy, his eloquence, his patriotism, was able to raise new armies, whose resistance astonished the Germans, but as they had not time to be thoroughly trained, they were unsuccessful. They could not break the immense circle of iron that surrounded Paris. After the overthrow of the Empire the war was reduced to the siege of Paris, and the attempts of these improvised armies to break that siege. These attempts were rendered all the more hopeless by the fall of Metz (October 27, 1870). Six thousand officers and 173,000 men were forced by impending starvation to surrender, with hundreds of cannon and immense war supplies, the greatest capitulation "recorded in the history of civilized nations." A month earlier, on September 27, Strassburg had surrendered and 19,000 soldiers had become prisoners of war.

Léon Gambetta
From a photograph.

The fall of Metz

The capitulation of Metz was particularly disastrous because it made possible the sending of more German armies to reënforce the siege of Paris, and to attack the forces which Gambetta was, by prodigies of effort, creating in the rest of France. These armies could not get to the relief of Paris, nor could the troops within Paris break through to them. The siege became simply a question of endurance.

The Germans began the bombardment of the city early in January. Certain sections suffered terribly, and were ravaged by fires. Famine stared the Parisians in the face. After November 20 there was no more

The siege of Paris

beef or lamb to be had; after December 15 only thirty grams of horse meat a day per person, which, moreover, cost about two dollars and a half a pound; after January 15 the amount of bread, a wretched stuff, was reduced to three hundred grams. People ate anything they could get, dogs, cats, rats. The market price for rats was two francs apiece. By the 31st of January, there would be nothing left to eat. Additional suffering arose from the fact that the winter was one of the coldest on record. Coal and firewood were exhausted. Trees in the Champs Elysées and the Bois de Boulogne were cut down, and fires built in the public squares for the poor. Wine froze in casks. On January 28, with famine almost upon her, Paris capitulated after an heroic resistance.

The Treaty of Frankfort

The terms of peace granted by Bismarck were extraordinarily severe. They were laid down in the Treaty of Frankfort, signed May 10, 1871. France was forced to cede Alsace and a large part of Lorraine, including the important fortress of Metz. She must pay an absolutely unprecedented war indemnity of five thousand million francs (a billion dollars) within three years. She was to support a German army of occupation, which should be gradually withdrawn as the installments of the indemnity were paid.

The Treaty of Frankfort has remained the open sore of Europe since 1871. France could never forget or forgive the deep humiliation of it. The enormous fine could, with the lapse of time, have been overlooked, but never the seizure of the two provinces by mere force and against the unanimous and passionate protest of the people of Alsace and Lorraine. Moreover the eastern frontier of France was seriously weakened.

Fall of the Temporal Power

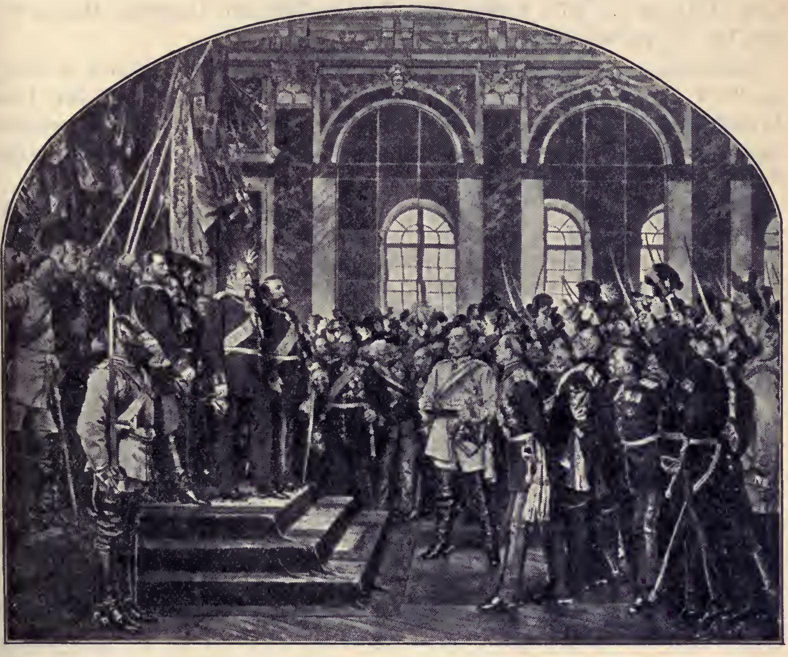
Completion of Italian unification

Meanwhile other events had occurred as a result of this war. Italy had completed her unification by seizing the city of Rome, thus terminating the temporal rule of the Pope. The Pope had been supported there by a French garrison. This was withdrawn as a result of the battle of Sedan, and the troops of Victor Emmanuel attacked the Pope's own troops, defeated them after a slight resistance, and entered Rome on the 20th of September, 1870. The unity of Italy was now consummated and Rome became the capital of the kingdom.

A more important consequence of the war was the completion of the unification of Germany, and the creation of the present German

Completion of German unification

Empire. Bismarck had desired a war with France as necessary to complete the unity of Germany. Whether necessary or not, at least that end was now secured. During the war negotiations were carried on between Prussia and the South German states. Treaties were drawn up and the confederation was widened to include all the German states. On January 18, 1871, in the royal palace of Versailles, King William I was proclaimed German Emperor.



The Proclamation of William I as German Emperor, Versailles, January 18, 1871
From the painting by Anton von Werner.

The war of 1866 had resulted in the expulsion of Austria from Germany and from Italy. The war of 1870 completed the unification of both countries. Berlin became the capital of a federal Empire, Rome of a unified Kingdom.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Constitution of the new German Empire

The Franco-German war completed the unification of Germany. The Empire was proclaimed January 18, 1871, in the old capital of the French monarchy. The constitution of the new state was adopted immediately after the close of the war and went into force April 16, 1871. In most respects it is simply the constitution of the North German Confederation of 1867. The name of Confederation gives way to that of Empire and the name of Emperor is substituted for that of President. But the Empire is a confederation, consisting of twenty-five states and one Imperial Territory, Alsace-Lorraine. The King of Prussia is *ipso facto* German Emperor. The legislative power rests with the Bundesrath, or Federal Council, and the Reichstag. The Emperor declares war with the consent of the Bundesrath, he is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, he has charge of foreign affairs and makes treaties, subject to the limitation that certain kinds of treaties must be ratified by Parliament. He is assisted by a Chancellor, whom he appoints, and whom he removes, who is not responsible to Parliament but to him alone. Under the Chancellor are various secretaries of state, who simply administer departments, but who do not form a cabinet responsible to Parliament.

The Emperor

The Bundesrath or Federal Council

Laws are made by the Bundesrath and the Reichstag. The Bundesrath is the most powerful body in the Empire. It possesses legislative, executive, and judicial functions and is a sort of diplomatic assembly. It represents the states, that is, the rulers of the twenty-five states of which the Empire consists. It is composed of delegates appointed by the rulers. Unlike the Senate of the United States, the states of Germany are not represented equally in the Bundesrath but most unequally. There are fifty-eight members. Of these Prussia has seventeen, Bavaria six, Saxony and Würtemberg four each; others have three or two; and seventeen of the states have only one apiece. The Bundesrath is really the old Diet of Frankfort of 1815, carried over into the new system, with certain changes rendered necessary by the intervening history. The members are really diplomats, representing the numerous sovereigns of Germany. They do not vote individually but each state votes as a unit and as the ruler instructs. Thus the seventeen votes of Prussia are cast always as a unit, on one side or the other, and as the King of Prussia directs. The Bundesrath is not a deliberative body because its members vote according to instructions from the home governments. Its members are not free to vote as they see fit. It is in reality an assembly of the sovereigns of Germany. Its powers are very extensive. It is the most important element of the legislature as most legislation begins in it, its consent is necessary to all legislation, and every law passed by the Reichstag is after that submitted to it for ratification or rejection. It is therefore the chief source of legislation. Representing the princes of Germany, it is a thoroughly monarchical institution, a bulwark of the monarchical spirit. As a matter of fact it is generally controlled by Prussia, although there have been a few cases since 1871 in which the will of Prussia has been overridden. Its proceedings are secret.

The Bundesrath not a deliberative body

The Reichstag is the only popular element in the Empire. It consists of 397 members, elected for a term of five years by the voters, that is, by men twenty-five years of age or older. The powers of the Reichstag are inferior to those of most of the other popular chambers of Europe. It neither makes nor unmakes ministries. While it, in conjunction with the Bundesrath, votes the appropriations, certain ones, notably those for the army, are voted for a period of years. Its consent is required for new taxes, whereas taxes previously levied continue to be collected without the consent of Parliament being secured again. The matters on which Parliament may legislate are those concerning army, navy, commerce, tariffs, railways, postal system, telegraphs, civil and criminal law. On matters not within the jurisdiction of the Empire each state legislates as it chooses. In reality the Reichstag is little more than an advisory body, with the power of veto of new legislation. The mainspring of power is elsewhere — in the Bundesrath and in the Kingdom of Prussia.

The Reichstag

The German Empire is unique among federal governments in that it is a confederation of monarchical states, which, moreover, are very unequal in size and population, ranging from Prussia with a population of 40,000,000, and covering two-thirds of the territory, down to Schaumburg-Lippe, with a population of 45,000. Three members of the Empire are republics: Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg. The rest are monarchies. All have constitutions and legislatures, more or less liberal. This confederation differs from other governments of its class in that the states are of unequal voting power in both houses, one state largely preponderating, Prussia, a fact explained by its great size, its population, and the importance of its historic rôle.

A confederation of monarchical states

The chief representative of the Emperor is the Chancellor. The Chancellor is not like the Prime Minister of England, simply one of the ministers. He stands distinct from and above all federal officials. There is no imperial cabinet in the German Empire, and cabinet, or what is correctly called responsible, government does not exist. The Chancellor is appointed by the Emperor, is removed by the Emperor, is responsible to the Emperor, and is not responsible to either Bundesrath or Reichstag. Either or both assemblies might vote down his proposals, might even vote lack of confidence. It would make no difference to him. He would not resign. The only support he needs is that of the Emperor.

The Chancellor

There are other so-called ministers, such as those of foreign affairs, of the interior, of education. But these are not like the members of the cabinet of the United States or of England. They are subordinates of the Chancellor, carrying out his will, and not for a moment thinking of resigning because of any adverse vote in the popular house, the Reichstag. The powers of the Chancellor are great, but as his tenure is absolutely dependent upon the favor of the Emperor this really means that the power of the Emperor is great and is irresponsible. The Chancellor may be an imposing figure in the state, as Bismarck was; he may be a mere agent of the Emperor, as Bismarck's successors have all been — for the reason that William II, unlike William I, has intended to rule and has really been the Chancellor himself.

This is the most important characteristic of the German Empire. Unlike England, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian states, the cabinet system of government does not exist in Germany. The executive is not subject to the legislative power; ministers may not be turned out of office by adverse majorities. Germany is a constitutional state, in the sense that it has a written constitution. It is not a parliamentary state. Parliament does not have the controlling voice in the state. The monarchs, and particularly the monarch of Prussia, have that. This was Bismarck's great achievement. His victory over the Prussian Parliament had this effect, that it checked the growth of responsible government in Prussia. So far as ensuring self-government, or a large measure of it, to the people of Germany is concerned, the present constitution, largely the work of Bismarck, is much inferior to the constitution framed by the Parliament of Frankfort in 1848.

The parliamentary system does not exist in Germany

Bismarck's crowning triumph over parliamentary institutions

The Emperor gains his great power from the fact that he is King of Prussia. He is Emperor because he is King. As King he has very extensive functions. His functions as Emperor and King are so connected that it is not easy to distinguish them. As a matter of fact the King of Prussia is very nearly an absolute monarch. The Prussian Parliament is far less likely to oppose his will than is the Imperial Parliament which, itself, has shown only slight independence since 1871. There is no parliamentary government in Prussia any more than there is in the Empire.

The great powers of the King of Prussia

Since 1871, Germany has had three Emperors, William I (1871–88), Frederick III (March 9–June 15, 1888), and William II, since 1888.

The history since 1871 naturally falls into two periods, which are in many respects well defined, the reign of William I and the reign of William II. During the former the real ruler was Prince Bismarck, the Chancellor, whose position was one of immense prestige and authority. Having in nine years made the King, whom he found upon the point of abdicating, the most powerful ruler in Europe, and having given Germans unity, he remained the chief figure in the state twenty years longer until his resignation in 1890. During the latter period, the reign of William II, the Emperor has been the real head of the government.

Reign of Emperor William I

THE KULTURKAMPF

No sooner was the new Empire established than it was torn by a fierce religious conflict that lasted many years, the so-called Kulturkampf, "war in defense of civilization," a contest between the State and the Roman Catholic Church. The wars with Austria and France engendered animosity in the field of religion as they were victories of a Protestant state over two strongly Catholic powers. The loss of the Pope's temporal power in 1870 embittered many Catholics still further and a party was formed in Germany, the Center, to work for the restoration of the temporal power and for the general interests of the Church. In the first elections to the Reichstag this party won sixty-three votes. Bismarck did not like this appearance of a clerical party in the political arena. He was of the opinion that the Church should keep out of politics. Moreover, he decidedly objected to what he understood to be the claims of the Church that in certain matters, which he regarded as belonging exclusively to the State, the Church was superior to the secular authority and had the primary right to the allegiance of Catholics.

A religious conflict

The immediate cause of the Kulturkampf was a quarrel among Catholics themselves. The proclamation by the Vatican Council in 1870 of the new dogma of papal infallibility had been opposed in the Council by the German bishops. But they and the priests of Germany were now required to subscribe to it. The large majority did, but some refused. The latter called themselves Old Catholics, proclaiming their adherence to the Church as hitherto defined, but rejecting this addition to their creed as false. The bishops who accepted it demanded that the Old Catholics should be removed from their positions in the universities and schools. The government of Prussia refused to remove them. A religious war was shortly in progress which grew more bitter each year. First the Imperial Parliament forbade the religious orders to engage in teaching; then, in 1872, it expelled the Jesuits from Germany. Of all legislation enacted during this struggle the Falk or May Laws of the Prussian legislature were the most important (passed in May of three successive years, 1873, 1874, 1875). Bismarck supported them on the ground that the contest was political, not religious, that there must be no state within the state, no power considering itself superior to the established authorities. He also believed that the whole movement was conducted by those opposed to Germany unity. Anything that imperiled that unity must be crushed. These May Laws gave the state large powers over the education and appointment of the clergy. They forbade the Roman Catholic Church to intervene in any way in civil affairs, or to coerce

Causes of the Kulturkampf

The Falk laws

citizens or officials; they required that all clergymen should pass the regular state examination of the gymnasium, and should study theology for three years at a state university; that all Catholic seminaries should be subject to state inspection. They also established control over the appointment and dismissal of priests. A law was passed making civil marriage compulsory. This was to reduce the power that priests could exercise by refusing to marry a Catholic and a Protestant, and now even Old Catholics. Religious orders were suppressed.

Conflict of Church and State

Against these laws the Catholics indignantly protested. The Pope declared them null and void; the clergy refused to obey them, and the faithful rallied to the support of the clergy. To enforce them the government resorted to fines, imprisonment, deprivation of salary, expulsion from the country. The conflict spread everywhere, into little villages, as well as into the cities, into the universities and schools. It dominated politics for several years. The national life was much disturbed, yet the end was not accomplished. In the elections of 1877 the Center succeeded in returning ninety-two members, and was the largest party in the Reichstag. It was evident that the policy was a failure. Other questions were becoming prominent, of an economic and social character, and Bismarck wished to be free to handle them. Particularly requiring attention, in his opinion, and that of William I, was a new and most menacing party, the Socialist. Bismarck therefore prepared to retreat. The death of Pius IX in 1878, and the election of Leo XIII, a more conciliatory and diplomatic Pope, facilitated the change of policy. The anti-clerical legislation was gradually repealed, except that concerning civil marriage. In return for the measures surrendered Bismarck gained the support of the Center for laws which he now had more at heart. The only permanent result of this religious conflict was the strengthening of the Center or Catholic party, which has been ever since the strongest party in this Protestant country.

Bismarck's retreat

BISMARCK AND SOCIALISM

The growth of Socialism

It was in 1878 that Bismarck turned his attention to the Socialist party which had for some time been growing, and now seemed menacing. That party was founded by Ferdinand Lassalle, a Socialist of 1848, much influenced by the French school of that day. The party, originally appearing in 1848, was shortly broken up by persecution and did not reappear until 1863. In 1865 Lassalle founded a journal called the *Social Democrat*. In opposition to this party a somewhat different Socialist group was led by Karl Marx. These two were rivals until 1875, when a fusion was effected and the party platform was adopted at Gotha. This platform denounced the existing organization of the economic system, the ownership of the means of production solely by the capitalist class and in its interest; it demanded that the state should own them and should conduct industries in the interest of society, the largest part of which consists of laborers, and that the products of labor should be justly distributed; it aimed at a free state and a socialistic society. Needless to say Germany was neither at that time. That Germany might be a free state the Socialists demanded universal suffrage for all over twenty years of age, women as well as men, secret ballot, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and indeed the greatest extension of political rights in a democratic direction, free and compulsory education, and certain immediate economic and social reforms, such as a progressive income tax, a normal working day, and a free Sunday, prohibition of child labor and of all forms of labor by women which were dangerous to health or morality, laws for the protection of the life and health of workingmen and for the inspection of mines and factories. In 1871 the Socialists elected two members to the Reichstag, three years later their representation increased to nine, and in 1877 to twelve. Their popular votes were: in 1871, 124,655; in 1874, 351,952; and in 1877, 493,288.

Demands of the Socialists

The steady growth of this party aroused the alarm of the ruling classes of Germany, which stood for monarchy, aristocracy, the existing economic system, while its aims were destructive of all these. Bismarck had long hated the Socialists, as was natural considering his training and environment, and considering also the declarations of the Socialists themselves. Their leaders, Liebknecht and Bebel, had opposed the North German Confederation, the war with France, the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. The Socialists expressed openly and freely their entire opposition to the existing order in Germany. It was only a question of time when they must clash violently with the man who had helped so powerfully to create that order, and whose life work henceforth was to consolidate it. Again, the Socialist party was radically democratic, and

Alarm of the ruling classes

Bismarck hated democracy. A conflict between men representing the very opposite poles of opinion was inevitable. Bismarck determined to crush the Socialists once for all. He would use two methods; one stern repression of Socialist agitation, the other amelioration of the conditions of the working class, conditions which alone, he believed, caused them to listen to the false and deceptive doctrines of the Socialist leaders.

Severe measures against the Socialists

First came repression. In October, 1878, a law of great severity, intended to stamp out completely all Socialist propaganda, was passed by the Imperial Parliament. It forbade all associations, meetings, and publications having for their object "the subversion of the social order," or in which "socialistic tendencies" should appear. It gave the police large powers of interference, arrest, and expulsion from the country. Martial law might be proclaimed where desirable, which meant that, as far as Socialists were concerned, the ordinary courts would cease to protect individual liberties. Practically a mere decree of a police official would suffice to expel from Germany anyone suspected or accused of being a Socialist. This law was enacted for a period of four years. It was later twice renewed and remained in force until 1890. It was vigorously applied. According to statistics furnished by the Socialists themselves, 1400 publications were suppressed, 1500 persons were imprisoned, 900 banished, during these twelve years. One might not read the works of Lassalle, for instance, even in a public library.

Their failure

This law, says a biographer of Bismarck, is very disappointing. "We find the Government again having recourse to the same means for checking and guarding opinion which Metternich had used fifty years before."[1] It was, moreover, an egregious failure. For twelve years the Socialists carried on their propaganda in secret. It became evident that their power lay in their ideas and in the economic conditions of the working classes, rather than in formal organizations, which might be broken up. A paper was published for them in Switzerland and every week thousands of copies found their way into the hands of workingmen in Germany, despite the utmost vigilance of the police. Persecution in their case, as in that of the Roman Catholics, only rendered the party more resolute and active. At first it seemed that the law would realize the aims of its sponsors, for in the elections of 1881, the first after its passage, the Socialist vote fell from about 493,000 to about 312,000. But in 1884 it rose to 549,000; in 1887 to 763,000; in 1890 to 1,427,000, resulting in the election of thirty-five members to the Reichstag. In that year the laws were not renewed. The Socialists came out of their contest with Bismarck with a popular and parliamentary vote increased threefold. Bismarck, true to his fundamental belief that difficult opponents are best put down by force, not won by persuasion, had attempted here, as in the Kulturkampf, to settle an annoying question by arbitrary and despotic measures enforced ruthlessly by the police and sacrificing what are regarded in many other countries as the most precious rights of the individual.

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[1] Headlam, *Bismarck*, 409.

Continued growth of the Socialist party

But he had at no time intended to rest content with merely repressive measures. He had also intended to win the working classes away from the Socialist party by enacting certain laws favoring them, by trying to convince them that the State was their real benefactor and was deeply interested in their welfare.

The method by which Bismarck proposed to improve the condition of the working class was by an elaborate and comprehensive system of insurance against the misfortunes and vicissitudes of life, against sickness, accident, old age, and incapacity. It was his desire that any workingman incapacitated in any of these ways should not be exposed to the possibility of becoming a pauper, but should receive a pension from the state. His policy was called State Socialism. His proposals met with vehement opposition, both in the Reichstag and among influential classes outside. It was only slowly that he carried them through, the Sickness Insurance Law in 1883, the Accident Insurance Laws in 1884 and 1885, and the Old Age Insurance Law in 1889. These laws are very complicated and cannot be described here at length.

Various forms of insurance proposed

State Socialism

Such was Bismarck's contribution to the solution of the social question, which grew to such commanding importance as the nineteenth century wore on. In this legislation Bismarck was a pioneer. His ideas have been studied widely in other countries, and his example followed in some.

Bismarck a pioneer

The Socialists did not coöperate with him in the passage of these laws, which they denounced as entirely inadequate to solve the social evils, as only a slight step in the right direction. Nor did Bismarck wish their support. They were Social Democrats. Democracy he hated. Socialism of the state, controlled by a powerful monarch, was one thing. Socialism carried through by the people believing in a democratic government, opposed to the existing order in government and society, a very different thing. At the very moment that Bismarck secured the passage of the Accident Insurance Bill he also demanded the renewal of the law against the Socialists. His prophecy, that if these laws were passed the Socialists would sound their bird call in vain, has not been fulfilled. That party has grown greatly and almost uninterruptedly ever since he began his war upon it.

Not supported by the Socialists

BISMARCK AND THE POLICY OF PROTECTION

In 1879, Bismarck brought about a profound change in the financial and industrial policy of Germany by inducing Parliament to abandon the policy of a low tariff, and comparative free trade, and to adopt a system of high tariff and pronounced protection. His purposes were two-fold. He wished to increase the revenue of the Empire and to encourage native industries. In adopting the principle of protection he was not influenced, he asserted, by the theories of economists, but by his own observation of facts. He observed that, while England was the only nation following a policy of free trade, France and Austria and Russia and the United States were pronounced believers in protection and that it was too much to ask that Germany should permanently remain the dupe of an amiable error. He said that owing to her low tariff Germany had been the dumping ground for the over-production of other countries. Now industries must be protected that they might flourish and that they might have at least the home market. As this policy had proved successful in other countries, notably in the United States, he urged that Germans follow their example.

Bismarck adopts a policy of protection

Bismarck won the day, though not without difficulty. Germany entered upon a period of protection, which, growing higher and applied to more and more industries, has continued ever since. Bismarck believed that Germany must become rich in order to be strong; that she could only become rich by manufactures; and that she could have manufactures only by giving them protection. The system was worked out gradually and piecemeal, as he could not carry his whole plan at once. By means of the tariff Bismarck

The system gradually applied

wished to assure Germans the home market. Not only has that been largely accomplished, but by its means the foreign market also has been widened. By offering concessions to foreign nations for concessions from them, Germany has gained for her manufactured products an entrance into many other countries, which was denied them before. The prodigious expansion of German industry after 1880 is generally regarded in Germany as a vindication of this policy.

ACQUISITION OF COLONIES

The beginning of a colonial empire

One of the important features of the closing years of Bismarck's political career was the beginning of a German colonial empire. In his earlier years Bismarck did not believe in Germany's attempting the acquisition of colonies. In 1871 he refused to demand as prize of war any of the French colonial possessions. He believed that Germany should consolidate, and should not risk incurring the hostility of other nations by entering upon the path of colonial rivalry. But colonies, nevertheless, were being founded under the spirit of private initiative. Energetic merchants from Hamburg and Bremen established trading stations in Africa, and the islands of the Pacific, for the purpose of selling their goods and acquiring tropical products, such as cocoa, coffee, rubber, spices. The aid of the Government was invoked at various times, but Bismarck held aloof. The interest aroused in the exploits of these private companies gave rise towards 1880 to a definite colonial party and the formation of a Colonial Society, which has since become important.

A result of the adoption of the policy of protection

The change in the policy of the Government, however, from one of aloofness to one of energetic participation and acquisition of colonies was largely a result of the adoption of the policy of protection and active governmental encouragement of manufactures and commerce. In the debate on the tariff bill of 1879 Bismarck said that it was desirable to protect manufactures, that thus a greater demand for labor would arise, that more people could live in Germany, and that therefore the emigration which had for years drawn tens of thousands from the country, particularly to the United States, would be decreased. But to develop manufactures to the utmost, Germany must have new markets for her products; and here colonies would be useful. In 1884 he adopted a vigorous colonial policy, supporting and expanding the work of the private merchants and travelers. In that year Germany seized a number of points in Africa, in the southwest, the west, and the east. A period of diplomatic activity began, leading in the next few years to treaties with England and other powers, resulting in the fixing of the boundaries of the various claimants to African territory. This is the partition of Africa described elsewhere.[1] Germany thus acquired a scattered African empire of great size, consisting of Kamerun, Togoland, German Southwest Africa, German East Africa; also a part of New Guinea. Later some of the Samoan Islands came into her possession, and in 1899 she purchased the Caroline and the Ladrone Islands, excepting Guam, from Spain for about four million dollars.

Energetic intervention in Africa

The German colonies

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

While domestic affairs formed the chief concern of Bismarck after the war with France, yet he followed the course of foreign affairs with the same closeness of attention that he had shown before, and manipulated them with the same display of subtlety and audacity that had characterized his previous diplomatic career. His great achievement in diplomacy in these years was the formation of the Triple Alliance, an achievement directed, like all the actions of his career, toward the consolidation and exaltation of his country. The origin of this alliance is really to be found in the Treaty of Frankfort, which sealed the humiliation of France. The wresting from France of Alsace and Lorraine inevitably rendered that country desirous of a war of revenge, of a war for their recovery. This has remained the open sore of Europe since 1871, occasioning numerous, incontestable, and widespread evils. Firmly resolved to keep what he had won, Bismarck's chief consideration was to render such a war hopeless, therefore, perhaps, impossible. France must be isolated so completely that she would not dare to move. This was accomplished, first by the friendly understanding brought about by Bismarck between the three rulers of eastern Europe, the Emperors of Germany, Russia, and Austria. But this understanding was shattered by events in the Balkan peninsula during the years from 1876 to 1878. In the Balkans, Russia and Austria were rivals, and their rivalry was thrown into high relief at the Congress of Berlin over which Bismarck

The Triple Alliance

Isolation of France

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[1] See Chapter XXVIII.

presided. Russia, unaided, had carried on a war with Turkey, and had imposed the Treaty of San Stefano upon her conquered enemy, only to find that Europe would not recognize that treaty, but insisted upon its revision at an international congress, and at that congress she found Bismarck, to whom she had rendered inestimable services in the years so critical for Prussia, from 1863 to 1870, now acting as the friend of Austria, a power which had taken no part in the conflict, but was now intent upon drawing chestnuts from the fire with the aid of the Iron Chancellor. The Treaty of Berlin was a humiliation for Russia and a striking success for Austria, her rival, which was now empowered to "occupy" Bosnia and Herzegovina. No wonder that the Russian Chancellor, Gortchakoff, pronounced the Congress of Berlin "the darkest episode in his career," and that Alexander II declared that "Bismarck had forgotten his promises of 1870." By favoring one of his allies Bismarck had alienated the other. In this fact lay the germ of the two great international combinations of the future, the Triple and Dual Alliances, factors of profound significance in the recent history of Europe.

Austro-German Treaty of 1879

Of these the first in order of creation and in importance was the Triple Alliance. Realizing that Russia was mortally offended at his conduct, and that the friendly understanding with her was over, Bismarck turned for compensation to a closer union with Austria, and concluded a treaty with her October 7, 1879. This treaty provided that if either Germany or Austria were attacked by Russia the two should be bound "to lend each other reciprocal aid with the whole of their military power, and, subsequently, to conclude no peace except conjointly and in agreement"; that if either Germany or Austria should be attacked by another power — as, for instance, France — the ally should remain neutral, but that if this enemy should be aided by Russia, then Germany and Austria should act together with their full military force, and should make peace in common. Thus this Austro-German Treaty of 1879 established a defensive alliance aimed particularly against Russia, to a lesser degree against France. The treaty was secret and was not published until 1887. Meanwhile, in 1882, Italy joined the alliance, irritated at France because of her seizure the year before of Tunis, a country which Italy herself had coveted as a seat for colonial expansion but which Bismarck had encouraged France to

Entrance of Italy into the alliance

take, wishing to make one more enemy for France, and thus to force that enemy, Italy, into the alliance, highly unnatural in many ways, with Austria, her old-time enemy, and with Germany. Thus was formed the Triple Alliance. The text of that alliance has never been published, but its purpose and character may be derived from that of the Austro-German Alliance, which was now merely expanded to include another power. The alliance was made for a period of years, but was constantly renewed and remained in force until 1915. It was a defensive alliance, designed to assure its territory to each of the contracting parties.

Thus was created a combination of powers which dominated central Europe, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and which rested on a military force of over two million men. At its head stood Germany. Europe entered upon a period of German leadership in international affairs which was later to be challenged by the rise of a new alliance, that of Russia and France, which for various reasons, however, was slow in forming.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM II

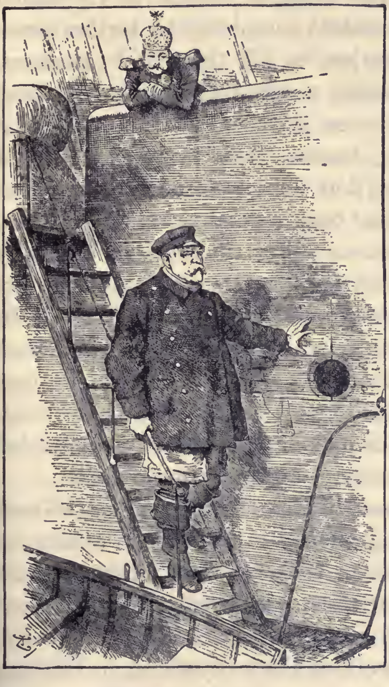
Death of William I

On the 9th of March, 1888, Emperor William I died at the age of ninety-one. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick III, in his fifty-seventh year. The new Emperor was a man of moderation, of liberalism in politics, an admirer of the English constitution. It is supposed that, had he lived, the autocracy of the ruler would have given way to a genuine parliamentary system like that of England, and that an era of greater liberty would have been inaugurated. But he was already a dying man, ill of cancer of the throat. His reign was one of physical agony patiently borne. Unable to use his voice, he could only indicate his wishes by writing or by signs. The reign was soon over, before the era of liberalism had time to dawn. Frederick was King and Emperor only from March 9 to June 15, 1888.

Accession of William II

He was succeeded by his son, William II, the present Emperor. The new ruler was twenty-nine years of age, a young man of very active mind, of fertile imagination, versatile, ambitious, self-confident, a man of unusual vigor. In his earliest utterances he showed his enthusiasm for the army and for religious orthodoxy. He held the doctrine of the divine origin of his power with mediaeval fervor, expressing it with frequency and in dramatic fashion. It was evident that a man of such a character would wish to govern, and not simply reign. He would not be willing long to efface himself behind the imposing figure of the great Chancellor. Bismarck had prophesied that the Emperor would be his own Chancellor, yet he did not have the wisdom to resign when the old Emperor died, and to depart with dignity. He clung to power. From the beginning friction developed between the two. They thought differently, felt differently. The fundamental question was, who should rule in Germany? The struggle was for supremacy since there was no way in which two persons so self-willed and autocratic could divide power. As Bismarck stayed on when he saw that his presence was no longer desired, the Emperor, not willing to be overshadowed by so commanding and illustrious a minister, finally demanded his resignation in 1890. Thus in bitterness and humiliation ended the political career of a man who, according to Bismarck himself, had "cut a figure in the history of Germany and Prussia." He lived several years longer, dying in 1898 at the age of eighty-three, leaving as his epitaph, "A faithful servant of Emperor William I." Thus vanished from view a man who will rank in history as one of the few great founders of states.

The resignation of Bismarck



Dropping the Pilot
Cartoon by Sir John Tenniel in *Punch*, March 29, 1890.

Since 1890 the personality of William II has been the decisive factor in the state. His Chancellors have been, in fact as well as in theory, his servants, carrying out the master's wish. There have been four: Caprivi, 1890–94; Hohenlohe, 1894–1900; von Bülow, 1900–09; and Bethmann-Hollweg, since July, 1909.

The extreme political tension was at first somewhat relieved by the removal of Bismarck from the scene, by this "dropping of the pilot," after thirty-eight years of continuous service. The early measures under the new régime showed a liberal tendency. The Anti-Socialist laws, expiring in 1890, were not renewed. This had been one of the causes of friction between the Emperor and the Chancellor. Bismarck wished them renewed, and their stringency increased. The Emperor wished to try milder methods, hoping to undermine the Socialists completely by further measures of social and economic amelioration, to kill them with kindness. The repressive laws lapsing, the Socialists reorganized openly, and have conducted an aggressive campaign ever since. The Emperor, soon recognizing the futility of anodynes, became their bitter enemy, and began to denounce them vehemently, but no new legislation has been passed against them, although this has been several times attempted.

The Anti-Socialist policy abandoned

The reign of William II has been notable for the remarkable expansion of industry and commerce, which has rendered Germany the redoubtable rival of England and the United States. In colonial and foreign affairs an aggressive policy has been followed. German colonies as yet have little importance, have entailed great expense, and have yielded only small returns. But the desire for a great colonial empire has become a settled policy of the Government, and has seized the popular imagination.

Remarkable expansion of German industry

Connected with the growing interest of Germany in commercial and colonial affairs has gone an increasing interest in the navy. Strong on land for fifty years, William II desires that Germany shall be strong on the sea, that she may act with decision in any part of the world, that her diplomacy, which is permeated with the idea that nothing great shall be done in world politics anywhere, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, without her consent, may be supported by a formidable navy. To make that fleet powerful has been a constant and a growing preoccupation of the present sovereign.

Germany a naval power

In the political world the rise of the Social Democratic party is the most important phenomenon. It represents not merely a desire for a revolution in the economic sphere, it also represents a protest against the autocratic government of the present ruler, a demand for democratic institutions. While Germany has a Constitution and a Parliament, the monarch is vested with vast power. Parliament does not control the Government, as the ministers are not responsible to it. There is freedom of speech in Parliament, but practically during most of this reign it has not existed outside.

Continued growth of Socialism

Hundreds of men have, during the past twenty years, been imprisoned for such criticisms of the Government as in other countries are the current coin of discussion. This is the crime of *lèse-majesté*, which, as long as it exists, prevents a free political life. The growth of the Social Democratic party to some extent represents mere liberalism, not adherence to the economic theory of the Socialists. It is the great reform and opposition party of Germany. It has the largest popular vote of any party, 3,250,000. Yet the Conservatives with less than 1,500,000 votes elected in 1907 eighty-three members to the Reichstag to the forty-three of the Socialists. The reason is this: The electoral districts have not been altered since they were originally laid out in 1869–71, though population has vastly shifted from country to city. The cities have grown rapidly since then, and it is in industrial centers that the Socialists are strongest. Berlin with a population in 1871 of 600,000, had six members in the Reichstag. It still has only that number, though its population is over two million, and though it would be entitled to twenty members if equal electoral districts were granted. These the Socialists demand, a demand which, if granted, would make them the most powerful party in the Reichstag, as they are in the popular vote. For this very reason the Government has thus far refused the demand. The extreme opponents of the Social Democrats even urge that universal suffrage, guaranteed by the Constitution, be abolished, as the only way to crush the party. To this extreme the Government has not yet gone.

The Social Democratic party numerically the largest

In recent years several questions have been much discussed; the question of the electoral reform in Prussia; of the redistribution of seats, both in the Prussian Landtag and the Imperial Reichstag; and of ministerial responsibility.

The demand for electoral reform

Prussia is the state that in practice rules the German Empire. This was what was intended by Bismarck when he drew up the Constitution of the Empire, it was precisely the object of his entire policy. The Constitution was based on the two chief articles of Bismarck's creed, the power of the monarch and the ascendancy of Prussia. This is the accepted idea of the governing classes to-day. Prussia, as was said in 1914 by Prince von Bülow, the most important Chancellor of the Empire since Bismarck, "Prussia attained her greatness as a country of soldiers and officials, and as such she was able to accomplish the work of German union; to this day

Prussia "a state of soldiers and officials"

she is still, in all essentials, a state of soldiers and officials." The governing classes are, in Prussia, which in turn governs Germany, the monarch, the aristocracy, and a bureaucracy of military and civil officials, responsible to the King alone. The determining factor in the state is the personality of the King.

Neither Empire, nor Kingdom of Prussia, is governed by democratic institutions. The Kingdom lags far behind the Empire, and, so great is its power, impedes the development of liberty in the Empire. The electoral system in use for the Lower House of the Prussian legislature is that of the three classes previously described.[1] According to this a man's voting power is determined by the amount of his taxes. Voters are divided into three groups, according to taxes paid, and each group has an equal representation in the assemblies or colleges that choose the deputies to the Lower House of the Prussian legislature. The first class contains from three to five per cent of the voters, the second from ten to twelve, whereas the third class contains perhaps eighty-five per cent, yet has only one-third of the members of the electoral colleges. The result is, as has been said, representation in the Chamber of Deputies only for the rich and well-to-do. The working classes are almost entirely unrepresented. Because of this method of indirect elections, down to 1908 the Socialists were unable to elect a single member to the Prussian Chamber. With direct election they would have been entitled to about a hundred seats.

The demand for parliamentary reform

Again, the electoral districts for the Prussian Chamber have not been changed since 1860. There are therefore great inequalities between them. Thus in the province of East Prussia the actual number of inhabitants to each deputy is 63,000, while in Berlin it is 170,000. The demand is growing that many districts be partially or wholly disfranchised or merged with others, and that other districts receive a larger representation.

In the Empire a similar problem is yearly becoming more acute. In 1871 Germany was divided into 397 constituencies for the Reichstag. The number has remained the same ever since, nor has a single district gained or lost in representation. Yet during that time the population of the Empire has increased from about forty-one millions to over sixty-five millions, and there has been a great shifting in population from the

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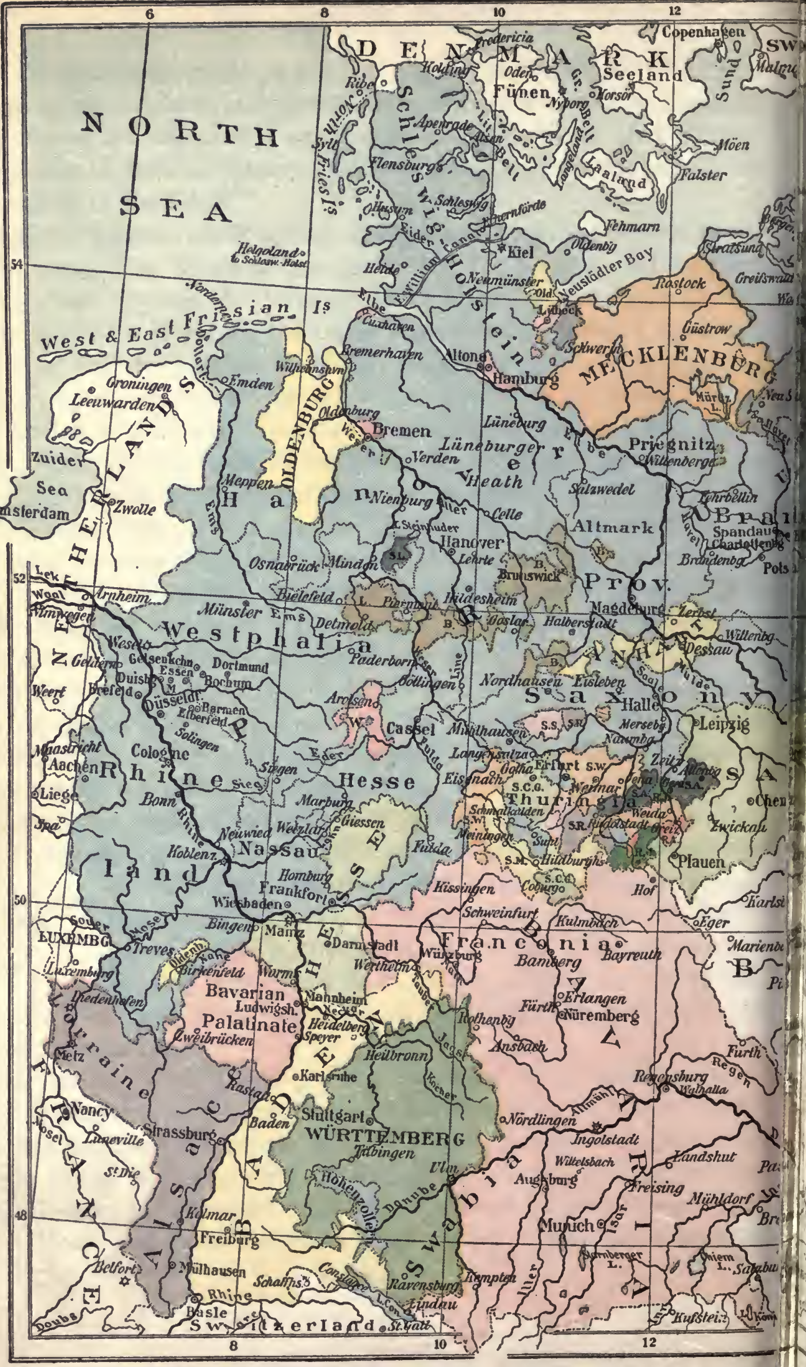
[1] See page 311.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NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
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Fünen
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Gr. Belt
Lit. Belt
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Laaland
Falster
Möen
Sund
Malmö
Alsen
Apenrade
Flensburg
Sylt
North Fries. Is
Husum
Schleswig
Schleswig-Holstein
Eckernförde
Fehmarn
Kiel
Oldenbg
Eider
Kaiser William Canal
Heide
Neumünster
Neustädter Bay
Helgoland to Schlesw.-Holst.
Norderney
West & East Frisian Is
Borkum
Old.
Lübeck
Rostock
Güstrow
Stralsund
Greifswald
Cuxhaven
Elbe
Bremerhaven
Wilhelmshvn
Altona
Hamburg
Schwerin
MECKLENBURG
Müritz L.
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Groningen
Leeuwarden
Emden
OLDENBURG
Oldenburg
Bremen
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Lüneburg
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Priegnitz
Wittenberge
Zuider Sea
Amsterdam
Zwolle
NETHERLANDS
Meppen
Ems
Hanover
Verden
Nienburg
Aller
Celle
Salzwedel
Altmark
Fehrbellin
Havel
Spandau
Charlottenbg
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Steinhuder L.
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Lehrte
Osnabrück
Minden
Brunswick
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Prov.
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Hildesheim
Goslar
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Magdeburg
Zerbst
Wittenbg
Lek
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Arnheim
Nimwegen
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Westphalia
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Geldern
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Krefeld
Weert
Düsseldf
Barmen
Elberfeld
Solingen
Göttingen
Nordhausen
Eisleben
Saxony
Halle
Saale
Mulde
Leipzig
Arolsen
W.
Cassel
Mühlhausen
S.S.
S.R.
Merseburg
Naumbg
Maastricht
Aachen
Cologne
Rhineland
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Siegen
Eder
Hesse
Fulda
Langensalza
Gotha
Erfurt
S.W.
Zeitz
Altenbg
Eisenach
S.C.G.
Weimar
Jena
Gera S.A.
Thuringia
Chem
Liege
Spa
Bonn
Marburg
Giessen
Neuwied
Wetzlar
Lahn
Schmalkalden
Weida
Rudolstadt
Greiz
Zwickau
Meiningen
Suhl
S.M.
Hildburghs
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Plauen
Koblenz
Nassau
Homburg
Frankfort
Kissingen
S.C.G.
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Eger
Sauer
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Mosel
Treves
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Mainz
Darmstadt
Franconia
Bayreuth
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Oldenb.
Nahe
Birkenfeld
Worms
Wertheim
Würzburg
Bamberg
Luxemburg
Diedenhofen
Bavarian Palatinate
Ludwigsh.
Mannheim
Neckar
Heidelberg
Speyer
Main
Tauber
Erlangen
Fürth
Nüremberg
Rothenbg
Ansbach
Jagst
Zweibrücken
Metz
Lorraine
Heilbronn
Kocher
Furth
Regen
Karlsruhe
Rastadt
Regensburg
Walhalla
Altmühl
Nancy
Strassburg
Baden
Stuttgart
WÜRTTEMBERG
Nördlingen
Ingolstadt
Wittelsbach
Landshut
Lunéville
St. Dié
Tübingen
Ulm
Augsburg
Freising
Mühldorf
Inn
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Swabia
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BADEN
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Belfort
Mülhausen
Constance
Ravensburg
Kempten
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Kufstein
Basle
Doubs
Aare
Switzerland
St. Gall
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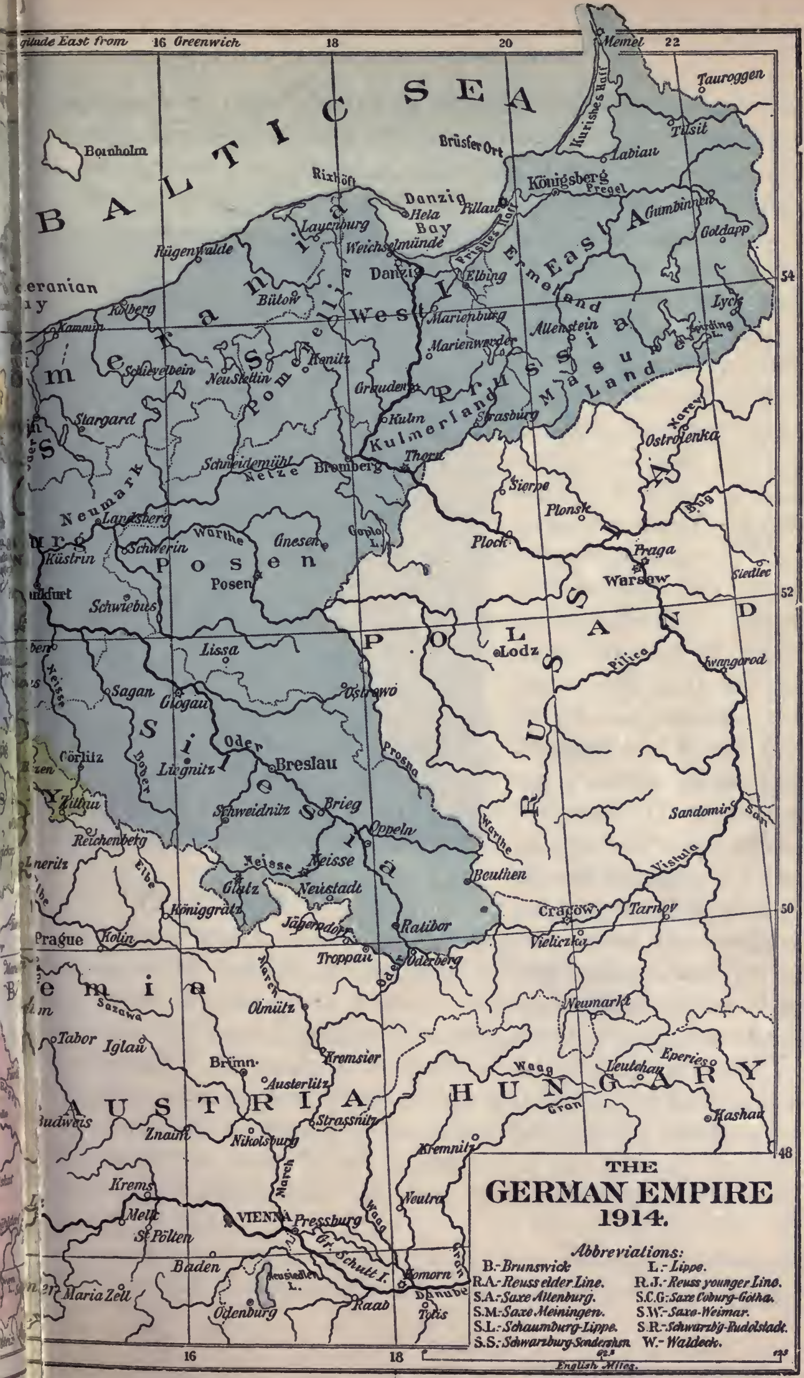
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Rixhöft
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Pregel
Danzig
Hela
Bay
Pillau
Gumbinnen
Goldapp
Lauenburg
Weichselmünde
Frisches Haff
Rügenwalde
Pomerania
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Allenstein
Lyck
Kammin
Marienwerder
Johannisburg
Prussia
Schievelbein
Neustettin
Konitz
Masuren
Land
Graudenz
Kulm
Kulmerland
Strasburg
Stargard
Ostrolenka
Narew
Schneidemühl
Netze
Bromberg
Thorn
Neumark
Sierpe
Plonsk
Bug
Landsberg
Gnesen
Goplo L.
Plock
Praga
Küstrin
Schwerin
Warthe
Posen
Warsaw
Siedlec
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Frankfurt
Posen
Schwiebus
Russia
Poland
Lodz
Iwangorod
Lissa
Pilica
Sagan
Glogau
Ostrowo
Neisse
Silesia
Oder
Prosna
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
Bober
Zittau
Schweidnitz
Brieg
Sandomir
San
Oppeln
Reichenberg
Warthe
Vistula
Elbe
Neisse
Neisse
Beuthen
Glatz
Neustadt
Königgrätz
Cracow
Tarnov
50
Jägerndorf
Ratibor
Vieliczka
Prague
Kolin
Troppau
Oderberg
Oder
March
Bohemia
Sazawa
Olmütz
Neumarkt
Tabor
Iglau
Kremsier
Eperies
Brünn
Austerlitz
Waag
Leutchau
Austria
Hungary
Gran
Kashau
Budweis
Znaim
Strassnitz
Nikolsburg
Kremnitz
48
March
Krems
Neutra
Waag
Melk
Vienna
Pressburg
St. Pölten
Gr. Schutt I.
Gran
Baden
Neusiedler L.
Komorn
Maria Zell
Danube
Odenburg
Raab
Totis
16
18
English Miles

THE
GERMAN EMPIRE
1914.

Abbreviations:

B.-*Brunswick*	L.-*Lippe.*
R.A.-*Reuss elder Line.*	R.J.-*Reuss younger Line.*
S.A.-*Saxe Altenburg.*	S.C.G.-*Saxe Coburg-Gotha.*
S.M.-*Saxe Meiningen.*	S.W.-*Saxe-Weimar.*
S.L.-*Schaumburg-Lippe.*	S.R.-*Schwarzbg-Rudolstadt.*
S.S.-*Schwarzburg-Sondershsn.*	W.-*Waldeck.*

country to the cities. One of the divisions of Berlin, with a population of 697,000, elects one representative, whereas the petty principality of Waldeck, with a population of 59,000, elects one. The 851,000 voters of Greater Berlin return eight members; the same number of voters in fifty of the smaller constituencies return forty-eight. A reform of these gross inequalities is widely demanded.

William II
From a photograph taken in 1914.

The demand for ministerial responsibility

Another subject which has recently received great emphasis is that concerning ministerial responsibility. The indiscretions of Emperor William II have made this one of the burning questions. An interview with him, in which he spoke with great freedom of the strained relations between Germany and Great Britain, was published in the London *Telegraph* on October 28, 1908. At once was seen a phenomenon not witnessed in Germany since the founding of the Empire. There was a violent popular protest against the irresponsible actions of the Emperor, actions subject to no control, and yet easily capable of bringing about a war. Newspapers of all shades of party affiliation displayed a freedom of utterance and of censure unparalleled in Germany. All parties in the Reichstag expressed their emphatic disapproval. The incident, however, was not sufficient to bring about the introduction of the system of the responsibility of the ministers for all the acts of the monarch, and the control of the ministry by the majority of the Parliament — in short, the parliamentary system in its essential feature.

Prussia has been the strongest obstacle the democratic movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has encountered. Germany in

1914 was less liberal than in 1848. The most serious blow that the principle of representative government received during that century was the one she received at the hands of Bismarck. We have expert testimony of the highest and most official sort that the effects of that blow are not outlived. Prince von Bülow, writing in 1914, said: "Liberalism in spite of its change of attitude in national questions, has to this day not recovered from the catastrophic defeat which Prince Bismarck inflicted nearly half a century ago on the party of progress which still clung to the ideals and principles of 1848."

Prussia, resolute opponent of democracy

The present situation is still further defined by the utterance of Professor Delbrück, successor to Treitschke in the chair of modern history in the University of Berlin, who wrote in a book published in 1914, "Anyone who has any familiarity with all our officers and generals knows that it would take another Sedan, inflicted on us instead of by us, before they would acquiesce in the control of the Army by the German Parliament." Here is a very clear indication of where real power lies in Germany. One has only to recall the great chapters in English history which tell of the struggle for liberty to know that it has been obtained solely by the recognition of the supremacy of Parliament over royal prerogative, over military power.

The army not controlled by Parliament

The German state is the most autocratic in Western Europe; it is also the most militaristic. Fundamental individual liberties, regarded as absolutely vital in England, France, America and many other states, have never been possessed by Germans, nor are they possessed now. Germany is rich, vigorous, powerful, instructed. It is not free. A military monarchy is the very opposite of a democratic state. Prince von Bülow says, in his recent book, "Imperial Germany," "Despite the abundance of merits and the great qualities with which the German nation is endowed, political talent has been denied it." Any citizen of a free country knows that that talent grows only where an opportunity has been given it to grow. It need occasion no surprise that Mommsen, the historian of Rome, writing in 1903, should say of his own country, "There are no longer free citizens." Instead there are industrious, energetic, educated, ambitious, and submissive subjects.

German comments on Germany

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE: Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, pp. 210–228; Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 240–285; Fife, *The German Empire between Two Wars*, pp. 101–138.

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CHAPTER XXII

FRANCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The Third Republic was proclaimed, as we have seen, by the Parisians on September 4, 1870, after the news of the disaster of Sedan had reached the capital. A Provisional Government of National Defense was immediately installed. This government gave way in February, 1871 to a National Assembly of 750 members elected by universal suffrage for a single purpose, to make peace with Germany. A majority of the members of this National Assembly, which met first at Bordeaux, were Monarchists. The reason was that the monarchical candidates favored the making of a peace, whereas many republican leaders, with Gambetta at their head, wished to continue the war. The mass of the peasants desiring peace therefore voted for the peace candidates. There is nothing to show that thereby they expressed a wish for monarchy. The Assembly of Bordeaux made the peace, ceding Alsace and Lorraine, and assuming the enormous war indemnity. But peace did not return to France as a result of the Treaty of Frankfort. The "Terrible Year," as the French call it, of 1870–71, had more horrors in store. Civil war followed the war with the Germans, shorter but exceeding it in ferocity, a war between those in control of the city of Paris and the Government of France as represented by the Assembly of Bordeaux. That Assembly had chosen Thiers as "Chief of the Executive Power," pending "the nation's decision as to the definitive form of government." Thus the fundamental question was postponed. Thiers was chosen for no definite term; he was the servant of the Assembly to carry out its wishes, and might be dismissed by it at any moment.

The Republic proclaimed September 4, 1870

The National Assembly

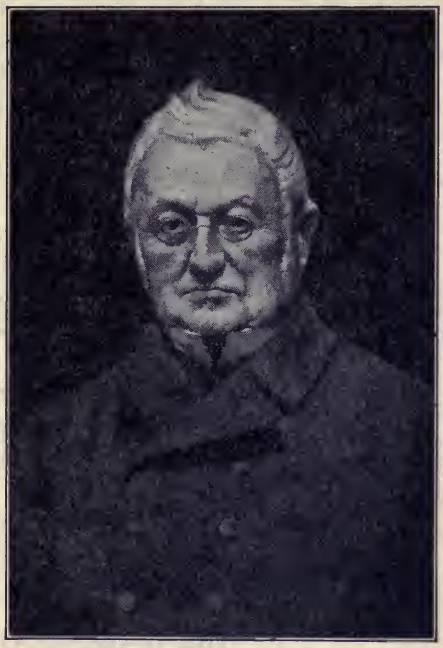
The "Terrible Year"

THE COMMUNE

Between the Government and the people of Paris serious disagreements immediately arose, which led quickly to the war of the Commune. Paris had proclaimed the Republic. But the Republic was no

Paris and the Assembly mutually suspicious

yet sanctioned by France, and existed only *de facto*. On the other hand, the National Assembly was controlled by Monarchists, and it had postponed the determination of the permanent institutions of the country. Did not this simply mean that it would abolish the Republic and proclaim the Monarchy, when it should judge the moment propitious? This fear, only too well justified, that the Assembly was hostile to the Republic, was the fundamental cause of the Commune. Paris lived in daily dread of this event. Paris was ardently Republican. For ten years under the Empire it had been returning Republicans to the Chamber of Deputies. These men did not propose to let a coup d'état like that of Louis Napoleon in 1851 occur again. Various acts of the Assembly were well adapted to deepen and intensify the feeling of dread uncertainty. The Assembly showed its distrust of Paris by voting in March, 1871 that it would henceforth sit in Versailles. In other words, a small and sleepy town, and one associated with the history of monarchy, was to be the capital of France instead of the great city which had sustained the tremendous siege and by her self-sacrifice and suffering had done her best to hold high the honor of the and. Not only was Paris wounded in her pride by this act which showed such unmistakable suspicion of her but she suffered also n her material interests at a time of great financial distress. The Government did nothing to relieve this distress but greatly accentuated it by several unwise measures.


THIERS
After the portrait by L. Bonnat, 1876.

Versailles declared the capital

There was in Paris a considerable population having diverse revolutionary tendencies, anarchists, Jacobins, Socialists, — whose leaders worked with marked success among the restless, poverty-stricken masses of the great city. Out of this unrest it was easy for an insurrection to grow. The insurrectionary spirit spread with great rapidity until it developed into a war between Paris and the Versailles Government. Attempts at solving the difficulties by conciliation having failed, the Government undertook to subdue the city. This necessitated a regular siege of Paris, the second of that unhappy city within a year. This time, however, the siege was conducted by Frenchmen, Germans, who controlled the forts to the north of Paris, looking on. It lasted nearly two months, from April 2 to May 21, when the Versailles troops forced their entrance into the city. Then followed seven days ferocious fighting in the streets, the Communists more and more desperate and frenzied, the Versailles army more and more revengeful and sanguinary. This was the "Bloody Week," during which Paris suffered much more than she had from the bombardment of the Germans — a week of fearful destruction of life and property. The horrors of incendiarism were added to those of slaughter. Finally the awful agony was brought to a close. The revenge taken by the Government was heavy. It punished right and left summarily. Many were shot on the spot without any form of trial. Arrests and trials went on for years. Thousands were sent to tropical penal colonies. Other thousands were sentenced to hard labor. The rage of this monarchical assembly was slow in subsiding.

Revolutionary elements in Paris

The second siege of Paris

The "Bloody Week"

THE GOVERNMENT OF THIERS

Having put down the insurrection of Paris and signed the hard treaty with Germany, France was at peace. The Republicans thought that the Assembly ought now to dissolve, arguing that it had been elected to make peace, and nothing else. The Assembly decided however that it had full powers of legislation on all subjects, including the right to make the Constitution. The Assembly remained in power for nearly five years, refusing to dissolve.

France at peace

But before taking up the difficult work of making a Constitution it coöperated for two years with Thiers in the necessary work of reorganization. The most imperative task was that of getting the Germans out of the country. Under the skillful leadership of Thiers the payment of the enormous war indemnity, five billion francs, was undertaken with energy and carried out with celerity. In September, 1873, the last installment was paid and the last German soldiers went home. The soil of France was freed nearly six months earlier than was provided by the treaty. For his great services in this initial work of reconstruction the National Assembly voted that Thiers had "deserved well of the country" and the people spontaneously acclaimed him as "The Liberator of the Territory."

The liberation of the territory

The reconstruction of the army was also urgent and was undertaken in the same spirit of patriotism, entailing heavy personal sacrifices. A law was passed in 1872 instituting compulsory military service. Five years of service in the active army were henceforth to be required in most cases. The law really established in France the Prussian military system, so successful in crushing all opponents. We now see the beginning of that oppressive militarism which has become the most characteristic feature of contemporary Europe. Other nations considered that they were forced to imitate Prussia in order to assure their own safety in the future. In the case of France the necessity was entirely obvious.

Army reform

In this work of reconstruction the Assembly and Thiers were able to work together on the whole harmoniously. Now that this was accomplished the Monarchists of the Assembly resolved to abolish the Republic and restore the Monarchy. They soon found that they had in Thiers a man who would not abet them in their project. Thiers was originally a believer in constitutional monarchy, but he was not afraid of a republican government, and during the years after 1870 he came to believe that a Republic was, for France, at the close of a turbulent century, the only possible form of government. "There is," he said, "only one throne, and there are three claimants for a seat on it." He discovered a happy formula in favor of the Republic, "It is the form of government which divides us least." And again, "Those parties who want a monarchy, do not want the same monarchy." By which phrases he accurately described a curious situation. The Monarchists, while they constituted a majority of the Assembly, were divided into three parties, no one of which was in the majority. There were Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists. The Legitimists upheld the right of the grandson of Charles X, the Count of Chambord; the Orleanists, the right of the

Thiers and the Republic

The Monarchist parties

grandson of Louis Philippe, the Count of Paris; the Bonapartists, of Napoleon III, or his son. The Monarchist parties could unite to prevent a definite legal establishment of the Republic; they could not unite to establish the monarchy, as each wing wished a different monarch. Out of this division arose the only chance the Third Republic had to live. As the months went by, the Monarchists felt that Thiers was becoming constantly more of a Republican, which was true. If a monarchical restoration was to be attempted, therefore, Thiers must be gotten out of the way. Consequently, in May, 1873, the Assembly forced him to resign and immediately elected Marshal MacMahon president to prepare the way for the coming monarch.

Resignation of Thiers

THE FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION

Earnest attempts were made forthwith to bring about a restoration of the monarchy. This could be done by a fusion of the Legitimists and the Orleanists. Circumstances were particularly favorable for the accomplishment of such a union. The Count of Chambord had no direct descendants. The inheritance would, therefore, upon his death, pass to the House of Orleans, represented by the Count of Paris. The elder branch would in the course of nature be succeeded by the younger. This fusion seemed accomplished when the Count of Paris visited the Count of Chambord, recognizing him as head of the family. A committee of nine members of the Assembly, representing the Monarchist parties, the Imperialists holding aloof, negotiated during the summer of 1873 with the "King" concerning the terms of restoration. The negotiations were successful on most points, and it seemed as if by the close of the year the existence of the Republic would be terminated and Henry V would be reigning in France. The Republic was saved by the devotion of the Count of Chambord to a symbol. He stated that he would never renounce the ancient Bourbon banner. "Henry V could never abandon the white flag of Henry IV," he had already declared, and from that resolution he never swerved. The tricolor represented the Revolution. If he was to be King of France it must be with his principles and his flag; King of the Revolution he would never consent to be. The Orleanists, on the other hand, adhered to the tricolor, knowing its popularity with the people, knowing that no régime that repudiated the glorious symbol could long endure. Against this barrier the attempted fusion of the two branches of the Bourbon

The Count of Chambord

family was shattered. The immediate danger to the Republic was over.

But the Monarchists did not renounce their hope of restoring the monarchy. The Count of Chambord might, perhaps, change his mind: if not, as he had no son, the Count of Paris would succeed him after his death as the lawful claimant to the throne; and the Count of Paris, defender of the tricolor, could then be proclaimed. The Monarchists therefore, planned merely to gain time. Marshal MacMahon had been chosen executive, as had Thiers, for no definite term. He was to serve during the pleasure of the Assembly itself. Believing that MacMahon would resign as soon as the King really appeared, they voted that his term should be for seven years, expecting that a period of that length would see a clearing up of the situation, either the change of mind or the death of the Count of Chambord. Thus was established the Septennate, or seven year term, of the President, which still exists. The presidency was thus given a fixed term by the Monarchists, as they supposed, in their own interests. If they could not restore the monarchy in 1873 they could at least control the presidency for a considerable period, and thus prepare an easy transition to the new system at the opportune moment.

Establishment of the Septennate

But France showed unmistakably that she desired the establishment of a definitive system, that she wished to be through with these provisional arrangements, which only kept party feeling feverish and handicapped France in her foreign relations. France had as yet no constitution, and yet this Assembly, chosen to make peace, had asserted that it was also chosen to frame a constitution, and it was by this assertion that it justified its continuance in power long after peace was made. Yet month after month, and year after year, went by and the constitution was not made, nor even seriously discussed. If the Assembly could not, or would not, make a constitution, it should relinquish its power and let the people elect a body that would. But this it steadily refused to do.

Assembly reluctant to frame a constitution.

This inability of the Monarchists to act owing to their own internal divisions was of advantage to only one party, the Republican. More and more people who had hitherto been Monarchists, now finally convinced that a restoration of the monarchy was impracticable, joined the Republican party and thus it came about finally in 1875 that the Assembly decided to make the constitution. It did not, as previous assemblies had done, draw up a single document, defining the organization and narrating the rights of the citizens. It passed three separate laws which taken together were to serve as a constitution. By these laws a legislature was established consisting of two houses, a Senate, consisting of 300 members, at least forty years of age and chosen for nine years, and a Chamber of Deputies, to be elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years. These two houses meeting together as a National Assembly elect the President of the Republic. There is no vice-president, no succession provided by law. In case of a vacancy in the presidency the National Assembly meets immediately, generally within forty-eight hours, and elects a new President. The President has the right to initiate legislation, as have the members of the two houses, the duty to promulgate all laws and to superintend their execution, the pardoning power, the direction of the army and navy, and the appointment to all civil and military positions. He may, with the consent of the Senate, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the expiration of its legal term and order a new election. But these powers are merely nominal, for the reason that every act of the President must be countersigned by a minister, who thereby becomes responsible for the act, the President being irresponsible, except in the case of high treason.

The Constitution of 1875

The President

For the fundamental feature of the Third Republic, differentiating it greatly from two preceding republics of France and from the republic of the United States, is its adoption of the parliamentary system, as worked out in England. The President's position resembles that of a constitutional monarch. All his acts must be countersigned by his ministers who become thereby responsible for them. The ministers in turn are responsible to the chambers, particularly to the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber thus controls the executive, makes and unmakes ministries as it chooses. The legislature controls the executive. The legislative and executive branches are thus fused as in England, not sharply separated as in the United States. The essential feature therefore of this republic is that it has adopted the governmental machinery first elaborated in a monarchy. The Constitution of 1875 was a compromise between opposing forces, neither of which could win an unalloyed victory. The monarchical assembly that established the parliamentary republic in 1875 thought that it had introduced sufficient monarchical elements into

The ministry

France a parliamentary republic

it to curb the aggressiveness of democracy and to facilitate a restoration of the monarchy at some convenient season. The Senate, it thought, would be a monarchical stronghold and the President and Senate could probably keep the Chamber of Deputies in check by their power of dissolving it.

The policy of MacMahon

It was some years before the Republicans secured unmistakable control of the Republic in all its branches. In the first elections under the new constitution, which were held at the beginning of 1876, the Monarchists secured a slight majority in the Senate, the Republicans a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies. It was generally supposed that the President, MacMahon, was a Monarchist in his sympathies. This was shown to be the case when MacMahon in May, 1877 dismissed the Simon ministry, which was Republican and which had the support of the Chamber, and appointed a new ministry, composed largely of Monarchists under the Duke of Broglie. Thereupon, the Senate, representing the same views, consented to the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and new elections were ordered.

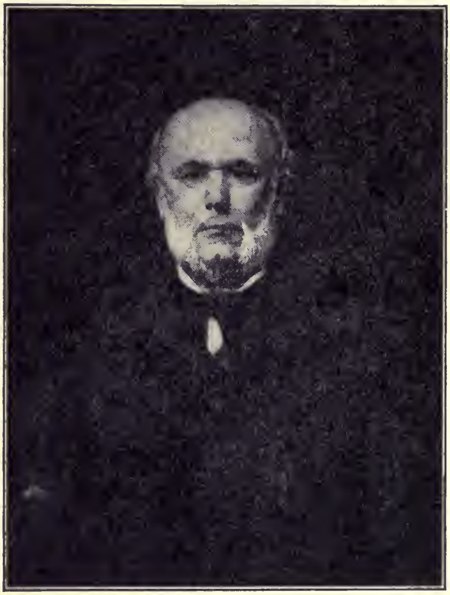
Marshal MacMahon
From a photograph.

The Republic and the Church

The Monarchists carried on a vigorous campaign against the Republicans. They were powerfully supported by the clerical party, which, ever since 1871, had been extremely active. The Republicans resented this intrusion of the Catholic party, and their opinion of it had been vividly expressed some time before by Gambetta in the phrase — "Clericalism, that is our enemy," meaning that the Roman Catholic Church was the most dangerous opponent of the Republic. The struggle was embittered. The Broglie ministry used every effort to influence the votes against Gambetta and the Republicans. The clergy took an active part in the campaign, supporting the Broglie candidates and preaching against the Republicans, conduct which in the end was to cost them dear.

The Republicans were, however, overwhelmingly victorious. In the following year, 1878, they also gained control of the Senate and in 1879 they brought about the resignation of MacMahon. The National Assembly immediately met and elected Jules Grévy president, a man whose devotion to Republican principles had been known to France for thirty years. For the first time since 1871 the Republicans controlled the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and the Presidency. Since that time the Republic has been entirely in the hands of the Republicans.

Grévy chosen President



Jules Grévy
From an engraving by Lalauze, after the painting by L. Bonnat.

The Republicans, now completely victorious, sought by constructive legislation to consolidate the Republic. Two personalities stand out with particular prominence: Gambetta, as president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Jules Ferry, as member of several ministries and as twice prime minister. The legislation enacted during this period aimed to clinch the victory over the Monarchists and Clericals by making the institutions of France thoroughly republican and secular. The seat of government was transferred from Versailles, where it had been since 1871, to Paris (1880), and July 14, the day of the storming of the Bastille, symbol of the triumph of the people over the monarchy, was declared the national holiday, and was celebrated for the first time in 1880 amid great enthusiasm. The right of citizens freely to hold public meetings as they might wish, and without any preliminary permission of the Government, was secured, as was also a practically unlimited freedom of the press (1881). Workingmen were permitted, for the first time, freely to form trades unions (1884).

The Republicans were particularly solicitous about education. As universal suffrage was the basis of the state, it was considered fundamental that the voters should be intelligent. Education was regarded as the strongest bulwark of the Republic. Several laws were passed, concerning all grades of education, but the most important were those concerning primary schools. A law of 1881 made primary education gratuitous; one of 1882 made it compulsory between the ages of six and thirteen, and later laws made it entirely secular. No religious instruction is given in these schools. All teachers are appointed from the laity. This system of popular education is one of the great creative achievements of the Republic, and one of the most fruitful.

Creation of a national system of education

JULES FERRY.

Under the masterful influence of Jules Ferry, prime minister in 1881, and again from 1883 to 1885, the Republic embarked upon an aggressive colonial policy. She established a protectorate over Tunis; sent expeditions to Tonkin, to Madagascar; founded the French Congo. This policy aroused bitter criticism from the beginning, and entailed large expenditures, but Ferry, regardless of growing opposition, forced it through, in the end to his own undoing. His motives in throwing France into these ventures were various. One reason was economic. France was feeling the rivalry of Germany and Italy, and Ferry believed that she must gain new markets as compensation for those she was gradually losing. Again, France would gain in prestige abroad, and in her own feeling of contentment, if she turned her attention to empire-building and ceased to think morbidly of her losses in the German war. Her outlook would be broader. Moreover, she could not afford to be passive when other nations about her were reaching out for Africa and Asia. The era of imperialism had begun. France must participate in the movement or be left hopelessly behind in the rivalry of nations. Under Ferry's resolute leadership the policy of expansion was carried out, and the colonial possessions of France were

Colonial policy

greatly increased, but owing to one or two slight reverses, greatly magnified by his enemies, Ferry himself became unpopular and his notable ministry was overthrown (1885).

Death of Gambetta

During the next few years the political situation was troubled and uncertain. There was no commanding personality in politics to give elevation and sweep to men's ideas. Gambetta had died in 1882 at the age of forty-four and Ferry, the empire-builder, was most unjustly the victim of unpopularity from which he never recovered. Ministries succeeded each other rapidly. Politics seemed a game of office seeking, pettily personal, not an arena in which men of large ideas could live and act. The educational and anti-clerical and colonial policies all aroused enemies. President Grévy even was forced to resign because of a scandal that did not compromise him personally but did smirch his son-in-law. Carnot, a moderate Republican, was chosen to succeed him (December 3, 1887).

SADI-CARNOT
From a photograph by London Stereoscopic Co.

Carnot chosen president

Discontent with the Republic

This state of discontent and disillusionment created a real crisis for the Republic, as it encouraged its enemies to renewed activity. These elements now found a leader or a tool in General Boulanger, a dashing figure on horseback and an attractive speaker, who sought to use the popular discontent for his own advancement. Made Minister of War in 1886, he showed much activity, seeking the favor of the soldiers by improving the conditions of life in the barracks, and by advocating the reduction of the required term of service. He controlled several newspapers, which began to insinuate that under his leadership France could take her revenge upon Germany by a successful war upon that country.

General Boulanger

He posed as the rescuer of the Republic, demanding a total revision of the Constitution. His programme, as announced, was vague, but probably aimed at the diminution of the importance of Parliament, the conferring of great powers upon the President, and his election directly by the people, which he hoped would be favorable to himself. For three years his personality was a storm center. Discontented people of the most varied shades flocked to his support — Monarchists, Imperialists, Clericals, hoping to use him to overturn the Republic. These parties contributed money to the support of his campaign, which was brilliantly managed with the view to focusing popular attention upon him. To show the popular enthusiasm Boulanger now became a candidate for Parliament in many districts where vacancies occurred. In five months (1888) he was elected deputy six times. A seventh election in Paris itself, in January, 1889, resulted in a brilliant triumph. He was elected by over 80,000 majority. Would he dare take the final step and attempt to seize power, as two Bonapartes had done before him? He did not have the requisite audacity to try. In the face of this imminent danger the Republicans ceased their dissensions and stood together. They assumed the offensive. The ministry summoned Boulanger to appear before the Senate, sitting as a High Court of Justice, to meet the charge of conspiring against the safety of the state. His boldness vanished. He fled from the country to Belgium. He was condemned by the court in his absence. His party fell to pieces, its leader proving so little valorous. Two years later he committed suicide. The Republic had weathered a serious crisis. It came out of it stronger rather than weaker. Its opponents were discredited.

The Republic weathers the crisis

In 1891 a very important diplomatic achievement still further strengthened the Republic. An alliance was made with Russia which ended the long period of isolation in which France had been made to feel her powerlessness during the twenty years since the Franco-Prussian war. This Dual Alliance henceforth served as a counterweight to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and satisfied the French people, as well as increased their sense of safety and their confidence in the future.

The Dual Alliance

In 1894 President Carnot was assassinated. Casimir-Périer was chosen to succeed him but resigned after six months. Félix Faure was elected in his place, who however died in office in 1899, having seen the strengthening of the alliance with Russia and the beginning of the Dreyfus case, a scandal which eclipsed that of Boulanger and created a new crisis for the Republic. Faure was succeeded in the presidency by Emile Loubet.

Casimir Perier
From a photograph by Ogerau, Paris.

Félix Faure
From a photograph by Berthaud, Paris.

THE DREYFUS CASE

The Dreyfus case

In October, 1894, Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the army, was arrested amid circumstances of unusual secrecy, was brought before a court-martial and was condemned as guilty of treason, of transmitting important documents to a foreign power, presumably Germany. The trial was secret and the condemnation rested on merely circumstantial evidence, involving the identity of handwriting, declared to be his. He was condemned to expulsion from the army and to imprisonment for life. In January, 1895 he was publicly degraded in a most dramatic manner in the courtyard of the Military School, before a large detachment of the army. His stripes were torn from his uniform, his sword was

Dreyfus degraded and imprisoned

broken. Throughout this agonizing scene he was defiant, asserted his innocence, and shouted "*Vive la France!*" He was then deported to a small, barren, and unhealthy island off French Guiana, in South America, appropriately called Devil's Island, and was there kept in solitary confinement. A life imprisonment under such conditions would probably not be long, though it would certainly be horrible.

The friends of Dreyfus protested that a monstrous wrong had been done but their protests passed unheeded. But in 1896 Colonel Picquart, head of the detective bureau of the General Staff, discovered that the incriminating document was not in the handwriting of Dreyfus but of a certain Major Esterhazy, who was shortly shown to be one of the most abandoned characters in the army. Picquart's superior officers were not grateful for his efforts, fearing apparently that the honor of the army would be smirched if the verdict of the court-martial was shown to be wrong. They therefore removed him from his position and appointed Colonel Henry in his place.

Zola attemps to reopen the case

In January, 1898 Emile Zola, the well-known novelist, published a letter of great boldness and brilliancy, in which he made most scathing charges against the judges of the court-martial, not only for injustice but for dishonesty. Many men of reputation in literature and scholarship joined in the discussion, on the side of Dreyfus. Zola hoped to force a reopening of the whole question. Instead he was himself condemned by a court to imprisonment and fine. Shortly Henry committed suicide, having been charged with forging one of the important documents in the case. His suicide was considered a confession of guilt. So greatly disturbed were the people by these scandalous events that public opinion forced the reopening of the whole case. Dreyfus, prematurely old as a result of fearful physical and mental suffering, was brought from Devil's Island and given a new trial before a court-martial at Rennes in August, 1899.

Second trial of Dreyfus

This new trial was conducted in the midst of the most excited state of the public mind in France, and of intense interest abroad. Party passions were inflamed as they had not been in France since the Commune. The supporters of Dreyfus were denounced frantically as slanderers of the honor of the army, the very bulwark of the safety of the country, as traitors to France.

At the Rennes tribunal, Dreyfus encountered the violent hostility of the high army officers, who had been his accusers five years before.

These men were desperately resolved that he should again be found guilty. The trial was of an extraordinary character. It was the evident purpose of the judges not to allow the matter to be thoroughly probed. Testimony, which in England or America would have been considered absolutely vital, was barred out. The universal opinion outside France was, as was stated in the London *Times*, "that the whole case against Captain Dreyfus, as set forth by the heads of the French army, in plain combination against him, was foul with forgeries, lies, contradictions, and puerilities, and that nothing to justify his condemnation had been shown."

Dreyfus again declared guilty

Nevertheless, the court, by a vote of five to two, declared him guilty, "with extenuating circumstances," an amazing verdict. It is not generally held that treason to one's country can plead extenuating circumstances. The court condemned him to ten years' imprisonment, from which the years spent at Devil's Island might be deducted. Thus the "honor" of the army had been maintained.

Dreyfus pardoned

President Loubet immediately pardoned Dreyfus, and he was released, broken in health. This solution was satisfactory to neither side. The anti-Dreyfusites vented their rage on Loubet. On the other hand, Dreyfus demanded exoneration, a recognition of his innocence, not pardon.

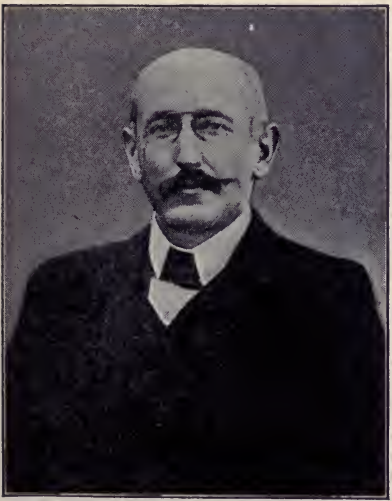
Emile Loubet

But the Government was resolved that this discussion, which had so frightfully torn French society, should cease. Against the opposition of the Dreyfusites, it passed, in 1900, an amnesty for all those implicated in the notorious case, which meant that no legal actions could be brought against any of the participants on either side. The friends of Dreyfus, Zola, and Picquart protested vigorously against the erection of a barrier against their vindication. The bill, nevertheless, passed.

Dreyfus vindicated

Six years later, however, the Dreyfus party attained its vindication. The revision of the whole case was submitted to the Court of Cassation. On July 12, 1906, that body quashed the verdict of the Rennes court-martial. It declared that the charges which had been brought against Dreyfus had no foundation, and that the Rennes court-martial had been guilty of gross injustice in refusing to hear testimony that would have established the innocence of the accused. The case was not to be submitted to another military tribunal but was closed.

The Government now restored Captain Dreyfus to his rank in the army, or rather, gave him the rank of major, allowing him to count to that end the whole time in which he had been unjustly deprived of his standing. On July 21, 1906, he was invested with a decoration of the Legion of Honor in the very courtyard of the Military School where, eleven years before, he had been so dramatically degraded. Colonel Picquart was promoted brigadier-general, and shortly became Minister of War. Zola had died in 1903, but in 1908 his body was transferred to the Pantheon, as symbolizing a kind of civic canonization. Thus ended the "Affair."


Alfred Dreyfus

Significance of the case

The Dreyfus case, originally simply involving the fate of an alleged traitor, had soon acquired a far greater significance. Party and personal ambitions and interests sought to use it for purposes of their own and thus the question of legal right and wrong was woefully distorted and obscured. Those who hated the Jews used it to inflame people against that race, as Dreyfus was a Jew. The Clericals joined them. Monarchists seized the occasion to declare that the Republic was an egregious failure, breeding treason, and ought to be abolished. On the other hand there rallied to the defense of Dreyfus those who believed in his innocence, those who denounced the hatred of a race as a relic of barbarism, those who believed that the military should be subordinate to the civil authority and should not regard itself as above the law as these army officers were doing, those who believed that the whole episode was merely a hidden and dangerous attack upon the Republic, and all who believed that the clergy should keep out of politics.

Formation of a strong republican coalition

The chief result of this memorable struggle in the domain of politics was to unite more closely Republicans of every shade in a common programme, to make them resolve to reduce the political importance of the army and of the Church. The former was easily done, by removals of Monarchist officers. The attempt to solve the latter much more subtle and elusive problem led to the next great struggle in the recent history of France, the struggle with the Church.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Question of Church and State

Growth of religious orders

This new controversy assumed prominence under the premiership of Waldeck-Rousseau, a leader of the Parisian bar, a former follower of Gambetta. In October, 1900, he made a speech at Toulouse which resounded throughout France. The real peril confronting the country, he said, arose from the growing power of religious orders — orders of monks and nuns — and from the character of the teaching given by them in the religious schools they were conducting. He pointed out that here was a power within the State which was a rival of the State and fundamentally hostile to the State. These orders, moreover, although not authorized under the laws of France, were growing rapidly in wealth and numbers. Between 1877 and 1900 the number of nuns had increased from 14,000 to 75,000, in orders not authorized. The monks numbered about 190,000. The property of these orders, held in mortmain, estimated at about 50,000,000 francs in the middle of the century, had risen to 700,000,000 in 1880, and was more than a billion francs in 1900. Here was a vast amount of wealth, withdrawn from ordinary processes of business, an economic danger of the first importance. But the most serious feature was the activity of these orders in teaching and preaching, for that teaching was declared to be hostile to the Republic and to the principles of liberty and equality on which the Republicans of France have insisted ever since the French Revolution. In other words these church schools were doing their best to make their pupils hostile to the Republic and to republican ideals. There was a danger to the State which Parliament must face. To preserve the Republic, defensive measures must be taken. Holding this opinion, the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry secured the passage, July 1, 1901, of the Law of Associations, which provided, among other things, that no religious orders should exist in France without definite authorization in each case from Parliament. It was the belief of the authors of this bill that the Roman Catholic Church was the enemy of the Republic, that it was using its every agency against the Republic, that it had latterly supported the anti-Dreyfus party in its attempt to discredit the institutions of France, as it had done formerly under MacMahon. Gambetta had, at that time, declared that *the* enemy was the clerical party. "Clericalism," said Combes, who succeeded Waldeck-Rousseau in 1902, "is, in fact, to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every intrigue from which Republican France has suffered during the last thirty-five years."

The Law of Associations

Animated with this feeling, Combes enforced the Associations Law with rigor in 1902 and 1903. Many orders refused to ask for authorization from Parliament; many which asked were refused. Tens of thousands of monks and nuns were forced to leave their institutions, which were closed. By a law of 1904 it was provided that all teaching by religious orders, even by those authorized, should cease within ten years. The State was to have a monopoly of the education of the young, in the interest of the ideals of liberalism it represented. Combes, upon whom fell the execution of this law, suppressed about five hundred teaching, preaching, and commercial orders. This policy was vehemently denounced by Catholics as persecution, as an infringement upon liberty, the liberty to teach, the liberty of parents to have their children educated in denominational schools if they preferred.

Religious orders forbidden to engage in teaching

This, as events were to prove, was only preliminary to a far greater religious struggle which ended in the complete separation of Church and State.

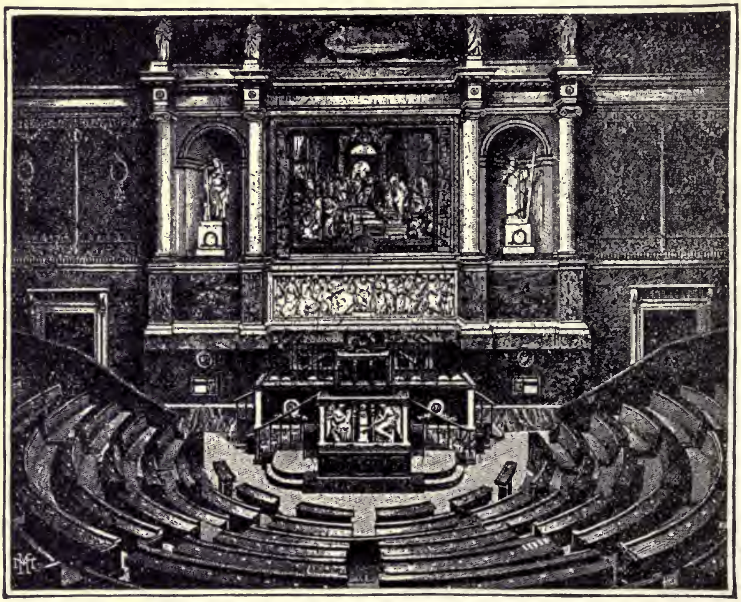
The relations of the Roman Catholic Church and the State down to

The Concordat of 1802

1905 were determined by the Concordat, concluded between Napoleon I and Pius VII in 1801 and promulgated in the following year. The system then established remained undisturbed throughout the nineteenth century, under the various régimes, but after the advent of the Third Republic there was ceaseless and increasing friction between the Church and the State. The opposition of the Republicans was augmented by the activity of the clergy in the Dreyfus affair. Consequently a law was finally passed, December 9, 1905, which abrogated the Concordat. The State was henceforth not to pay the salaries of the clergy; on the other hand, it relinquished all rights over their appointment. It undertook to pay pensions to clergymen who had served many years, and were already well advanced in age; also to pay certain amounts to those who had been in the priesthood for a few years only. In regard to the property, which since 1789 had been declared to be owned by the nation, the cathedrals, churches, chapels, it was provided that these

The abrogation of the Concordat

Associations of Worship



INTERIOR OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

should still be at the free disposal of the Roman Catholic Church but that they should be held and managed by so-called "Associations of Worship," which were to vary in size according to the population of the community.

Opposition of Pius X

This law was condemned unreservedly by the Pope, Pius X, who declared that the fundamental principle of separation of Church and State is "an absolutely false thesis, a very pernicious error," and who denounced the Associations of Worship as giving the administrative control, not "to the divinely instituted hierarchy, but to an association of laymen." The Pope's decision was final and conclusive for all Catholics as it was based on fundamentals and flatly rejected the law of 1905.

Law of January 2, 1907

Parliament therefore passed a new law, early in 1907, supplementary to the law of 1905. By it most of the privileges guaranteed the Roman Catholic Church by the law of 1905 were abrogated. The critical point in the new law was the method of keeping the churches open for religious exercises and so avoiding all the appearance of persecution and all the scandal and uproar that would certainly result if the churches of France were closed. It was provided that their use should be gratuitous and should be regulated by contracts between the priests and the prefects or mayors. These contracts would safeguard the civil ownership of the buildings, but worship would go on in them as before. This system is at present in force.

Separation of Church and State

The result of this series of events and measures is that Church and State are now definitely separated. The people have apparently approved in recent elections the policy followed by their Government. Bishops and priests no longer receive salaries from the State. On the other hand they have liberties which they did not enjoy under the Concordat, such as rights of assembly and freedom from government participation in appointments. The faithful must henceforth support their priests and bear the expenses of the Church by private contributions. The church buildings, however, have been left to their use by the irrational but practical device just described.

ACQUISITION OF COLONIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

France, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had possessed an extensive colonial empire. This she had lost to England as a result of the wars of the reign of Louis XV, the Revolution, and the Napoleonic period, and in 1815 her possessions had shrunk to a few small points, Guadaloupe and Martinique in the West Indies, St. Pierre and Miquelon, off Newfoundland, five towns on the coasts of India, of which Pondicherry was the best known, Bourbon, now called Réunion, an island in the Indian Ocean, Guiana in South America, which had few inhabitants, and Senegal in Africa. These were simply melancholy souvenirs of her once proud past, rags and tatters of a once imposing empire.

The French colonial empire

In the nineteenth century she was destined to begin again, and to create an empire of vast geographical extent, only second in importance to that of Great Britain, though vastly inferior to that. The interest in conquests revived but slowly after 1815. France had conquered so much in Europe from 1792 to 1812 only to lose it as she had lost her colonies, that conquest in any form seemed but a futile and costly display of misdirected enterprise. Nevertheless, in time the process began anew, and each of the various régimes which have succeeded one another since 1815 has contributed to the building of the new empire.

Algeria

The beginning was made in Algeria, on the northern coast of Africa, directly opposite France, and reached now in less than twenty-four hours from Marseilles. Down to the opening of the nineteenth century Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, nominally parts of the Turkish Empire, were in reality independent and constituted the Barbary States, whose main business was piracy. But Europe was no longer disposed to see her wealth seized and her citizens enslaved until she paid their ransom. In 1816 an English fleet bombarded Algiers, released no less than 3,000 Christian captives, and destroyed piracy.

The French conquest of Algeria grew out of a gross insult administered by the Dey to a French consul in 1830. France replied by sending a fleet to seize the capital, Algiers. She did not at that time intend the conquest of the whole country, but merely the punishment of an insolent Dey, but attacks being made upon her from time to time which she felt she must crush, she was led on, step by step, until she had everywhere established her power. All through the reign of Louis Philippe this process was going on. Its chief feature was an intermittent struggle of fourteen years with a native leader, Abd-el-Kader, who proclaimed and fought a Holy War against the intruder. In the end (1847) he was forced to surrender, and France had secured an important territory.

Other African conquests

Under Napoleon III, the beginning of conquest in another part of Africa was made. France had possessed, since the time of Louis XIII and Richelieu, one or two miserable ports on the western coast, St. Louis the most important. Under Napoleon III, the annexation of the Senegal valley was largely carried through by the efforts of the governor, Faidherbe, who later distinguished himself in the Franco-German war. Under Napoleon III also, a beginning was made in another part of the world, in Asia. The persecution of Christian natives, and the murder of certain French missionaries gave Napoleon the pretext to attack the king of Annam, whose kingdom was in the peninsula that juts out from southeastern Asia. After eight years of intermittent fighting France acquired from the king the whole of Cochin-China (1858–67), and also established a protectorate over the Kingdom of Cambodia, directly north.

Cochin-China

Thus, by 1870, France had staked out an empire of about 700,000 square kilometers, containing a population of about six million.

Expansion under the Third Republic

Under the present Republic the work of expansion and consolidation has been carried much further than under all of the preceding régimes. There have been extensive annexations in northern Africa, western Africa, the Indian Ocean, and in Indo-China.

In northern Africa, Tunis has passed under the control of France. This was one of the Barbary States, and was nominally a part of the Turkish Empire, with a Bey as sovereign. After establishing herself in Algeria, France desired to extend her influence eastward, over this neighboring state. But Italy, now united, began about 1870 to entertain a similar ambition. France, therefore, under the ministry of Jules Ferry, an ardent believer in colonial expansion, sent troops into Tunis in 1881, which forced the Bey to accept a French protectorate over his state. The French have not annexed Tunis formally, but they control it absolutely through a Resident at the court of the Bey, whose advice the latter is practically obliged to follow.

In western Africa, France has made extensive annexations in the Senegal, Guinea, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast, and the region of the Niger, and north of the Congo. By occupying the oases in the Sahara she has established her claims to that vast but hitherto unproductive area. This process has covered many years of the present Republic. The result is the existence of French authority over most of northwest Africa, from Algeria on the Mediterranean, to the Congo river. This region south of Algeria is called the French Soudan, and comprises an area seven or eight times as large as France, with a population of some fourteen millions, mainly blacks. There is some discussion of a Trans-Saharan railroad to bind these African possessions more closely together.

Western Africa

In Asia, the Republic has imposed her protectorate over the Kingdom of Annam (1883) and has annexed Tonkin, taken from China after considerable fighting (1885). In the Indian Ocean, she has conquered Madagascar, an island larger than France herself, with a population of two and a half million. A protectorate was imposed upon that country in 1895, after ten years of disturbance, but after quelling a rebellion that broke out the following year, the protectorate was abolished, and the island was made a French colony.

Madagascar

Thus at the opening of the twentieth century, the colonial empire of France is eleven times larger than France itself, has an area of six million square kilometers, a population of about fifty millions, and a rapidly growing commerce. Most of this empire is located in the tropics and is ill-adapted to the settlement of Europeans. Algeria and Tunis, however, offer conditions favorable for such settlements. They constitute the most valuable French possessions. Algeria is not considered a colony but an integral part of France. It is divided into three departments, each one of which sends one senator and two deputies to the chambers of the French Parliament.

On March 30, 1912, France established a protectorate over Morocco. For several years the status of that country had been one of the contentious problems of international politics. France had desired to gain control of it in order to round out her empire in northwestern Africa. In 1904 she had made an agreement with England whereby a far-reaching diplomatic revolution in Europe was inaugurated. This was largely the work of Théophile Delcassé, Minister of Foreign Affairs for seven years, from 1898 to 1905, one of the ablest statesmen the Third Republic has produced. Delcassé believed that France would be able to follow a more independent and self-respecting

Morocco

foreign policy, one freer from German domination and intimidation, if her relations with Italy and England, severely strained for many years, largely owing to colonial rivalries and jealousies, could be made cordial and friendly. This he was able to accomplish by arranging a treaty of commerce favorable to Italy and by promising Italy a free hand in Tripoli and receiving from her the assurance that she would do nothing to hamper French policy in Morocco, a country of special significance to France because of her possession of Algeria.

Théophile Delcassé

More important was the reconciliation with England. The relations of these two neighbors had long been difficult and, at times, full of danger. Indeed, in 1898 they had stood upon the very brink of war when a French expedition under Marchand had crossed Africa and had seized Fashoda on the Upper Nile in the sphere of influence which Great Britain considered emphatically hers. The Fashoda incident ended in the withdrawal of the French before the resolute attitude of England. The lesson of this incident was not lost upon either power, and six years later, on April 8, 1904, they signed an agreement which not only removed the sources of friction between them once for all, but which established what came to be known as the Entente Cordiale, destined to great significance in the future. By this agreement France recognized England's special interests in Egypt and abandoned her long-standing demand that England should set a date for the cessation of her "occupation" of that country. On the other hand, England recognized the special interests of France in Morocco and promised not to impede their development.

The Entente Cordiale

One power emphatically objected to this determination of the fate of an independent country by these two powers alone. Germany challenged this agreement and asserted that she must herself be consulted in such matters; that her rivals had no right by themselves to preëmpt those regions of the world which might still be considered fields for European colonization or control. German interests must be considered quite as much as French or English.

Conference of Algeciras, 1906

Germany's peremptory attitude precipitated an international crisis and led to the international Conference of Algeciras in 1906 which was, however, on the whole a victory for France, acknowledging the primacy of her interests in Morocco. As France proceeded to strengthen her position there in the succeeding years, Germany issued another challenge in 1911, by sending a gunboat to Agadir, thus creating another crisis, which for a time threatened a European war. In the end, however, Germany recognized the position of France, but only after the latter had ceded to her extensive territories in Kamerun and the French Congo. For several years therefore Morocco was a danger spot in international politics, exerting a disturbing influence upon the relations of European powers to each other, particularly those of France and Germany. Finally, however, the independence of Morocco disappeared and the country was practically incorporated in the colonial empire of France.

Germany receives a part of the French Congo

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY SINCE 1870

The Kingdom of Italy, as we have seen, was established in 1859 and 1860. Venetia was acquired in 1866, and Rome in 1870. In these cases, as in the preceding, the people were allowed to express their wishes by a vote, which, in both instances, was practically unanimous in favor of the annexation.

The Kingdom of Italy

The Constitution of the new kingdom was the old Constitution of Piedmont, slightly altered. It provided for a parliament of two chambers, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The full parliamentary system was introduced, ministers representing the will of the Lower Chamber. The first capital was Turin, then Florence in 1865, and finally Rome since 1871.

The Constitution

The most perplexing question confronting the new kingdom concerned its relations to the Papacy. The Italian Kingdom had seized, by violence, the city of Rome, over which the Popes had ruled in uncontested right for a thousand years. Rome had this peculiarity over all other cities, that it was the capital of Catholics the world over. Any attempt to expel the Pope from the city or to subject him to the House of Savoy would everywhere arouse the faithful, already clamorous, and might cause an intervention in behalf of the restoration of the temporal power. There were henceforth to be two sovereigns, one temporal, one spiritual, within the same city. The situation was absolutely unique and extremely delicate. It was considered necessary to determine their relations before the government was transferred to Rome. It was impossible to reach any agreement with the Pope as he refused to recognize the Kingdom of Italy, but spoke of Victor Emmanuel simply as the King of Sardinia, and would make no concessions in regard to his own rights in Rome. Parliament, therefore, assumed to settle the matter alone and passed May 13, 1871, the Law of Papal Guarantees, a remarkable act defining the relations of Church and State in Italy.

The question of the Papacy

The Law of Papal Guarantees

The object of this law was to carry out Cavour's principle of a "free Church in a free State," to reassure Catholics that the new kingdom had no intention of controlling in any way the spiritual activities of the Pope, though taking from him his temporal powers. Any attacks upon him are, by this law, to be punished exactly as are similar attacks upon the King. He has his own diplomatic corps, and receives diplomatic representatives from other countries. Certain places are set apart as entirely under his sovereignty: the Vatican, the Lateran, Castel Gandolfo, and their gardens. Here no Italian official may enter, in his official capacity, for Italian law and administration stop outside these limits. In return for the income lost with the temporal power, the Pope is granted 3,225,000 francs a year by the Italian Kingdom. This law has been faithfully observed by the Italian government but it has never been accepted by the Pope nor has the Kingdom of Italy been recognized by him. He considers himself the "prisoner of the Vatican," and since 1870 has not left it to go into the streets of Rome, as he would thereby be tacitly recognizing the existence of another ruler there, the "usurper."

The Curia Romana

The "prisoner of the Vatican"

Another difficult problem for the Kingdom was its financial status. The debts of the different states were assumed by it and were large. The nation was also obliged to make large expenditures on the army and the navy, on fortifications, and on public works, particularly on the building of railways, which were essential to the economic prosperity of the country as well as conducive to the strengthening of the sense of common nationality. There were, for several years, large annual deficits, necessitating new loans, which, of course, augmented the public debt. Heroically did successive ministers seek to make both ends meet, not shrinking from new and unpopular taxes, or from the seizure and sale of monastic lands. Success was finally achieved, and in 1879 the receipts exceeded the expenditures.

Financial difficulties

In 1878 Victor Emmanuel II died and was buried in the Pantheon, one of the few ancient buildings of Rome. Over his tomb is the inscription, "To the Father of his Country." He was succeeded by his son Humbert I, then thirty-four years of age. A month later Pius IX died, and was succeeded by Leo XIII, at the time of his election sixty-eight years of age. But nothing was changed by this change of personalities. Each maintained the system

Death of Victor Emmanuel II

of his predecessor. Leo XIII, Pope from 1878 to 1903, following the precedent set by Pius IX, never recognized the Kingdom of Italy, nor did he ever leave the Vatican. He, too, considered himself a prisoner of the "robber king."

The educational problem

Another urgent problem confronting the new kingdom was that of the education of its citizens. This was most imperative if the masses of the people were to be fitted for the freer and more responsible life opened by the political revolution. The preceding governments had grossly neglected this duty. In 1861 over seventy-five per cent of the population of the kingdom were illiterate. In Naples and Sicily, the most backward in development of all the sections of Italy, the number of illiterates exceeded ninety per cent of the population; and in Piedmont and Lombardy, the most advanced sections, one-third of the men and more than half of the women could neither read nor write. In 1877 a compulsory education law was finally passed but it has not, owing to the expense, been practically enforced. Though Italy has done much during the last thirty years, much remains to be done. Illiteracy, though diminishing, is still widely prevalent. Recent statistics show that forty per cent of the recruits in the army are illiterate.

Extension of the suffrage

In 1882 the suffrage was greatly extended. Hitherto limited to those who were twenty-five years of age or over and paid about eight dollars a year in direct taxes, it was now thrown open to all over twenty-one years of age and the tax qualification was reduced by half; also all men of twenty-one who had had a primary education were given the vote. The result was that the number of voters was tripled at once, rising from about 600,000 to more than 2,000,000.

Further extension of the suffrage

In 1912 Italy took a long step toward democracy by making the suffrage almost universal for men, only denying the franchise to those younger than thirty who have neither performed their military service nor learned to read and write. Thus all men over twenty-one, even if illiterate, have the vote if they have served in the army. The number of voters was thus increased from somewhat over three million to more than eight and a half million.

In foreign affairs Italy made an important decision which has influenced her course ever since. In 1882 she entered into alliance with

Germany, and with Austria, her former enemy and in many respects still her rival. This made the famous Triple Alliance which has dominated Europe most of the time since it was created. The reasons why Italy entered this combination, highly unnatural for her, considering her ancient hatred of Austria, were various: pique at France, for the seizure of Tunis, which Italy herself coveted, dread of French intervention in behalf of the Pope, and a desire to appear as one of the great powers of Europe. The result was that she was forced to spend larger sums upon her army, remodeled along Prussian lines, and her navy, thus disturbing her finances once more.

The Triple Alliance

Italy now embarked upon another expensive and hazardous enterprise, the acquisition of colonies, influenced in this direction by the prevalent fashion, and by a desire to rank among the world powers. Shut out of Tunis, her natural field, by France, she, in 1885, seized positions on the Red Sea, particularly the port of Massawa. Two years later she consequently found herself at war with Abyssinia. The minister who had inaugurated this movement, Depretis, died in 1887. He was succeeded by Crispi, who threw himself heartily into the colonial scheme, extended the claims of Italy in East Africa, and tried to play off one native leader against another. To the new colony he gave the name of Eritrea. At the same time an Italian protectorate was established over a region in eastern Africa called Somaliland. But all this involved long and expensive campaigns against the natives. Italy was trying to play the rôle of a great power when her resources did not warrant it. The consequence of this aggressive and ambitious military, naval, and colonial policy was the creation anew of a deficit in the state's finances which increased alarmingly. The deficits of four years amounted to the enormous sum of over seventy-five million dollars, which occasioned heavy new taxes and widespread discontent which was put down ruthlessly by despotic methods. This policy of aggrandizement led to a war with Abyssinia and to a disaster in 1896 in the battle of Adowa, so crushing as to end the political life of Crispi and to force Italy into more moderate courses. Popular discontent continued. Its cause was the wretchedness of the people, which in turn was largely occasioned by the heavy taxation resulting from these unwise attempts to play an international rôle hopelessly out of proportion to the country's resources. In the south and center the movement took the form

Francesco Crispi

Ambitious military and colonial policy

of "bread riots," but in the north it was distinctly revolutionary. "Down with the dynasty," was a cry heard there. All these movements were suppressed by the Government, but only after much bloodshed. They indicated widespread distress and dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

Assassination of Humbert I

In July, 1900, King Humbert was assassinated by an Italian anarchist who went to Italy for that purpose from Paterson, New Jersey. Humbert was succeeded by his son Victor Emmanuel III, then in his thirty-first year.

Victor Emmanuel III

The new King had been carefully educated and soon showed that he was a man of intelligence, of energy, and of firmness of will. He won the favor of his subjects by the simplicity of his mode of life, by his evident sense of duty, and by his sincere interest in the welfare of the people, shown in many spontaneous and unconventional ways. He became forthwith a more decisive factor in the government than his father had been. He was a democratic monarch, indifferent to display, laborious, vigorous. The opening decade of the twentieth century was characterized by a new spirit which, in a way, reflected the buoyancy, and hopefulness, and courage of the young King. But the causes for the new optimism were deeper than the mere change of rulers and lay in the growing prosperity of the nation, a prosperity which, despite appearances, had been for some years preparing and which was now witnessed on all sides. The worst was evidently over.

Increase of the population

Italy is becoming an industrial nation. Silk and cotton and chemical and iron manufactures have advanced rapidly in recent years. The merchant marine has greatly increased. This transformation into a great industrial state is not only possible but is necessary, owing to her rapidly increasing population, which has grown, since 1870, from about 25,000,000 to nearly 35,000,000. The birth rate is higher than that of any other country of Europe. But during the same period the emigration from Italy has been large and has steadily increased. Official statistics show that, between 1876 and 1905, over eight million persons emigrated, of whom over four million went to various South American countries, especially Argentina, and to the United States. Perhaps half of the total number have returned to their native land, for much of the emigration is of a temporary character. Emigration has increased greatly under the present reign, while the economic conditions of the country have begun to show improvement. This is explained by the fact that the industrial revival described above has not yet affected southern Italy and Sicily, whence the large proportion of the emigrants come. From those parts which have experienced that revival the emigration is not large. Only by an extensive growth of industries can this emigration be stopped or at least rendered normal. Italy finds herself in the position in which Germany was for many years, losing hundreds of thousands of her citizens each year. With the expansion of German industries the outgoing stream grew less until, in 1908, it practically ceased, owing to the fact that her mines and factories had so far developed as to give employment to all.

Problem of emigration

This increasing population and this constant loss by emigration have served in recent years to concentrate Italian thought more and more upon the necessity of new and more advantageous colonies, that her surplus population may not be drained away to other countries. The desire for expansion has increased and with it the determination to use whatever opportunities are offered by the politics of Europe for that purpose. The result was the acquisition in 1912 of the extensive territory of Tripoli and of a dozen Ægean islands, spoils of a war with Turkey which will be more fully treated later. With this desire for expansion has also gone a tendency to scrutinize more carefully the nature of her relations with her allies, Germany and Austria. The advantages of the Triple Alliance became, in the minds of many, more and more doubtful. One obvious and positive disadvantage in an alliance with Austria was the necessary abandonment of a policy of annexation of those territories north and northeast of Italy which are inhabited by Italians but which were not included within the boundaries of the kingdom at the time of its creation. These are the so-called Trentino, the region around the town of Trent; Trieste, and Istria. These territories are subject to Austria and as long as Italy was allied with Austria she was kept from any attempt to gain this *Italia irredenta* or Unredeemed Italy, and thus so round out her boundaries as to include within them people who are Italian in race, in language, and, probably, in sympathy.

Italy acquires Tripoli and twelve Ægean islands

Unredeemed Italy

On May 4, 1915, Italy denounced her treaty of alliance with Austria. The famous Triple Alliance which had been the dominant factor in

European diplomacy since 1882 thus came to an end. On May 23, Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary and entered the European conflict on the side of the Entente Allies in the hope of realizing her "national aspirations."

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CHAPTER XXIV

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY SINCE 1848

AUSTRIA TO THE COMPROMISE OF 1867

Austrian oppression of her subjects after 1849

Austria, perilously near dissolution in 1848, torn by revolutions in Bohemia, Hungary, the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, with her influence in Germany temporarily paralyzed, had emerged triumphant from the storm and by 1850 was in a position to impose her will once more upon her motley group of states. She learned no lesson from the fearful crisis through which she had passed but at once entered upon a course of reaction of the old familiar kind. Absolutism was everywhere restored. Italy was ruled with an iron hand, Prussia was humiliated in a most emphatic manner, Hungary felt the full weight of Austrian displeasure. Hungary, indeed, was considered to have forfeited by her rebellion the old historic rights she had possessed for centuries. Her Diet was abolished, the kingdom was cut up into five sections, and each was ruled largely by Germans. Indeed the policy was to crush out all traces of separate nationality. Francis Joseph, however, found it in the end impossible to break the spirit of the Magyars, who bent beneath the autocrat but did not abate their claims.

Failure of the war in Italy in 1859

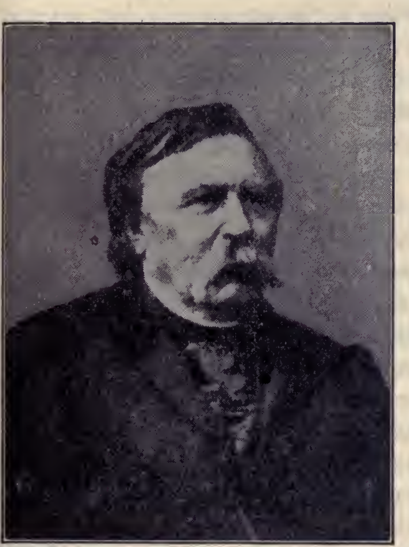
For ten years this arbitrary and despotic system continued. Then came the disaster in Italy in 1859, the defeats of Magenta and Solferino and the loss of Lombardy. One reason for the defeat was the attitude of the Hungarians, many of whom joined the Italian armies against Austria. Moreover, it seemed as if rebellion might break out at any moment in Hungary itself.

Francis Joseph reverses his policy

This time the Austrian government profited by experience. In order to gain the support of his various peoples Francis Joseph resolved to break with the previous policy of his reign, to sweep away abuses, redress grievances, and introduce liberal reforms. But the problem was exceedingly complicated, and was only slowly worked out after several experiments had been tried which had resulted in failure. The chief difficulty lay in the adjustment of the claims of the different races over which he ruled.

Austria becomes a constitutional state

In 1861 the Emperor decided that there should be a Parliament for the whole Empire, divided into two chambers, meeting annually. The members of the House of Representatives were to be chosen by the local diets, on a basis of population. The local legislatures were to continue for local affairs, but with reduced powers. By this constitution, granted by the Emperor, Austria became a constitutional monarchy. Absolutism as a form of government was abandoned.



Francis Deák.

Hungary refuses to coöperate

But this constitution was a failure, and chiefly because of the attitude of the Hungarians. To the first Parliament Hungary declined to send representatives, an attitude she maintained steadily for several years until a new arrangement was made satisfactory to her. Why did she refuse to recognize a constitution that represented a great advance in liberalism over anything the Empire had known before? Why did she refuse to send representatives to a Parliament in which she would have weight in proportion to the number of her inhabitants? Why did she steadily refuse to accept an arrangement that seemed both liberal and fair?

It must be constantly remembered that Hungary consists of several races, and that of these races the Magyars have always been the dominant one, though in a numerical minority. This dominant race was divided into two parties, one of irreconcilables, men who bitterly hated Austria, who would listen to no compromise with her, whose ideal was absolute independence. These men, however, were not now in control. They were discredited by the failures of 1849. The leaders of Hungary were now the moderate liberals, at whose head stood Francis Deák, the wisest and most influential Hungarian statesman of the nineteenth century. These men were willing to compromise with Austria on the question of giving the requisite strength to the government of the whole Empire to enable it to play its rôle as a great European power, but they were absolutely firm in their opposition to the constitution just granted by Francis Joseph, and immovable in their determination to secure the legal rights of Hungary. Their reasons for opposing the new constitution, which promised so vast an improvement upon the old unprogressive absolutism that had reigned for centuries, for thwarting the Emperor, who was frankly disposed to enter the path of liberalism, are most important.

Reasons for her refusal

They asserted that Hungary had always been a separate nation, united with Austria simply in the person of the monarch, who was king in Hungary as he was emperor in his own hereditary states; that he was king in Hungary only after he had taken an oath to support the fundamental laws of Hungary, and had been crowned in Hungary with the iron crown of St. Stephen; that these fundamental laws and institutions were centuries old; that they were still the law of the land; that the new constitution was one "granted" by Francis Joseph, and, if granted, might be withdrawn; that, whatever its abstract merits were, it was unacceptable by reason of its origin; that, moreover, its effect was to make Hungary a mere province of Austria; that what was wanted was not *a* constitution, but *the* constitution of Hungary, which had, since 1848, been illegally suspended. Francis Joseph must formally recognize the historic rights of Hungary. After that the Hungarians were willing to consider means of giving him powers sufficient to enable him to play the rôle of a great monarch in European affairs. But first and foremost Hungary was determined to preserve her historic personality and not to fuse herself at all with the other peoples subject to the House of Hapsburg who were in her opinion merely "foreigners."

The Hungarians assert their "historic rights"

Hungary demands the restoration of her constitution

The Hungarians had their way. The new experiment of a single imperial Parliament finally broke down beneath the impact of their persistent refusal to accept it. For four years, from 1861 to 1865, there was a deadlock, neither side yielding. Then came the Austrian defeats of 1866, Austria's expulsion from Germany and from Italy. It was necessary for the monarchy to in-

A deadlock

crease its strength at home, now that its influence was so reduced elsewhere.

The Compromise of 1867

Accordingly there was concluded in 1867 between Austria and Hungary a Compromise, or Ausgleich, as the Germans call it, which is the basis of the Empire to-day. This created a curious kind of state, defying classification, and absolutely unique. The Empire was henceforth to be called Austria-Hungary, and was to be a dual monarchy. Austria-Hungary consists of two distinct, independent states, which stand in law upon a plane of complete equality. Each has its own capital, the one Vienna, the other Budapest. Both have the same ruler, who in Austria bears the title of Emperor, in Hungary that of King. Each has its own Parliament, its own ministry, its own administration. Each governs itself in all internal affairs absolutely without interference from the other.

The Dual Monarchy

But the two are united not simply in the person of the monarch. They are united for certain affairs regarded as common to both. There is a joint ministry composed of three departments: Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance. Each state has its own Parliament, but there is no Parliament in common. In order then to have a body that shall supervise the work of the three joint ministries there was established the system of "delegations." Each Parliament chooses a delegation of sixty of its members. These delegations meet alternately in Vienna and Budapest. They are really committees of the two Parliaments. They sit and debate separately, each using its own language, and they communicate with each other in writing. If after three communications no decision has been reached a joint session is held in which the question is settled without debate by a mere majority vote.

The Delegations

Other affairs, which in most countries are considered common to all parts, such as tariff and currency systems, do not fall within the competence of the joint ministry or the delegations. They are to be regulated by agreements concluded between the two Parliaments for periods of ten years, exactly as between any two independent states, an awkward arrangement creating an intense strain every decade, for the securing of these agreements is most difficult.

Each state has its own constitution, each has its own Parliament, consisting of two chambers. In neither was there in 1867 universal suffrage. A demand for this has been repeatedly made in both countries with results that will appear later.

The dominant races

Neither of the two states had a homogeneous population. In each there was a dominant race, the Germans in Austria, the Magyars in Hungary. The Compromise of 1867 was satisfactory to these alone. In each country there were subordinate and rival races, jealous of the supremacy of these two, anxious for recognition and for power, and rendered more insistent by the sight of the remarkable success of the Magyars in asserting their individuality. In Hungary there were Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania; in Austria there were seventeen provinces, each with its own Diet, representing almost always a variety of races. Some of these, notably Bohemia, had in former centuries had a separate statehood, which they wished to recover; others were gaining an increasing self-consciousness, and desired a future controlled by themselves and in their own interests.

Divisive effect of the principle of nationality in Austria-Hungary

The struggles of these races were destined to form the most important feature of Austrian history during the next fifty years. It should be noted that the principle of nationality, so effective in bringing about the unification of Italy and Germany, has tended in Austria in precisely the opposite direction, the splitting up of a single state into many. Dualism was established in 1867, but these subordinate races refuse to acquiesce in that as a final form, as dualism favors only two races, the Germans and the Magyars. They wish to change the dual into a federal state, which shall give free play to the several nationalities. The fundamental struggle all these years has been between these these two principles — dualism and federalism. These racial and nationalistic struggles have been most confusing. In the interest of clearness, only a few of the more important can be treated here.

The Empire of Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, having had different histories since 1867, may best be treated separately.

THE EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA SINCE 1867

Austria since 1867

No sooner had Austria made the Compromise with Hungary than she was confronted with the demand that she proceed further in the path thus entered upon. Various nationalities, or would-be nationalities, demanded that they should now receive as liberal treatment as Hungary had received in the Compromise of 1867. The leaders in this movement were the Czechs of Bohemia, who, in 1868, definitely stated their position, which was precisely that of the Hungarians before 1867. They claimed that Bohemia was an historic and independent nation, united with the other states under the House of Hapsburg only in the person of the monarch. They demanded that the kingdom of Bohemia should be restored, that Francis Joseph should be crowned in Prague with the crown of Wenceslaus. The agitation grew to such an extent that the Emperor decided to yield to the Bohemians. On September 14, 1871, he formally recognized the historic rights of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and agreed to be crowned king in Prague, as he had been crowned king in Budapest. Arrangements were to be made whereby Bohemia should gain the same rights as Hungary, independence in domestic affairs and union with Austria and Hungary for certain general purposes. The dual monarchy was about to become a triple monarchy.

Demands of the Czechs

Emperor prepares to concede them

But these promises were not destined to be carried out. The Emperor's plans were bitterly opposed by the Germans of Austria, who, as the dominant class and as also a minority of the whole population, feared the loss of their supremacy, feared the rise of the Slavs, whom they hated. They were bitterly opposed, also, by the Magyars of Hungary, who declared that this was undoing the Compromise of 1867, and who feared particularly that the rise of the Slavic state of Bohemia would rouse the Slavic peoples of Hungary to demand the same rights, and the Magyars were determined not to share with them their privileged position. The opposition to the Emperor's plans was consequently most emphatic and formidable. It was also pointed out that the management of foreign affairs would be much more difficult with three nations directing rather than two. The Emperor yielded to the opposition. The decree that was to place Bohemia on an equality with Austria and Hungary never came. Dualism had triumphed over federalism, to the immense indignation of those who saw the prize snatched from them. The Compromise of 1867 remained unchanged. The House of Hapsburg to this day rules over a dual, not over a federal state.

Opposition of Germans and Magyars

Triumph of dualism

The racial problem however could not be conjured away so easily. It still persisted. For several years after this triumph the German element controlled the Austrian Parliament. But, breaking up finally into three groups and incurring the animosity of the Emperor by constantly blocking some of the measures he desired, the Emperor threw his influence against them. There ensued a ministry which lasted longer than any other ministry has lasted and whose policies were in some respects of much significance. This was the Taaffe ministry which was in office fourteen years from 1879 to 1893. Its policies favored the development of the Czechs and the Poles, two branches of the Slavic race. The two races of Bohemia are the Germans and the Czechs. The latter were favored in various ways by the Taaffe ministry which was angry with the Germans. They secured an electoral law which assured them a majority in the Bohemian Diet and in the Bohemian delegation to the Reichsrath or Austrian Parliament; they obtained a university, by the division into two institutions of that of Prague, the oldest German University, founded in 1356. Thus there is a German University of Prague and a Czechish (1882). By various ordinances German was dethroned from its position as sole official language. After 1886 office-holders were required to answer the demands of the public in the language in which they were presented, either German or Czechish. This rule operated unfavorably for German officials, who were usually unable to speak Czechish, whereas the Czechs, as a rule, spoke both languages.

The Taaffe ministry (1879-1893)

Concessions to Bohemia

In Galicia the Poles, though a minority, obtained control of the Diet, supported by the Taaffe ministry, and proceeded to oppress the Ruthenians; in Carniola the Slovenes proceeded to Slavicize the province. Thus the Slavs were favored during the long ministry of Taaffe, and the evolution of the Slavic nationalities and peoples progressed at the expense of the Germans. This is the most striking difference between the recent development of Austria and the recent development of Hungary. In Austria the German domination of the Slavs largely broke down and has not been persisted in. The Slavic peoples have had some chances to develop. Racial tyranny on the other hand has been, as we shall see, the settled policy of the dominant race of Hungary. The result is that racial tension, though by no means absent from Austria, has been considerably relieved, whereas in Hungary it has steadily increased until it has quite reached the snapping point.

The Slavs favored

A movement toward democracy also went on under the Taaffe ministry and has continued since its fall. The agitation for universal suffrage was finally successful. By the law of January 26, 1907, all men in Austria over twenty-four years of age were given the right to vote. The most noteworthy result of the first elections on this popular basis (May, 1907) was the return of 87 Socialists, who polled over a million votes, nearly a third of those cast. This party had previously had only about a dozen representatives. It was noticed at the same elections that the racial parties lost heavily. Whether this meant that the period of extreme racial rivalry was over and the struggle of social classes was to succeed it, remained to be seen.

Universal suffrage in Austria

THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY SINCE 1867

Hungary, a country larger than Austria, larger than Great Britain, found her historic individuality definitely recognized and guaranteed by the Compromise of 1867. She had successfully resisted all attempts to merge her with the other countries subject to the House of Hapsburg. She is an independent kingdom under the crown of St. Stephen. The sole official language is Magyar, which is neither Slavic nor Teutonic, but Turanian in origin.

Hungary a separate kingdom

The political history of Hungary since the Compromise has been much more simple than that of Austria. Race and language questions have been fundamental, but they have been decided in a summary manner. The ruling race in 1867 was the Magyar, and it has remained the ruling race. Though numerically in the minority in 1867, comprising only about six millions out of fifteen millions, it was a strong race, accustomed to rule and determined to rule. This minority has since 1867 been attempting the impossible — the assimilation of the majority. There are four leading races in Hungary — the Magyar, the Slav, the Roumanian, the German. The Roumanians are the oldest, claiming descent from Roman colonists of ancient times. They live particularly in the eastern part of the kingdom, which is called Transylvania. They do not constitute a solid block of peoples, for there are among them many German or Saxon settlements, and between them and the independent Kingdom of Roumania, inhabited by people of the same race, are many Magyars. The Slavs of Hungary fall into separate groups. In the northern part of Hungary are the Slovaks. In the southern and particularly the southwestern part are Serbs and Croatians. Of these the Croatians were the only ones who had a separate and distinct personality. They had

The races of Hungary

The Croatians

never been entirely absorbed in Hungary, they had had their own history, and their own institutions. In 1868 the Magyars made a compromise with Croatia, similar to the compromise they had themselves concluded with Austria in the year preceding. In regard to all the other races, however, the Magyars resolved to Magyarize them early and thoroughly. This policy they have steadily persisted in. They have insisted upon the use of the Magyar language in public offices, courts, schools, and in the railway service — wherever, in fact, it has been possible. It is stated that there is not a single inscription in any post-office or railway station in all Hungary except in the Magyar language. The Magyars have in fact refused to make any concessions to the various peoples who live with them within the boundaries of Hungary. They have, indeed, tried in every way to stamp out all peculiarities. For nearly fifty years this policy has been carried out and it has not succeeded. Hungary has not been Magyarized because the power of resistance of Slovaks, Croatians, Slavonians, Roumanians has proved too strong. But in the attempt, which has grown sharper and shriller than ever in the last decade, the Magyar minority has stopped at nothing. It has committed innumerable tricks, acts of arbitrary power, breaches of the law, in order to crush out all opposition. Political institutions have been distorted into engines of ruthless oppression, political life has steadily deteriorated in character and purpose, under the influence of this overmastering purpose which has recognized no bounds. Hungary, which boasts itself a land of freedom, has ensured freedom only to the dominant race, the Magyars. But for the other races Hungary has been a land of unbridled despotism. Every imaginable instrument has been used to crush the Slavs or convert them into Magyars — corruption and gross illegalities in the administrative service, in the control of elections, persecution of all independent newspapers, suppression of schools, the firm determination to prevent these subject peoples, for that they virtually are though theoretically fellow-citizens, from developing their own languages, literatures, arts, economic life, ideals. The situation has been galling to the Slavs and other peoples. Magyar misrule has steadily increased in intensity, has in our time vitiated and corrupted the national life and has made Hungary a tinder box where disaffection may blaze up at any moment. It is an odious history of op-

The policy of Magyarization

Resistance of the Slavs

High-handed measures of the Magyars

A régime of ruthless oppression

pression and a danger spot for Europe. Not until the Magyars recognize that the other races living within Hungary have the same rights as they, not until they adopt a policy of fair play and justice, instead of amalgamation by force, will Hungary be in a healthy condition. Hungary has not been Magyarized. But racial animosities have been raised to the highest pitch and constitute a most alarming menace. Any detailed study of the relations of the dominant Magyars with the Croatians, the Serbs, the Slovaks, the Roumanians, would amply prove these statements.

The Law of 1868 a dead letter

The reply to these assertions, given by the apologists of the Magyars, is that Hungarian law expressly and carefully recognizes the absolute equality of all the various elements and they point to the Law of 1868 which guarantees the "Equal Rights of Nationalities." This law is admirable and enlightened and was composed in the finely liberal spirit of Francis Deák, who indeed was its chief author. But this law is a dead letter, and it has been a dead letter almost from the time of its passage. It has not been repealed, as the advantage of having so liberal an enactment to point to for the purpose of silencing critics and throwing dust in foreign eyes has been apparent to the Magyar tyrants. But the spirit of Francis Deák long ago passed out of the governing circles of Hungary.

That many Roumanians in Transylvania desire separation from Hungary and incorporation in the Kingdom of Roumania, that many of the Serbs or Slavs of southern Hungary desire annexation to the Kingdom of Servia, need occasion no surprise. Unless the Slavs of Hungary receive justice, which they never have received, they will be an element of danger to the kingdom. There is no evidence to show that the Magyars have learned this lesson.

Moreover, in recent years a party has arisen among the Magyars themselves, under the leadership of Francis Kossuth, son of Louis Kossuth of 1848, which is opposed to the Compromise of 1867, and wishes to have Hungary more independent than she is. This party demands that Hungary shall have her own diplomatic corps, shall control her relations with foreign countries independently of Austria, and shall possess the right to have her own tariff. Particularly does it demand the use of Magyar in the Hungarian part of the army of the dual monarchy — a demand pressed passionately, but always resisted with unshaken firmness by the Emperor, Francis Joseph, who considered that

Struggle over the question of language

the safety of the state is dependent upon having one language in use in the army, that there may not be confusion and disaster on the battlefield. Scenes of great violence arose over this question, both in Parliament and outside of it, but the Emperor would not yield. Government was brought to a deadlock, and, indeed, for several years the Ausgleich could not be renewed, save by the arbitrary act of the Emperor, for a year at a time. Francis Joseph finally threatened, if forced to concede the recognition of the Hungarian language, to couple with it the introduction of universal suffrage into Hungary, for which there is a growing popular demand. This the Magyars do not wish, fearing that it will rob them of their dominant position by giving a powerful weapon to the politically inferior but more numerous races, and that they will, therefore, ultimately be submerged by the Slavs about them. Less than twenty-five per cent of the adult male population of Hungary at present possess the vote. The normal operation of political institutions has been seriously interrupted by the violent character of the discussions arising out of these extreme demands for racial monopoly and national independence. Parliamentary freedom has practically disappeared and Hungary has, in recent years, been ruled quite despotically.

Territorial gains and losses.

The House of Hapsburg has lost since 1815 the rich Lombardo-Venetian kingdom (1859-66). It has gained, however, Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a result of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 these Turkish provinces were handed over by the Congress of Berlin of 1878 to Austria-Hungary to "occupy" and "administer." The Magyars at the time opposed the assumption of these provinces, wishing no more Slavs within the monarchy, but despite their opposition they were taken over, so strongly was the Emperor in favor of it. This acquisition of these Balkan countries rendered Austria-Hungary a more important and aggressive factor in all Balkan politics, and in the discussions of the so-called Eastern Question, the future of European Turkey. In October, 1908, Austria-Hungary declared these provinces formally annexed. The great significance of this act will be discussed later in connection with the very recent history of southeastern Europe and the causes of the War of 1914.

On November 21, 1916, Francis Joseph died after a reign of nearly sixty-eight years. He was succeeded by his grand-nephew who assumed the title of Charles I.

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CHAPTER XXV

ENGLAND FROM 1815 TO 1868

Widespread and beneficial influence of the French Revolution

The French Revolution had set in motion a wave of salutary reform which swept away numberless abuses, and demolished or transformed outworn and harmful institutions, not only in France but in other European states. To the credit of the Revolution is therefore due a decided improvement in the conditions of life in many countries, notably in France, Germany, and Italy. But upon one country its effect was wholly unfortunate. England had long needed a thoroughgoing reorganization of her institutions and policies, if they were to conform to even an elementary conception of justice. The ablest writers and thinkers had long ago indicated in unambiguous language the changes that were required and that were feasible, and a statesman like William Pitt had recognized the force of their criticisms and was disposed to undertake the work of quickening the national life by breathing a new spirit into it. Then came the Revolution, enthusiastically hailed at first by the more liberal-minded as the dawn of a new and happier era. But conservative Englishmen were outraged by the attacks of the French upon property rights and social discriminations and, when the excesses of the Revolution came, the vast majority of them were frightened by the very idea of change. Would not any reform lead to the same excesses in England? This was the chord all English conservatives, led by the rhetorical Edmund Burke, continually harped upon. The result was that reform had no chance in England from 1793 to 1815, that changes which would have been an unqualified blessing were delayed for a whole generation.

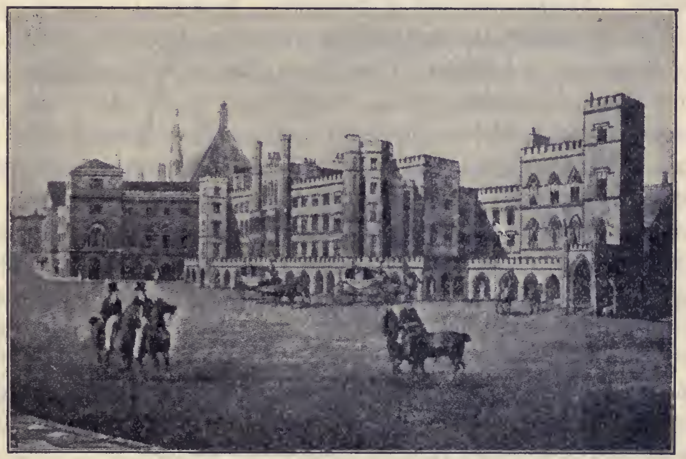
Its unfortunate influence upon England

The stiff conservatism of England

Even after the long war with France was over and the battle of Waterloo was won, the same unreasonable dread of any change continued and the same attitude of stiff, implacable opposition to all reform. This unbending, undeviating hostility to all change on the part of the

British Parliament, controlled during all this period by the Tory party, is easily understood when we come to examine the structure of English institutions and English public and private life. The Revolution proclaimed the doctrine of equality and proceeded to abolish privilege. But England was conspicuously a land of privilege, of glaring discriminations between social classes, a land emphatically of the Old Régime. Inequality, of a pronounced character, reigned in church and state and school.

England a land of the Old Régime



The Old Parliament Buildings. Burned in 1834
After an aquatint by R. Havell.

Power rested with the aristocracy, composed of the nobility and the gentry. The "local self-government" of England, so much praised and idealized abroad, as if it were government of the people, by the people, did not exist. In the county governments the local nobility filled most of the important offices; in the borough governments their influence was generally decisive. In the national government, that is, in Parliament, the aristocracy was solidly entrenched. The House of Lords was composed almost exclusively of large landed proprietors. This was the very bulwark of the dominant social class. But the House of Commons was another stronghold hardly less secure. This body, generally supposed to represent the commoners of England, conspicuously failed to do so. Its composition was truly extraordinary.

Commanding position of the nobility

The House of Commons in 1815 consisted of 658 members: 489 of these were returned by England, 100 by Ireland, 45 by Scotland, 24 by Wales. There were three kinds of constituencies, the counties, the boroughs, and the universities. In England each county had two members, and nearly all of the boroughs had two each, though a few had but one. Representation had no relation to the size of the population in either case. A large county and a small county, a large borough and a small borough, had the same number of members. In times past the king had possessed the right to summon this town and that to send up two burgesses to London. Once given that right it usually retained it. If a new town should grow up, the monarch might give it the right, but he was not obliged to. Since 1625 only two new boroughs had been created. Thus the constitution of the House of Commons had become stereotyped at a time when population was increasing and was also shifting greatly from old centers to new. A growing inequality in the representation was a feature of the political system. Thus the county and borough representation of the ten southern counties of England was 237, and of the thirty others only 252; yet the latter had a population nearly three times as large as the former. All Scotland returned only 45 members, while the single English county of Cornwall (including its boroughs, of course) returned 44. Yet the population of Scotland was eight times as large as that of Cornwall.

The House of Commons

The system of representation

The suffrage in the counties was uniform, and was enjoyed by those who owned land yielding them an income of forty shillings a year. But as this worked out it gave a very restricted suffrage. The county voters were chiefly the men who had large country estates, and their dependents. Counties in which there were so few voters could be easily controlled by the wealthy landowners. In all Scotland there were not three thousand county voters; yet the population of Scotland was nearly two millions. Fife had 240 voters, Cromarty 9. The climax was reached in Bute, where there were 21 voters out of a population of 14,000, only one of whom lived in the county. On a certain occasion only one voter attended the election meeting of that county. He constituted himself chairman, nominated himself, called the list of voters, and declared himself elected to Parliament.

The county suffrage

Such was the situation in the counties of Great Britain, which returned 186 members to the House of Commons. But more important were the boroughs, which returned 467 members.[1] In the boroughs, too, the influence of the landowning and wealthy class was even greater and more decisive than in the counties. The boroughs were of several kinds or types — nomination boroughs, rotten or close boroughs, boroughs in which there was a considerable body of voters, boroughs in which the suffrage was almost democratic. It was the existence of the first two classes that contributed the most to the popular demand for the reform of the House. In the nomination boroughs, the right to choose the two burgesses was completely in the hands of the patron. Such places might have lost all their inhabitants, yet, representation being an attribute of geographical areas rather than of population, these places were still entitled to their two members. Thus Corfe Castle was a ruin, Old Sarum a green mound, Gatton was part of a park, while Dunwich had long been submerged beneath the sea, yet these places, entirely without inhabitants, still had two members each in the House of Commons, because it had been so decided centuries before, when they did have a population, and because the English Parliament took no account of changes. Thus the owner of the ruined wall, or the green mound, or this particular portion of the bottom of the sea, had the right of nomination.

The suffrage in boroughs

Nomination or pocket boroughs

In the rotten or close boroughs the members were elected by the corporation, that is, by the mayor and aldermen, or the suffrage was in the hands of voters, who, however, were so few, from a dozen to fifty in many cases,[2] and generally so poor that the patron could easily influence them by bribery or intimidation to choose his candidates. Elections in such cases were a mere matter of form. It has been stated that in 1793, 245 members were notoriously returned by the influence of 128 peers. Thus peers, themselves sitting in the House of Lords, had representatives sitting in the other House. Lord Lonsdale thus returned nine members, and was known as "premier's cat-o'-nine-tails." Others returned six, five, four apiece. Some would sell their appointments to the highest bidder. Some of the most honorable and useful members bought their seats as the only way of getting into Parliament on an independent basis, though they utterly detested the system. Thus at that time a considerable majority of the members

Rotten boroughs

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[1] The universities returned 5 members.

[2] Ninety members represented places of less than 50 voters each.

of the House of Commons was returned through the influence of a small body of men who at the same time controlled the other House.

There were some boroughs with a fairly large or even democratic electorate. Here bribery was resorted to by the rich, which was easily possible and greatly encouraged by the fact that the polls were kept open for fifteen days. On the other hand there were large cities like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, which had no representation at all in the House of Commons, although they had a population of seventy-five or a hundred thousand or more. Well might the younger Pitt exclaim: "This House is not the representation of the people of Great Britain; it is the representation of nominal boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates." The government of England was not representative, but was oligarchical.

Unrepresented cities

Closely identified with the State, and, like the State, thoroughly permeated with the principle of special privileges, was another body, the Church of England. Though there was absolute religious liberty in Great Britain, though men might worship as they saw fit, the position of the Anglican Church was one greatly favored. Only members of that church possessed any real political power. No Catholic could be a member of Parliament, or hold any office in the state or municipality. In theory Protestants who dissented from the Anglican Church were likewise excluded from holding office. In practice, however, they were enabled to, by the device of the so-called Act of Indemnity, an act passed each year by Parliament, pardoning them for having held the positions illegally during the year just past. The position of the Dissenter was both burdensome and humiliating. He had to pay taxes for the support of the Church of England, though he did not belong to it. He had to register his place of worship with authorities of the Church of England. He could only be married by a clergyman of that church, unless he were a Quaker or a Jew. There was no such thing as civil marriage, or marriage by dissenting clergymen. A Roman Catholic or a Dissenter could not graduate from Cambridge, could not even enter Oxford, owing to the religious tests exacted, which only Anglicans could meet. The natural result of the supremacy of this church was that those entered it who were influenced by self-interest, who were ambitious for political preferment, for social advancement, or for an Oxford

The Established Church

Dissenters

or Cambridge education for their sons. It was "ungentlemanlike" to be a Dissenter.

The people neglected

The great institutions of England, therefore, were controlled by the rich, and in the interests of the rich. Legislation favored the powerful, the landed nobility, and the rich class of manufacturers that was growing up, whose interests were similar. The immense mass of the people received scant consideration. Their education was woefully neglected. Probably three-fourths of the children of England did not receive the slightest instruction. Laborers were forbidden to combine to improve their conditions, which the state itself never dreamed of improving. Even their food was made artificially dear by tariffs on breadstuffs passed in the interests of the landlords. The reverse side of the picture of English greatness and power and prosperity was gloomy in the extreme. England was in need of sweeping and numerous reforms to meet the demands of modern liberalism, whether in politics or economics or in social institutions.

Widespread distress after Waterloo

The demand for reform, checked by the Revolution and by the long struggle with France, was resumed after the final victory over Napoleon at Waterloo. It drew its main strength from the deep and widespread wretchedness of the people. For, contrary to all expectations, peace did not bring happiness and prosperity but rather intense suffering and hatred of class against class. Manufacturers were obliged to discharge thousands of workmen, because the demand for British goods fell off after the peace owing to the resumption of manufacturing in the continental countries. At the time when the number of laborers was greater than the demand 200,000 or more men were added to the labor market by the reduction of the army and navy. Furthermore, the next few years saw a series of bad harvests. By these and by the Corn Law of 1815, bread was made dearer. Add also the fact that the modern industrial or factory system was painfully supplanting the old system of household industries and temporarily throwing multitudes out of employment, or employing them under hard, even inhuman conditions, and it is not difficult to understand the widespread, desperate discontent of the mass of the population. Parliament, an organ of the rich minority, refused to help them; it even forbade them to help themselves, for it was a misdemeanor for workmen to combine. If they did they would be sent to jail. Labor was unorganized.

Lack of employment

The demand for reforms came primarily from the poor and disheartened masses, who possessed a remarkable leader in the person of William Cobbett, the son of an agricultural laborer. For some years Cobbett had published a liberal periodical called "*The Weekly Political Register*," in which he had opposed the Government. In 1816 he reduced the price of his paper from a shilling to twopence, made his appeal directly to the laboring class, and became their guide and spokesman. The effect was instantaneous. For the first time the lower class had an organ, cheap, moreover brilliantly written, for Cobbett's literary ability was such that a London paper, the *Standard*, declared that for clearness, force, and power of copious illustration he was unrivaled since the time of Swift. Cobbett was the first great popular editor, who for nearly thirty years, with but little interruption, expressed in his weekly paper the wishes and the emotions of the laboring classes. He was a great democratic leader, a powerful popular editor, a pugnacious and venomous opponent of the existing régime, a champion of the cause of parliamentary reform.

William Cobbett

For Cobbett persuaded the working people that they must first get the right to vote before they could get social and economic reforms. Parliamentary reform must have precedence. Let the people get political power, let them change Parliament from the organ of a narrow class into a truly national assembly, and then they could abolish the evils from which they suffered, and put useful statutes into force. He demanded, therefore, universal suffrage. Other leaders appeared, also, and a considerable fermentation of ideas among the unpropertied and working classes characterized these years.

Parliamentary reform

But against these demands of the disinherited the Tory party hardened its heart. Scenting in every popular movement a new French Revolution it made no attempt to study or remove grievances but was resolved to go to any length to stamp out the troublesome spirit of unrest by force. This period of sorry reaction culminated in the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, a grave measure which only the direst necessity could justify; also in the passage of so-called Gag Laws which stringently restricted the freedom of speech, of the press, and of public meeting and discussion which had long been the boast of England. This period of harsh government, of repressive legislation, which encroached gravely upon the traditional liberties of the British people, lasted for about five years.

Suspension of Habeas Corpus

In 1820 George III died at the age of eighty-one. He had for many years been insane and the regency had been exercised by his son, who now became George IV and who reigned from 1820 to 1830.

Death of George III

After 1820 a change gradually came over the political life of England. The Tory party still maintained its great majority in Parliament but several of the more reactionary members of the ministry died or resigned, and their places were taken by men of a younger and more liberal generation, particularly by Canning, Peel, and Huskisson, who were able to make the Tory party an engine of partial reform. Canning, as Foreign Secretary, freed England's foreign policy from all connection with the Holy Alliance. He boldly asserted the doctrine that each nation is free to determine its own form of government, which doctrine was the direct opposite of that of Metternich. Huskisson's reforms were economic and aimed at the liberation of commerce, by removing some of the restrictions which had been thrown around the carrying trade, by reducing tariff duties on many articles of import, and by greatly simplifying the administration of the tariff system.

The dawn of an era of reform

Defiance of the Holy Alliance

Sir Robert Peel undertook at this time the reform of the Penal Code. That code was a disgrace to England and placed her far behind France and other countries. The punishment of death could be legally inflicted for about two hundred offenses — for picking pockets, for stealing five shillings from a store, or forty shillings from a dwelling house, for stealing a fish, for injuring Westminster Bridge, for sending threatening letters. In 1823 the death penalty was abolished in about a hundred cases.

The Penal Code reformed

Another reform of these years lay in the direction of greater religious liberty. The disabilities from which Protestant dissenters suffered were removed in 1828 by the abrogation of the requirement that all office-holders should take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England and should make a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. In the following year, after a long and bitter controversy which went to the very verge of civil war, Parliament redressed the grievances of the Catholics by the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act which permitted Catholics henceforth to sit in either house of Parliament and to hold, with a few exceptions, any municipal or national office.

Abolition of religious disabilities

Catholic emancipation

This act established real political equality between Catholics and Protestants.

Tory opposition to the reform of Parliament

The reforms that have just been described were carried through by the Tory party. There was one reform, however, more fundamental and important, which it was clear that that party would never concede, the reform of Parliament itself. The significant features of the parliamentary system have already been described. That they required profound alteration had been held by many of the Whigs for more than fifty years. But the Whigs had been powerless to effect anything, having long been in the minority. A combination of circumstances, however, now brought about the downfall of the party so long dominant, and rendered possible the great reform. George IV died on June 26, 1830, and was succeeded by his brother William IV (1830–1837). The death of the monarch necessitated a new election of Parliament. The election resulted in a Tory loss of fifty members in the House of Commons. The Duke of Wellington was shortly forced to resign and the Whigs came in. Thus was broken the control the Tory party had exercised, with one slight interruption, for forty-six years.

The first Reform Bill

Earl Grey, who for forty years had demanded parliamentary reform, now became prime minister. A ministry was formed with ease, and included many able men, Durham, Russell, Brougham, Palmerston, Stanley, Melbourne, and on March 1, 1831, a Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. It aimed to effect a redistribution of seats on a more equitable plan, and the establishment of a uniform franchise for boroughs in place of the great and absurd variety of franchises then existing. The redistribution of seats was based on two principles, the withdrawal of the right of representation from small, decayed boroughs and its bestowal upon large and wealthy towns hitherto without it.

The bill amazed the House by its comprehensive character and encouraged the reformers. Neither side had expected so sweeping a change. The introduction of the bill precipitated a remarkable parliamentary discussion, which continued with some intervals for over fifteen months, from March 1, 1831, to June 5, 1832.

Lord John Russell in his introduction of the measure, after stating that the theory of the British Constitution was no taxation without representation, and after showing that in former times Parliament had been truly representative, said that it was no longer so. "A stranger who was told that this country is unparalleled in wealth and industry, and more civilized and more enlightened than any country was before it — that it is a country that prides itself on its freedom, and that once in every seven years it elects representatives from its population to act as the guardians and preservers of that freedom — would be anxious and curious to see how that representation is formed, and how the people choose their representatives, to whose faith and guardianship they entrust their free and liberal institutions. Such a person would be very much astonished if he were taken to a ruined mound and told that the mound sent two representatives to Parliament; if he were taken to a stone wall and told that three niches in it sent two representatives to Parliament; if he were taken to a park where no houses were to be seen, and told that that park sent two representatives to Parliament. But if he were told all this, and were astonished at hearing it, he would be still more astonished if he were to see large and opulent towns, full of enterprise and industry and intelligence, containing vast magazines of every species of manufactures, and were then told that these towns sent no representatives to Parliament."

Lord John Russell's speech

This speech inaugurated a resounding and a bitter debate. Opponents of the measure flatly denied that the population of a town had ever had anything to do with its representation or that representation and taxation were in any way connected in the British Constitution. They said that some of the greatest men in parliamentary annals had entered the House of Commons as the representatives of these nomination and rotten boroughs now so vigorously denounced, — which was true, as the cases of the younger Pitt, Burke, Canning, Fox and others showed. To which Macaulay retorted that "we must judge of the form of government by its general tendency, not by happy accidents," and that if "there were a law that the hundred tallest men in England should be members of Parliament, there would probably be some able men among those who would come into the House by virtue of this law."

Arguments for and against the bill

Thus the debate went on, an unusual number of members participating. But the bill did not have long to live. The Opposition was persistent, and on April 19 the ministry was defeated on an amendment. It resolved to appeal to the people. Parliament was dissolved and a new election ordered. This

Ministry defeated, Parliament dissolved

election took place in the summer of 1831 amid the greatest excitement and was one of the most momentous of the century. From one end of the land to the other the cry was, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." There was some violence and intimidation of voters, and bribery on a large scale was practised on both sides. The question put the candidates was, "Will you support the bill or will you oppose it?" The result of the election was an overwhelming victory for the reformers.

Second Reform Bill

On June 24, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced the second Reform Bill, which was practically the same as the first. The Opposition did not yield, but fought it inch by inch. They tried to wear out the ministry by making dilatory motions and innumerable speeches which necessarily consisted of mere repetition. In the course of two weeks Sir Robert Peel spoke forty-eight times, Croker fifty-seven times, Wetherell fifty-eight times. However, the bill was finally passed, September 22, by a majority of 106. It was then sent up to the House of Lords where it was quickly killed (October 8, 1831).

Defeated by the House of Lords

It was the Lords who chiefly profited by the existing system of nomination and rotten boroughs, and they were enraged at the proposal to end it. They were determined not to lose the power it gave them.

The defeat of the bill by the Upper House caused great indignation throughout the country. Apparently the Lords were simply greedy of their privileges. Again riots broke out in London and other towns, expressive of the popular feeling. Newspapers appeared in mourning. Bells were tolled. Threats of personal violence to the Lords were made, and in certain instances carried out. Troops were called out in some places. England, it was widely felt, was on the brink of a civil war.

Third Reform Bill

Parliament was now prorogued. It reassembled December 6th, and on the 12th Lord John Russell rose again and introduced his third Reform Bill. Again the same tiresome tactics of the Opposition. But the bill finally passed the House of Commons, March 23, 1832, by a majority of 116.

Again the bill was before the Lords, who showed the same disposition to defeat it as before. The situation seemed hopeless. Twice the Commons had passed the bill with the manifest and express approval of the people. Were they to be foiled by a chamber based on hereditary privilege? Riots, monster demonstrations, acrimonious and bitter denunciation, showed once more the temper of the people. There was one way only in which the measure could be carried. The King might create enough new peers to give its supporters a majority in the House of Lords. This, however, William IV at first refused to do. The Grey ministry consequently resigned. The King appealed to the Duke of Wellington to form a ministry. The Duke tried but failed. The King then gave way, recalled Earl Grey to power and signed a paper stating, "The King grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill." The peers were never created. The threat sufficed. The bill passed the Lords, June 4, 1832, about 100 of its opponents absenting themselves from the House. It was signed and became a law.

The Bill passed

The bill had undergone some changes during its passage. In its final form it provided that fifty-six nomination or close boroughs with a population of less than 2,000 should lose their representation entirely; that thirty-two others with a population of less than 4,000 should lose one member each. The seats thus obtained were redistributed as follows: twenty-two large towns were given two members each; twenty others were given one each, and the larger counties were given additional members, sixty-five in all. There was no attempt to make equal electoral districts, but only to remove more flagrant abuses. Constituencies still differed greatly in population.

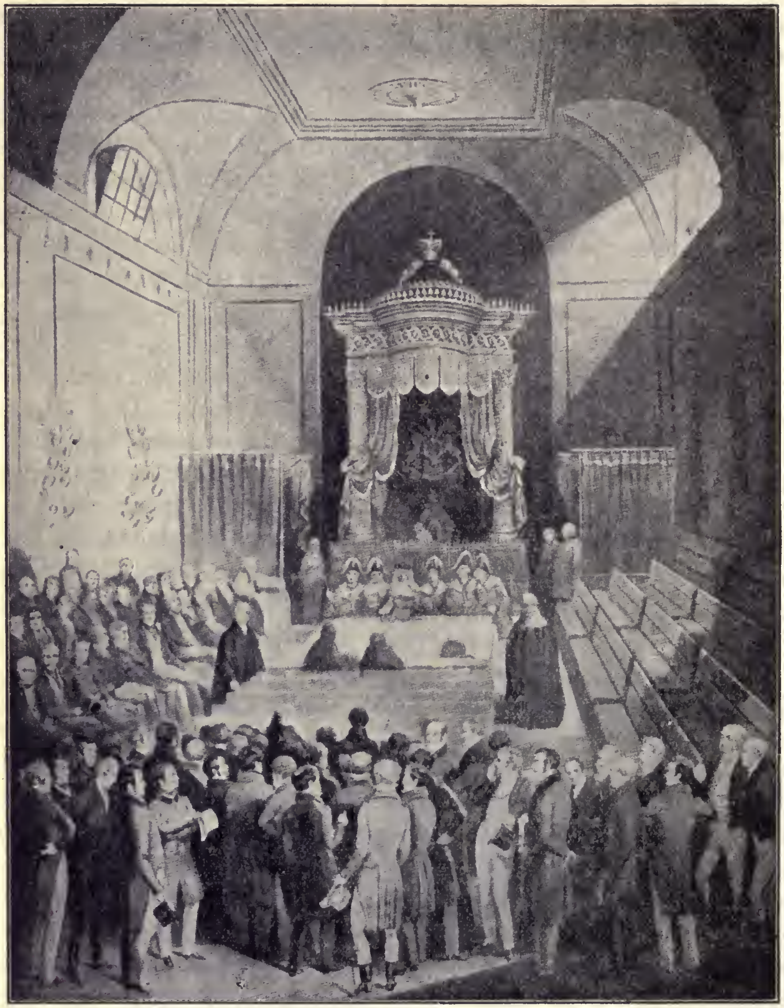
Redistribution of seats

The Reform Bill also altered and widened the suffrage. Previously the county franchise had depended entirely upon the ownership of land; that is, was limited to those who owned outright land of an annual value of forty shillings, the forty-shilling freeholders. The county suffrage was now extended to include, under certain conditions, those who leased land. Thus in the counties the suffrage was dependent still upon the tenure of land, but not upon outright ownership.

The county franchise

In the boroughs a far greater change was made. The right to vote was given to all ten-pound householders, which meant all who owned or rented a house or shop or other building of an annual rental value, with the land, of ten pounds. Thus the suffrage was practically given in boroughs to the wealthier middle class. There was henceforth a uniform suffrage in boroughs, and a diversified suffrage in counties.

The borough franchise



Passing of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords
From an engraving after the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The Reform Bill of 1832 was not a democratic measure, but it made the House of Commons a truly representative body. It admitted to the suffrage the wealthier middle class. The number of voters, particularly in the boroughs, was considerably increased; but the laborers of England had no votes, nor had the poorer middle class. The average ratio of voters to the whole population of Great Britain was about one to thirty. The measure, therefore, though regarded as final by the Whig ministry, was not so regarded by the vast majority, who were still disfranchised. No further alteration was made until 1867, but during the whole period there was a demand for extension. In 1831 and 1832 the people, by their monster meetings, riots, acts of violence, had helped greatly to pass the bill only to find when the struggle was over that others and not themselves had profited by their efforts.

Not a democratic reform

The reforming activity of the Whigs, which had achieved the notable triumph of the great change in the House of Commons, continued unabated for several years. Several measures of great importance were passed by the reformed Parliament during the next few years.

A period of Whig government

One of the first of these was the abolition of slavery in 1833. It had been long held by the British courts that slavery could not exist in the British Isles, that the instant a slave touched the soil of England he became free. But slavery itself existed in the West Indies, in Mauritius, and in South Africa. There were about 750,000 slaves in these colonies. To free them was a difficult matter for it was considered an interference with the rights of property, and it might ruin the prosperity of the colonies. But there was a growing sensitiveness to the moral iniquity of the institution and it was this that ultimately ensured the success of the anti-slavery agitation ably led by Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian. A bill was passed in August, 1833 decreeing that slavery should cease August 1, 1834, and appropriating a hundred million dollars as compensation to the slave owners for the loss of their property. The slave owners were not satisfied, considering the sum insufficient, but were obliged to acquiesce.

Slavery in the colonies

Conscience was aroused at the same time by a cruel evil right at home, the employment, under barbarous conditions, of children in factories. The employment of child labor in British industries was one of the results of the rise of the modern factory system. It was early seen that much of the work done by machinery could be carried on by children, and as their labor was cheaper than that of adults they were swept into the factories in larger and larger numbers, and a monstrous evil grew up. They were, of course, the children of the poorest people. Many began this life of misery at the age of five or six,

Child labor

more at the age of eight or nine. Incredible as it may seem, they were often compelled to work twelve or fourteen hours a day. Half hour intervals were allowed for meals, but by a refinement of cruelty they were expected to clean the machinery at such times. Falling asleep at their work they were beaten by overseers or injured by falling against the machinery. In this inhuman régime there was no time or strength left for education or recreation or healthy development of any kind. The moral atmosphere in which the children worked was harmful in the extreme. Physically, intellectually, morally, the result could only be stunted human beings.

The system defended

This monstrous system was defended by political economists, manufacturers, and statesmen in the name of individual liberty, in whose name, moreover, crimes have often been committed, the liberty of the manufacturer to conduct his business without interference from outside, the liberty of the laborer to sell his labor under whatever conditions he may be disposed or, as might more properly be said, compelled to accept. A Parliament, however, which had been so sensitive to the wrongs of negro slaves in Jamaica, could not be indifferent to the fate of English children. Thus the long efforts of many English humanitarians, Robert Owen, Thomas Sadler, Fielden, Lord Ashley, resulted in the passage of the Factory Act of 1833, which prohibited the employment in spinning and weaving factories of children under nine, made a maximum eight hour day for those from nine to thirteen, and of twelve for those from thirteen to eighteen. This was a very modest beginning, yet it represented a great advance on the preceding policy of England. It was the first of a series of acts regulating the conditions of laborers in the interests of society as a whole, acts which have become more numerous, more minute, and more drastic from 1833 to the present day. The idea that an employer may conduct his business entirely as he likes has no standing in modern English law.

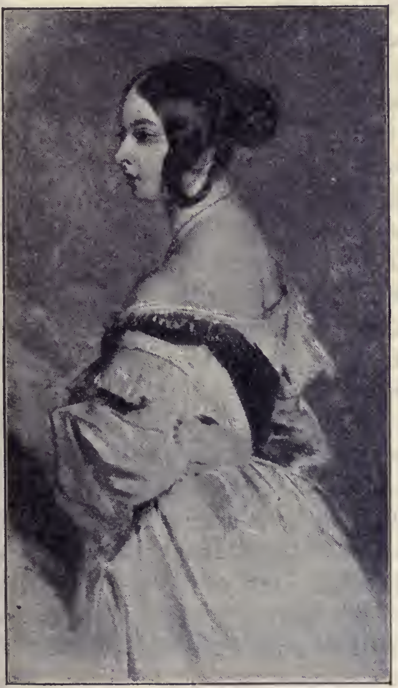
The Factory Act, 1833

The decay of local self-government

The reform spirit, which rendered the decade from 1830 to 1840 so notable, achieved another vast improvement in the radical transformation of municipal government. The local self-government of England enjoyed great fame abroad but was actually in a very sorry condition at home. Not only was the Parliament of 1830 the organ of an oligarchy, but so was the system of local government.

The necessity for reform

Municipal government was in the hands of very small groups. Thus in Cambridge, with a population of 20,000 there were only 118 voters, in Portsmouth, with 46,000, only 102. In very numerous cases the situation was even worse and local government was in the hands of the corporation, that is, the mayor and the common council. The mayor was chosen by the council and the councillors held office for life and had the right to fill all vacancies in their body. These governments were notoriously corrupt and notoriously inefficient. Generally speaking, those Englishmen who lived in boroughs were not only not self-governed but were wretchedly misgoverned.



Queen Victoria, at the age of 20

After the painting by Sir Edwin Landseer at Windsor Castle.

The reform of municipal government

In 1835 a law was passed which provided for the election of town councillors by all the inhabitants who had paid taxes during the preceding three years. The council was to elect the mayor. It is estimated that about two million people thus secured the municipal vote. This was not democracy, but it was a long step toward it, and away from oligarchy. The suffrage has been widened since 1835.

Accession of Queen Victoria

In the midst of this period of reform occurred a change in the occupancy of the throne. King William IV died June 20, 1837, and was succeeded by his niece, Victoria. The young Queen was the daughter of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III. She was, at the time of her accession, eighteen years of age. She had been carefully educated, but owing to the fact that William IV disliked her mother, she had seen very little of court life, and was very little known. Carlyle, oppressed with all the weary weight of this unintelligible world, pitied her, quite unnecessarily. "Poor little Queen!" said he, "she is at an age at which a girl can hardly be trusted to choose a bonnet for herself; yet a task is laid upon her from which an archangel might shrink." Not such was the mood of the Queen. She was buoyant and joyous, and entered with zest upon a reign which was to prove the longest in the annals of England. She impressed all who saw her with her dignity and poise. Her political education was conducted under the guidance, first of Leopold, King of Belgium, her uncle, and after her accession, of Lord Melbourne, both of whom instilled in her mind the principles of constitutional monarchy. The question of her marriage was important and was decided by herself. Summoning her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, into her presence, she offered him her hand — "a nervous thing to do," as she afterward said, yet the only thing as "he would never have presumed to take such a liberty" himself as to ask for the hand of the Queen of England. It was a marriage of affection. "She is as full of love as Juliet," said Sir Robert Peel. Her married life was exceptionally happy, and when the Prince Consort died twenty-one years later, she was inconsolable. During these years he was her constant adviser, and so complete was the harmony of their views that he was practically quite as much the ruler of the country as was she.

Her political education

As the Reform Bill of 1832 had given the suffrage only to the upper part of the middle classes, as it excluded the working classes whether in town or country from all political power, it was only natural that the latter should refuse to consider it a finality and should agitate for the extension of the suffrage to themselves, particularly as they had helped decidedly to pass the great measure. Therefore the workingmen conducted a vehement agitation for several years to secure the rights to which they felt they were as entitled as were those who were fortunate enough to be richer than they. In a pamphlet entitled *The Rotten House of Commons* (December, 1836), Lovett, one of their leaders, proved from official returns that, out of 6,023,752 adult males living in the United Kingdom, only 839,519 were voters. He also showed that despite the reform of 1832 there were great inequalities among the constituencies, that twenty members were chosen by 2,411 votes, twenty more by 86,072. The immediate demands of the Radicals were expressed in "The People's Charter," or programme, a petition to Parliament drawn

Demand for further parliamentary reform

The People's Charter

up in 1838. They demanded that the right to vote be given to every adult man, declaring, "We perform the duties of freemen, we must have the privileges of freemen"; that voting be secret, by ballot rather than orally as was then the custom, so that every voter could be free from intimidation, and less exposed to bribery; that property qualifications for membership in the House be abolished; and that the members receive salaries so that poor men, laborers themselves and understanding the needs of laborers, might be elected to Parliament if the voters wished. They also demanded that the House of Commons should be elected, not for seven years, as was then the law, but simply for one year. The object of this was to prevent their representatives from misrepresenting them by proving faithless to their pledges or indifferent or hostile to the wishes of the voters. Annual elections would give the voters the chance to punish such representatives speedily by electing others in their place. "The connection between the representatives and the people, to be beneficial, must be intimate," said the petition. Such were the five points of the famous Charter designed to make Parliament representative of the *people*, not of a class. Once adopted, it was felt that the masses would secure control of the legislature and could then improve their conditions.

Character of the Chartist agitation

The Chartists had almost no influence in Parliament, and their agitation had consequently to be carried on outside in workingmen's associations, in the cheap press, in popular songs and poems, in monster meetings addressed by impassioned orators, in numerous and unprecedentedly large petitions. One of these was presented in 1839. It was in the form of a large cylinder of parchment about four feet in diameter, and was said to have been signed by 1,286,000 persons. The petition was summarily rejected. Notwithstanding this failure another was presented in 1842, signed, it was asserted by over three million persons. Borne through the streets of London in a great procession it was found too large to be carried through the door of the House of Commons. It was therefore cut up into several parts and deposited on the floor. This, too, was rejected.

In 1848 another attempt was made. Encouraged by the French Revolution of that year the Chartists held a great national convention or people's parliament in London, and planned a vast demonstration on behalf of the Charter. Half a million men were to accompany a new petition to Parliament, which it was expected would be overawed and would then yield to so imposing a demand of an insistent people. The Government was so alarmed that it entrusted the safety of London to the Duke of Wellington, then seventy-nine years of age. His arrangements were made with his accustomed thoroughness. One hundred and seventy thousand special constables were enrolled, one of whom was Louis Napoleon, who before the year was out was to be President of the French Republic. The result was that the street demonstration was a failure, and the petition, examined by a committee of the House, was found to contain, not 5,706,000 signatures, as asserted, but less than two million. It was summarily rejected. The movement died out owing to ridicule, internal quarrels, but particularly because of the growing prosperity of the country, which resulted from the abolition of the Corn Laws and the adoption of Free Trade.

The significance of the movement

It is difficult to appraise the value and significance of this movement. Judged superficially and by immediate results the Chartists failed completely. Yet most of the changes they advocated have since been brought about. There are now no property qualifications for members of the House of Commons, and the secret ballot has been secured; the suffrage is enjoyed by the immense majority of men, though not by all; members now receive salaries, and Parliaments are now elected for five years. It seems that some of the tremendous impetus of England toward democracy, which grew so marked toward the close of the nineteenth century, was derived from this movement of the Chartists.

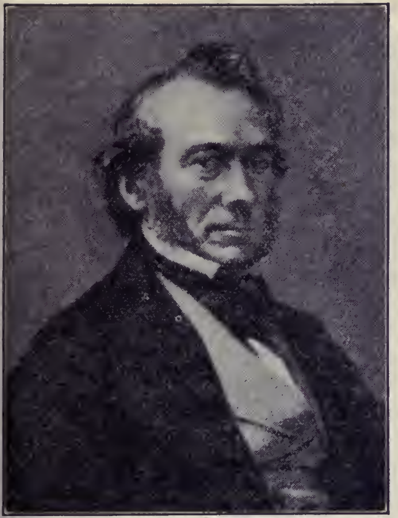
Simultaneously with the Chartist movement another was going on which had a happier issue. The adoption of the principle of free trade must always remain a great event in English history, and was the culmination of a remarkable movement that extended over forty years, though its most decisive phase was concentrated into a few years of intense activity. The change was complete from a policy which England in common with the rest of the world had followed for centuries and which other countries still follow.

England's policy of Protection

England had long believed in protection. Hundreds of articles were subject to duties as they entered the country, manufactured articles, raw materials. The most important single interest among all those protected was agriculture. Corn is a word used in England to describe wheat and bread stuffs generally. The laws imposing duties on corn were the keystone of the whole

The Corn Laws

system of protection. The advocates of free trade necessarily therefore delivered their fiercest assaults upon the Corn Laws. If these could be overthrown it was believed that the whole system would fall. But for a long while the landlord class was so entrenched in political power that the law remained impregnable. The manufacturers and the merchants, however, were in favor of free trade, as the only way of enlarging the foreign market of England and thus keeping English factories running and English workingmen employed. But foreigners would buy English goods only if they might pay for them in their own commodities, their grain, their lumber. Again, as the population was increasing, England needed cheaper food. In 1839 there was founded in Manchester, a great manufacturing center, the Anti-Corn Law League whose leader was Richard Cobden, a successful and traveled young business man. He was soon joined by John Bright, like himself a manufacturer, unlike him one of the great popular orators of the nineteenth century. The methods of the League were businesslike and thorough. Its campaign was one of persuasion. It distributed a vast number of pamphlets, sent out a corps of speakers to deliver lectures, setting forth the leading arguments in favor of free trade. Year after year this process of argumentation went on. It was an earnest and sober attempt to convince Englishmen that they should completely reverse their commercial policy in the interest of their own prosperity. But it does not seem that this agitation would have succeeded in securing the repeal of the Corn Laws had it not been for a great natural calamity, the Irish famine of 1845. The food of the vast majority of the Irish people was the potato. More than half of the eight million inhabitants of Ireland depended upon it alone for sustenance and with a large part of


Richard Cobden

The Anti-Corn-Law League

The Irish famine of 1845

the rest it was the chief article of diet. Now this crop completely failed, owing to a disease that had set in. Famine came and tens of thousands perished from starvation. The only way to rescue the population was to repeal the Corn Laws and thus let in the food supplies of the Continent, to take the place of the blighted potato. In 1846, under this tremendous pressure, Sir Robert Peel carried against bitter opposition the repeal of the Corn Laws. There still remained after this many duties in the English tariff but the keystone of the whole system of protection was removed. One after another during the next twenty years the remaining duties were removed. England still has a tariff but it is for revenue only, not for the protection of English industries. Nearly all of the revenue from the present tariff comes from the duties on tobacco, tea, spirits, wine, and sugar, mostly commodities not produced in England. England is absolutely dependent upon other countries for her food supplies.

Repeal of the Corn Laws

Remaining protective duties gradually removed

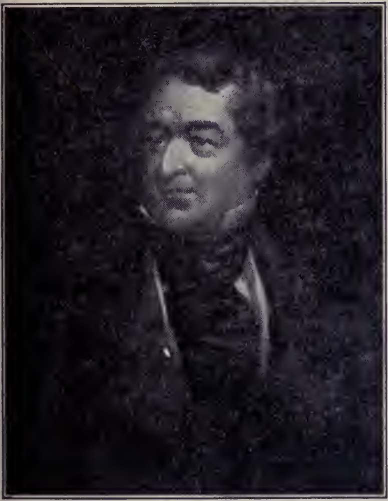
JOHN BRIGHT.

The twenty years succeeding the repeal of the Corn Laws were years of quiescence and transition. Comparatively few changes of importance were made in legislation. Those of greatest significance concerned the regulation of employment in factories and mines. Such legislation, merciful in its immediate effects and momentous in the reach of the principles on which it rested, was enacted particularly during the decade from 1840 to 1850. The initial step in such legislation had been taken in the Factory Act of 1833, already described, a law that regulated somewhat the conditions under which chil-

Labor legislation

dren and women could be employed in the textile industries. But labor was unprotected in many other industries, in which gross abuses prevailed. One of the most famous parliamentary reports of the nineteenth century was that of a commission appointed to investigate the conditions in mines. Published in 1842, its amazing revelations revolted public opinion and led to quick action. It showed that children of five, six, seven years of age were employed underground in coal mines, girls as well as boys; that women as well as men labored under conditions fatal to health and morals; that the hours were long, twelve or fourteen a day, and the dangers great. They were veritable beasts of burden, dragging and pushing carts on hands and knees along narrow and low passageways, in which it was impossible to stand erect. Girls of eight or ten carried heavy buckets of coal on their backs up steep ladders many times a day. The revelations were so astounding and sickening that a law was passed in 1842 which forbade the employment of women and girls in mines, and which permitted the employment of boys of ten for only three days a week.

Regulation of labor in mines

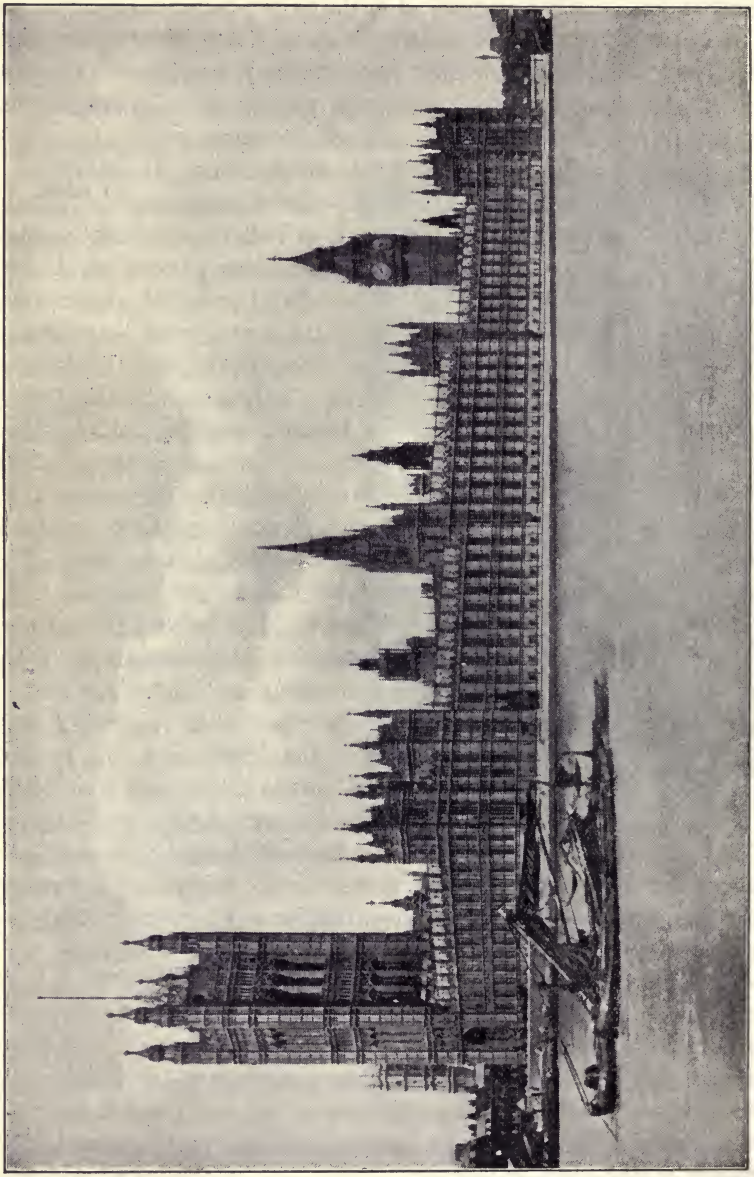


Sir Robert Peel
After painting by John Linnell.

Once embarked on this policy of protecting the economically dependent classes, Parliament was forced to go further and further in the governmental regulation of private industry. It has enacted a long series of statutes which it is here impossible to describe, so extensive and minute are their provisions. The series is being constantly lengthened.

Factory laws

In these various acts of legislation just described and in other ways England showed during these middle years of the century that she was outgrowing old forms of thought and organization and was evidently tending more and more toward democracy. Yet this general trend was not mirrored in her political life and institutions. Parliament remained



Houses of Parliament, London. Begun 1840, Completed 1852.

what the Reform Bill of 1832 had made it. From 1832 to 1867 there was no alteration either in the franchise or in the distribution of seats in the House of Commons. This was the era of middle class rule, as its predecessor had been one of aristocratic rule.

The demand for a wider suffrage

But during this period the demand was frequently made that the suffrage be extended. Not more than one man in six then had the right to vote—only "the ten-pound householders." In 1866, to meet the growing demand Gladstone, leader of the House of Commons under the Earl Russell ministry, proposed a moderate extension of the suffrage. The very moderation sealed its doom, as it aroused no enthusiasm among the people. There was no sign that the people wanted this measure and therefore the Conservatives, joined by many Liberals, joyously killed it. The ministry thereupon resigned and Lord Derby became prime minister, with Disraeli the leading member of the cabinet. The Conservatives were once more in power, and the opponents of reform thought that they had effectually stemmed the advance toward democracy. Never were politicians more completely deceived. The rejection of even this modest measure aroused the people to indignation. Gladstone lost all his timidity and became a fiery apostle of an extensive reform. "You cannot fight against the future; time is on our side" was a Gladstonian phrase that now became a battle cry. John Bright, with ill-concealed menace, incited the people to renew the scenes of 1832. Great popular demonstrations of the familiar kind occurred in favor of the bill. The people were manifestly in earnest.

Reform defeated in 1866

Reform carried by Disraeli in 1867

Seeing this, and feeling that reform was inevitable, and that, such being the case, the Conservative party might as well reap the advantages of granting it as to allow those advantages to accrue to others, Disraeli in the following year, 1867, introduced a Reform Bill. This was remodeled almost entirely by the Liberals, who, led by Gladstone, defeated the proposals of the ministry time after time, and succeeded in having their own principles incorporated in the measure. The bill as finally passed was largely the work of Gladstone, practically everything he asked being in the end conceded, but it was the audacity and subtlety and resourcefulness of Disraeli that succeeded in getting a very radical bill adopted by the very same legislators who the year before had rejected a moderate one.

The bill, as finally passed in August, 1867, closed the rule of the middle class in England, and made England a democracy. The franchise in boroughs was given to all householders. Thus, instead of ten-pound householders, all householders, whatever the value of their houses, were admitted; also, all lodgers who had occupied for a year lodgings of the value, unfurnished, of ten pounds, or about a dollar a week. In the counties the suffrage was given to all those who owned property yielding five pounds clear income a year, rather than ten pounds, as previously; and to all "occupiers" who paid at least twelve pounds, rather than fifty pounds, as hitherto. Thus the better class of laborers in the boroughs, and practically all tenant farmers in the counties, received the vote. By this bill the number of voters was nearly doubled.

Provisions of the bill

So sweeping was the measure that the prime minister himself, Lord Derby, called it a "leap in the dark." Carlyle, forecasting a dismal future, called it "shooting Niagara." Robert Lowe, whose memorable attacks had been largely instrumental in defeating the meager measure of the year before, now said, "we must educate our masters." It should be noted that during the debates on this bill, John Stuart Mill made a strongly reasoned speech in favor of granting the suffrage to women. The House considered the proposition highly humorous. Nevertheless this movement, then in its very beginning, was destined to persist and grow.

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CHAPTER XXVI

ENGLAND SINCE 1868

There is little doubt that the Conservatives expected to be rewarded for passing the Reform Bill of 1867, as the Liberals had been for passing that of 1832, thought, that is, that the newly enfranchised would, out of gratitude, continue them in office. If so, they were destined to a great disappointment, for the elections of 1868 resulted in giving the Liberals a majority of a hundred and twenty in the House of Commons. Gladstone became the head of what was to prove a very notable ministry.

The Great Ministry

Gladstone possessed a more commanding majority than any prime minister had had since 1832. As the enlargement of the franchise in 1832 had been succeeded by a period of bold and sweeping reforms, so was that of 1867 to be. Gladstone was a perfect representative of the prevailing national mood. The recent campaign had shown that the people were ready for a period of reform, of important constructive legislation. Supported by such a majority, and by a public opinion so vigorous and enthusiastic, Gladstone stood forth master of the situation. No statesman could hope to have more favorable conditions attend his entrance into power. He was the head of a strong, united, and resolute party and several men of great ability were members of his cabinet.

William Ewart Gladstone, 1809–1898

The man who thus became prime minister at the age of fifty-nine was one of the notable figures of modern English history. His parents were Scotch. His father had hewed out his own career, and from small beginnings had, by energy and talent, made himself one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Liverpool, and had been elected a member of Parliament. Young William Ewart Gladstone received "the best education then going" at Eton College and Oxford University, in both of which institutions he stood out among his fellows. At Eton his most intimate friend was Arthur Hallam, the man whose splendid eulogy is Tennyson's

In Memoriam. His career at Oxford was crowned by brilliant scholarly successes, and here he also distinguished himself as a speaker in the Union, the university debating club. Before leaving the university his thought and inclination were to take orders in the church, but his father was opposed to this and the son yielded. In 1833 he took his seat in the House of Commons as representative for one of the rotten boroughs which the Reform Bill of the previous year had not abolished. He was to be a member of that body for over sixty years, and for more than half that time its leading member. Before attaining the premiership, therefore, in 1868, he had had a long political career and a varied training, had held many offices, culminating in the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the leadership of the House of Commons. Beginning as a Conservative (Macaulay called him in 1838 the "rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories"), he came under the influence of Sir Robert Peel, a man who, conservative by instinct, was gifted with unusual prescience and adaptability, and who possessed the courage required to be inconsistent, the wisdom to change as the world changed. Gladstone had, after a long period of transition, landed in the opposite camp, and was now the leader of the Liberal Party. By reason of his business ability, shown in the management of the nation's finances, his knowledge of parliamentary history and procedure, his moral fervor, his elevation of tone, his intrepidity and courage, his reforming spirit, and his remarkable eloquence, he was eminently qualified for leadership. When almost sixty he became prime minister, a position he was destined to fill four times, displaying marvelous intellectual and physical energy. His administration, lasting from 1868 to 1874, is called the Great Ministry. The key to his policy is found in his remark to a friend when the summons came from the Queen for him to form a ministry: "My mission is to pacify Ireland." The Irish question, in fact, was to be the most absorbing interest of Mr. Gladstone's later political career, dominating all four of his ministries. It has been a very lively and at times a decisive factor in English politics for the last fifty years.

Entrance into Parliament

Leader of the Liberal Party

Gladstone's First Ministry, 1868-1874

Dominance of Irish questions

To understand this question, a brief survey of Irish history in the nineteenth century is necessary. Ireland was all through the century the most discontented and wretched part of the British Empire. While

England constantly grew in numbers and wealth, Ireland decreased in population, and her misery increased. Ireland was inhabited by two peoples, the native Irish, who were Catholics, and settlers from England and Scotland, who were for the most part Anglicans or Presbyterians. The latter were a small but powerful minority.

Ireland a conquered country

The fundamental cause of the Irish question lay in the fact that Ireland was a conquered country, that the Irish were a subject race. As early as the twelfth century the English began to invade the island. Attempts made by the Irish at various times during six hundred years to repel and drive out the invaders only resulted in rendering their subjection more complete and more galling. Irish insurrections have been pitilessly punished, and race hatred has been the consuming emotion in Ireland for centuries. The contest has been unequal, owing to the far greater resources of England during all this time. The result of this turbulent history was that the Irish were a subject people in their own land, as they had been for centuries, and that there were several evidences of this so conspicuous and so burdensome that most Irishmen could not pass a day without feeling the bitterness of their situation. It was a hate-laden atmosphere which they breathed.

The agrarian question

The marks of subjection were various. The Irish did not own the land of Ireland, which had once belonged to their ancestors. The various conquests by English rulers had been followed by extensive confiscations of the land. Particularly extensive was that of Cromwell. These lands were given in large estates to Englishmen. The Irish were mere tenants, and most of them tenants-at-will, on lands that now belonged to others. The Irish have always regarded themselves as the rightful owners of the soil of Ireland, have regarded the English landlords as usurpers, and have desired to recover possession for themselves. Hence there has arisen the agrarian question, a part of the general Irish problem.

The religious question

Again, the Irish had long been the victims of religious intolerance. At the time of the Reformation they remained Catholic, while the English separated from Rome. Attempts to force the Anglican Church upon them only stiffened their opposition. Nevertheless, at the opening of the nineteenth century they were paying tithes to the Anglican Church in Ireland, though they were themselves ardent Catholics, never entered a Protestant church, and were supporting their own churches by voluntary gifts. Thus they contributed to two churches, one alien, which they hated, and one to which they were devoted. Thus a part of the Irish problem was the religious question.

The political question

Again, the Irish did not make the laws which governed them. In 1800 their separate Parliament in Dublin was abolished, and from 1801 there was only one Parliament in Great Britain, that in London. While Ireland henceforth had its quota of representatives in the House of Commons, it was always a hopeless minority. Moreover, the Irish members did not really represent the large majority of the Irish, as no Catholic could sit in the House of Commons. There was this strange anomaly that, while the majority of the Irish could vote for members of Parliament, they must vote for Protestants — a bitter mockery. The Irish demanded the right to govern themselves. Thus another aspect of the problem was purely political.

Catholic Emancipation

The abuse just mentioned was removed in 1829, when Catholic Emancipation was carried, which henceforth permitted Catholics to sit in the House of Commons. The English statesmen granted this concession only when forced to do so by the imminent danger of civil war. The Irish consequently felt no gratitude.

The repeal movement

Shortly after Catholic Emancipation had been achieved, the Irish, under the matchless leadership of O'Connell, endeavored by much the same methods to obtain the repeal of the Union between England and Ireland, effected in 1801, and to win back a separate legislature and a large measure of independence. This movement, for some time very formidable, failed completely, owing to the iron determination of the English that the union should not be broken, and to the fact that the leader, O'Connell, was not willing in last resort to risk civil war to accomplish the result, recognizing the hopelessness of such a contest. This movement came to an end in 1843. However, a number of the younger followers of O'Connell, chagrined at his peaceful methods, formed a society called "Young Ireland," the aim of which was Irish independence and a republic. They rose in revolt in the troubled year, 1848. The revolt, however, was easily put down.

As if Ireland did not suffer enough from political and social evils, an appalling catastrophe of nature was added. The Irish famine of 1845–47, to which reference has already been made, was a tragic calamity, far-reaching in its effects. The repeal of the Corn Laws did not check it. The distress continued for several years, though gradually growing less. The potato crop of 1846 was inferior to that of 1845, and the harvests of 1848 and 1849 were far from normal. Charity sought to aid, but was insufficient. The government gave money, and later gave rations. In March, 1847 over 700,000 people were receiving government support. In March and April of that year the deaths in the workhouses alone were more than ten thousand a month. Peasants ate roots and lichens, or flocked to the cities in the agony of despair, hoping for relief. Multitudes fled to England or crowded the emigrant ships to America, dying by the thousand of fever or exhaustion. It was a long drawn out horror, and when it was over it was found that the population had decreased from about 8,300,000 in 1845 to less than 6,600,000, in 1851. Since then the decrease occasioned by emigration has continued. By 1881 the population had fallen to 5,100,000, by 1891 to 4,700,000, by 1901 to about 4,450,000. Since 1851 perhaps 4,000,000 Irish have emigrated. Ireland, indeed, is probably the only country whose population decreased in the nineteenth century. Year after year the emigration to the United States continued.

The Irish famine

Decline of the population

When Gladstone came into power in 1868 he was resolved to pacify the Irish by removing some of their more pronounced grievances.

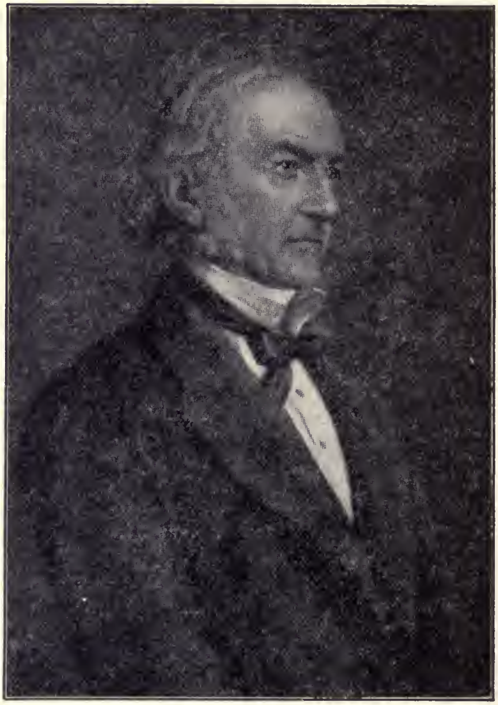
The question of the Irish Church, that is, of the Anglican Church in Ireland, the church of not more than one-eighth of the population, yet to which all Irishmen, Catholic or Protestant, paid tithes, was the first grievance attacked. In 1869 Gladstone procured the passage of a law disestablishing and partly disendowing this church. The Church henceforth ceased to be connected with the State. Its bishops lost their seats in the House of Lords. It became a voluntary organization and was permitted to retain a large part of its property as an endowment. It was to have all the church buildings which it had formerly possessed. It was still very rich but the connection with the Church of England was to cease January 1, 1871.

The Irish Church disestablished

Gladstone now approached a far more serious and perplexing problem, the system of land tenure. Ireland was almost exclusively an agricultural country, yet the land was chiefly owned not by those who lived on it and tilled it, but by a comparatively small number of landlords who held large estates. Many of these were Englishmen, absentees, who rarely or never came to Ireland, and who regarded their estates simply as so many sources of revenue. The business relations with their tenants were carried on by agents or bailiffs, whose treatment of the tenants was frequently harsh and exasperating. If the peasant failed to pay his rent he could be evicted forthwith. As he was obliged to have land on which to raise his potatoes, almost his sole sustenance, he frequently agreed to pay a larger rent than the value of the land justified. Then in time he would be evicted and faced starvation. Moreover when a landlord evicted his tenant he was not obliged to pay for any buildings or improvements erected or carried out by the tenant. He simply appropriated so much property created by the tenant. Naturally there was no inducement to the peasant to develop his farm, for to do so meant a higher rent, or eviction and confiscation of his improvements. It would be hard to conceive a more unwise or unjust system. It encouraged indolence and slothfulness.

System of land tenure

No compensation for improvements



William E. Gladstone

From engraving by T. O. Barlow, after the painting by J. E. Millais.

Chronic and shocking misery was the lot of the Irish peasantry. "The Irish peasant," says an official English document of the time, "is the most poorly nourished, most poorly housed, most poorly clothed of any in Europe; he has no reserve, no capital. He lives from day to day." His house was generally a rude stone hut, with a dirt floor. The census of 1841 established the fact that in the case of forty-six per cent of the population, the entire family lived in a house, or, more properly, hut of a single room. Frequently the room served also as a barn for the live stock.

The peasantry

Stung by the misery of their position, and by the injustice of the laws which protected the landlord and gave them only two hard alternatives, surrender to the landlord or starvation, believing that when evicted they were also robbed, and goaded by the hopeless outlook for the future, the Irish, in wild rage, committed many atrocious agrarian crimes, murders, arson, the killing or maiming of cattle. This in turn brought a new coercion law from the English Parliament which only aggravated the evil.

Deeds of violence

In the Land Act now passed to remedy the evils of this system (1870) it was provided that, if evicted for any other reason than the non-payment of rent, the tenant could claim compensation. He was also to receive compensation for any permanent improvements he had made on the land whenever he should give up his holding for any reason whatever. There were certain other clauses in the bill designed to enable the peasants to buy the land outright, thus ceasing to be tenants of other people and becoming landowners themselves. This could be done only by purchasing the estates of the landlords, and this obviously the peasants were unable to do. It was provided therefore that the state should help the peasant up to a certain amount, he in turn repaying the state by easy installments for the money loaned. This Land Act of 1870 did not achieve what was hoped from it, did not bring peace to Ireland. Landlords found ways of evading it and evictions became more numerous than ever. Nor did the land purchase clauses prove effective. Only seven sales were made up to 1877. But the bill was important because of the principles it involved, and was to exercise a profound influence upon later legislation. For the time being nothing further was done for Ireland.

The Land Act of 1870

Another measure of this active ministry was the Forster Education Act of 1870, designed to provide England with a national system of elementary education. England possessed no such system, it being the accepted opinion that education was no part of the duty of the state. The result was that the educa-

Educational reform

tional facilities were deplorably inadequate and inferior to those of many other countries. The work that the state neglected was discharged in a measure by schools which were maintained by the various religious denominations, particularly the Anglican, also the Catholic and the Methodist. But in 1869 it was estimated that of 4,300,000 children in need of education, 2,000,000 were not in school at all, 1,000,000 were in very inferior schools, and only 1,300,000 in schools that were fairly efficient.

Church schools

The Gladstone ministry carried, in 1870, a bill designed to provide England for the first time in her history with a really national system of elementary education. The system then established remained without essential change until 1902. It marked a great progress in the educational facilities of England. The bill did not establish an entirely new educational machinery, to be paid for by the state and managed by the state. It adopted the church schools on condition that they submit to state inspection to see if they were maintaining a certain standard. In that case they would receive financial aid from the state. But where there were not enough such schools, local school boards were to be elected in each such district with power to establish new schools, and to levy local taxes for the purpose. Under this system, which provided an adequate number of schools of respectable quality, popular education made great advances. In twenty years the number of schools more than doubled, and were capable of accommodating all those of school age. The law of 1870 did not establish either free or compulsory or secular education, but, in 1880, attendance was made compulsory and in 1891 education was made free.

The Forster Education Act of 1870

A number of other far-reaching reforms, democratic in their tendency, were carried through by this ministry. The army was reformed somewhat along Prussian lines, though the principle of compulsory military service was not adopted. Officers' positions, which had previously been acquired by purchase and which were therefore monopolized by the rich, by the aristocracy, were now thrown open to merit. The Civil Service was put on the basis of standing in open competitive examinations. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were rendered thoroughly national by the abolition of the religious tests which had previously made them a monopoly of the Church of England. Henceforth men of any religious faith or no religious faith could enter them,

Army reform

Civil service reform

University reform

could graduate from them. The universities henceforth belonged to all Englishmen.

Secret voting introduced

The Australian ballot was introduced, thus giving to each voter his independence. Previously intimidation or bribery had been very easy as voting had been oral and public; now the voting was secret. Another feature of Gladstone's ministry, which cost him much of his popularity at home, but was an act of high statesmanship and an indisputable contribution to the cause of peace among nations, was its adoption of the principle of arbitration in the controversy with the United States over the *Alabama* affair. The grievances of the United States against England because of her conduct during our Civil War were a dangerous source of friction between the two countries for many years. Gladstone agreed to submit them to arbitration, but as the decision of the Geneva Commission was against England (1872), his ministry suffered in popularity. Nevertheless, Gladstone had established a valuable precedent. This was the greatest victory yet attained for the principle of settling international difficulties by arbitration rather than by war. In this sphere also this ministry advanced the interests of humanity, though it drew only disadvantage for itself from its service.

The Alabama award

The Disraeli ministry

Gladstone fell from power in 1874 and the Conservatives came in, with Disraeli as prime minister. Disraeli's administration lasted from 1874 to 1880. It differed as strikingly from Gladstone's as his character differed from that of his predecessor. As Gladstone had busied himself with Irish and domestic problems, Disraeli displayed his greatest interest in colonial and foreign affairs. He found the situation favorable and the moment opportune for impressing upon England the political ideal, long germinating in his mind, succinctly called imperialism, that is, the transcendant importance of breadth of view and vigor of assertion of England's position as a world power, as an empire, not as an insular state. In 1872 he had said: "In my judgment no minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our colonial empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land." This principle Disraeli emphasized in act and speech during his six years of power. It was imperfectly realized under him;

Imperialism

Importance of the colonies emphasized

it was partially reconsidered and revised by Gladstone upon his return to power in 1880. But it had definitely received lodgment in the mind of England before he left power. It gave a new note to English politics. This is Disraeli's historic significance in the annals of British politics. He greatly stimulated interest in the British colonies. He invoked "the sublime instinct of an ancient people."

Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield
From a photograph.

Purchase of the Suez Canal shares

His first conspicuous achievement in foreign affairs was the purchase of the Suez Canal shares. The Suez Canal had been built by the French against ill-concealed English opposition. Disraeli had himself declared that the undertaking would inevitably be a failure. Now that the canal was built its success was speedily apparent. It radically changed the conditions of commerce with the East. It shortened greatly the distance to the Orient by water. Hitherto a considerable part of the commerce with India, China, and Australia had been carried on by the long voyage around the Cape of Good Hope. Some went by the Red Sea route, but that involved transhipment at Alexandria. Now it could all pass through the canal. About three-fourths of the tonnage passing through the canal was English. It was the direct road to India. There were some 400,000 shares in the Canal Company. The Khedive of Egypt held a large block of these, and the Khedive was nearly bankrupt. Disraeli bought, in 1875, his 177,000 shares by telegraph for four million pounds, and the fact was announced to a people who had never dreamed of it, but who applauded what seemed a brilliant stroke, somehow checkmating the French. It was said that the highroad to India was now secure. The political significance of this act was that it determined at least in principle the future of the relations of England to Egypt, and that it seemed to strike the note of imperial self-assertion which was

Disraeli's chief ambition and which was the most notable characteristic of his administration.

The Queen proclaimed Empress of of India

At the same time Disraeli resolved to emphasize the importance of India, England's leading colony, in another way. He proposed a new and sounding title for the British sovereign. She was to be Empress of India. The Opposition denounced this as "cheap" and "tawdry," a vulgar piece of pretension. Was not the title of King or Queen borne by the sovereigns of England for a thousand years glorious enough? But Disraeli urged it as showing "the unanimous determination of the people of the country to retain our connection with the Indian Empire. And it will be an answer to those mere economists and those diplomatists who announce that India is to us only a burden or a danger. By passing this bill then, the House will show, in a manner that is unmistakable, that they look upon India as one of the most precious possessions of the Crown, and their pride that it is a part of her empire and governed by her imperial throne."

The reasoning was weak, but the proposal gave great satisfaction to the Queen, and it was enacted into law. On January 1, 1877, the Queen's assumption of the new title was officially announced in India before an assembly of the ruling princes.

Reopening of the Eastern Question

In Europe Disraeli insisted upon carrying out a spirited foreign policy. His opportunity came with the reopening of the Eastern Question, or the question of the integrity of Turkey, in 1876. For two years this problem absorbed the interest and attention of rulers and diplomatists, and England had much to do with the outcome. This subject may, however, be better studied in connection with the general history of the Eastern problem in the nineteenth century.[1]

Disraeli, who in 1876 became Lord Beaconsfield, continued in power until 1880. The emphasis he put upon imperial and colonial problems was to exert a considerable influence upon the rising generation, and upon the later history of England. Imperial and colonial have vied with Irish questions in dominating the political discussions of England during the last thirty years.

In 1880 the Liberals were restored to power and Gladstone became prime minister for the second time.

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[1] See Chapter XXXIII.

The Second Gladstone Ministry, 1880-1885

Gladstone's greatest ability lay in internal reform, as his previous ministry had shown. This was the field of his inclination, and, as he thought, of the national welfare. Peace, retrenchment, and reform, the watchwords of his party, now represented the programme he wished to follow. But this was not to be. While certain great measures of internal improvement were passed during the next five years, those years on the whole were characterized by the dominance of imperial and colonial questions, with attendant wars. Gladstone was forced to busy himself with foreign policy far more than in his previous administration. Serious questions confronted him in Asia and Africa. These may best be studied, however, in the chapter on the British Empire.[1]

Two pieces of domestic legislation of great importance enacted during this ministry merit description, the Irish Land Act of 1881, and the Reform Bills of 1884–85.

Failure of Land Act of 1870

The legislation of Gladstone's preceding ministry had not pacified Ireland. Indeed, the Land Act of 1870 had proved no final settlement, but a great disappointment. It had established the principle that the tenant was to be compensated if deprived of his farm except for non-payment of rent, and was to be compensated, in any case, for all the permanent improvements which he had made upon the land. But this was not sufficient to give the tenant any security in his holding. It did not prevent the landlord from raising the rent. Then if the peasant would not pay this increased rent he must give up his holding. He therefore had no stable tenure. In the new Land Act of 1881 Gladstone sought to give the peasant, in addition to the compensation for improvement previously secured, a fair rent, a fixed rent, one that is not constantly subject to change at the will of the landlord, and freedom of sale, that is, the liberty of the peasant to sell his holding to some other peasant. These were the "three F's," which had once represented the demands of advanced Irishmen, though they no longer did. Henceforth, the rent was to be determined by a court, established for the purpose. Rents, once judicially determined, were to be unchangeable for fifteen years, during which time the tenant might not be evicted except for breaches of covenant, such as non-payment of rent. There was also attached to the bill a provision simi-

Act of 1881

Rents to be judicially determined

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[1] Chapter XXVII.

lar to the one in the preceding measure of 1870, looking toward the creation of a peasant proprietorship. The Government was to loan money to the peasants under certain conditions, and on easy terms, to enable them to buy out the landlords, thus becoming complete owners themselves.

Denounced as confiscation of property

The bill passed though it was opposed with unusual bitterness. Landowners, believing that it meant a reduction of rents, determined not by themselves but by a court, called it confiscation of property. It was attacked because it established the principle that rents were not to be determined, like the price of other things, by the law of supply and demand; were not to be what the landlord might demand and the peasant agree to pay, but were to be reasonable and their reasonableness was to be decided by outsiders, judges, having no direct interest at all, that is, in last resort, by the state. The bill was criticised as altering ruthlessly the nature of property in land, as establishing dual ownership.

The Reform Bill of 1884

Gladstone carried through at this time the third of those great reform acts of the nineteenth century by which England has been transformed from an oligarchy into a democracy. The Reform Bill of 1832 had given the suffrage to the wealthier members of the middle class. The Reform Bill of 1867 had taken a long step in the direction of democracy by practically giving the vote to the lower middle class and the bulk of the laboring class in the boroughs but it did not greatly benefit those living in the country districts. The franchise in the boroughs was wider than in the counties. The result was that laborers in boroughs had the vote, but agricultural laborers did not. There was apparently no reason for maintaining this difference. Gladstone's bill of 1884 aimed at the abolition of this inequality between the two classes of constituencies, by extending the borough franchise to the counties so that the mass of workingmen would have the right to vote whether they lived in town or country. The county franchise, previously higher, was to be exactly assimilated to the borough franchise. The bill as passed doubled the number of county voters, and increased the total number of the electorate from over three to over five millions. Gladstone's chief argument was that this measure would lay the foundations of the government broad and deep in the people's will, and "array the people in one solid compacted mass around the ancient throne which it has loved so well,

The county franchise widened

and around a constitution now to be more than ever powerful, and more than ever free."

Various qualifications for voting

Since 1884 there has been no extension of the suffrage. There are many men who have no vote because they are unable to meet any one of the various property qualifications that give the vote; for it must be remembered that there is no such thing as universal manhood suffrage in England. Only those vote who have some one of the kinds of property indicated in the various laws of 1832, 1867, and 1884. The present condition of the franchise is historical, not rational. Many men have several votes; others have none at all. There is a demand for the enfranchisement of all adult males; there is a vigorous agitation for woman's suffrage; and the Liberal party is pledged to the abolition of the practice of plural voting. There has been no redistribution of parliamentary seats since 1885. There is no periodical adjustment according to population, as in the United States after each census. To-day some electoral districts are ten, or even fifteen times as large as others. Constituencies range from about 13,000 to over 217,000.

The First Salisbury Ministry

Gladstone's second ministry fell in 1885. There followed a few months of Conservative control under Lord Salisbury. But in 1886 new elections were held and Gladstone came back into power again, prime minister for the third time.

The Home Rule Movement

He was confronted by the Irish problem in a more acute form than ever before. For the Irish were now demanding a far-reaching change in government. They were demanding Home Rule, that is, an Irish Parliament for the management of the internal affairs of Ireland. They had constantly smarted under the injury which they felt had been done them by the abolition of their former Parliament, which sat in Dublin, and which was abolished by the Act of Union of 1800. The feeling for nationality, one of the dominant forces of the nineteenth century everywhere, acted upon them with unusual force. They disliked, for historical and sentimental reasons, the rule of an English Parliament, and the sense as well as reality of subjection to an alien people. They did not wish the separation of Ireland from England but they did wish a separate parliament for Irish affairs on the ground that the Parliament at Westminster had neither the time nor the understanding necessary for the proper consideration of measures affecting the Irish. The Home Rule party had been slowly growing for several years when, in 1879, it came under the leadership of Charles Stuart Parnell who, unlike the other great leaders of Irish history, such as Grattan and O'Connell, was no orator and was of a cold, haughty, distant nature, but of an inflexible will. Under his able leadership the party increased in numbers, in cohesion, in grim determination. Parnell's object was to make it so large that it could hold the balance of power in the House of Commons. In the Parliament which met in 1886 the Home Rulers were in this position. If they united with the Conservatives the two combined would have exactly the same number of votes as the Liberals. As the Conservatives would not help them they sided with the Liberals.

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL
After the painting by Sydney P. Hall.

The Home Rulers hold the balance of power

Gladstone's Third Ministry

Gladstone entered upon his third administration February 1, 1886. It was his shortest ministry, lasting less than six months. It was wholly devoted to the question of Ireland. The Irish had plainly indicated their wishes in the recent elections in returning a solid body of 85 Home Rulers out of the 103 members to which Ireland was entitled. Gladstone was enormously impressed by this fact, the outcome of the first election held on practically a democratic franchise. He had tried in previous legislation to rule the Irish according to Irish rather than English ideas, where he considered those ideas just. He believed the great blot upon the annals of England to be the Irish chapter, written, as it had been, by English arrogance, hatred, and unintelligence. Reconciliation had been his keynote hitherto. Moreover, to him there seemed but two alternatives — either further reform along the lines desired by the

Home Rule or Coercion?

Irish, or the old, sad story of hard yet unsuccessful coercion. Gladstone would have nothing more to do with the latter method. He, therefore, resolved to endeavor to give to Ireland the Home Rule she plainly desired. On the 8th of April, 1886, he introduced the Irish Government Bill, announcing that it would be followed by a Land Bill, the two parts of a single scheme which could not be separated.

Introduction of the Home Rule Bill

The bill, thus introduced, provided for an Irish Parliament to sit in Dublin, controlling a ministry of its own, and legislating on Irish, as distinguished from imperial affairs. A difficulty arose right here. If the Irish were to have a legislature of their own for their own affairs, ought they still to sit in the Parliament in London, with power there to mix in English and Scotch affairs? On the other hand, if they ceased to have members in London, they would have no share in legislating for the Empire as a whole. "This," says Morley, "was from the first, and has ever since remained, the Gordian knot." The bill provided that they should be excluded from the Parliament at Westminster. On certain topics it was further provided that the Irish Parliament should never legislate: questions affecting the Crown, the army and navy, foreign and colonial affairs; nor could it establish or endow any religion.

Shall the Irish sit in Westminster?

Gladstone did not believe that the Irish difficulty would be solved simply by new political machinery. There was a serious social question not reached by this, the land question, not yet solved to the satisfaction of the Irish. He introduced immediately a Land Bill, which was to effect a vast transfer of land to the peasants by purchase from the landlords, and which might perhaps involve an expenditure to the state of about 120,000,000 pounds.

Land Purchase Bill

The introduction of these bills, whose passage would mean a radical transformation of Ireland, precipitated one of the fiercest struggles in English parliamentary annals. They were urged as necessary to settle the question once for all on a solid basis, as adapted to bring peace and contentment to Ireland, and thus strengthen the Union. Otherwise, said those who supported them, England had no alternative but coercion, a dreary and dismal failure. On the other hand, the strongest opposition arose out of the belief that these bills imperiled the very existence of the Union. The exclusion of the Irish members from Parliament seemed to many to be the snapping of the

Opposition to the Bills

cords that held the countries together. Did not this bill really dismember the British Empire? Needless to say, no British statesman could urge any measure of that character. Gladstone thought that his bills meant the reconciliation of two peoples estranged for centuries, and that reconciliation meant the strengthening rather than the weakening of the Empire, that the historic policy of England towards Ireland had only resulted in alienation, hatred, the destruction of the spiritual harmony which is essential to real unity. But, said his opponents, to give the Irish a parliament of their own, and to exclude them from the Parliament in London, to give them control of their own legislature, their own executive, their own judiciary, their own police, must lead inevitably to separation. You exclude them from all participation in imperial affairs, thus rendering their patriotism the more intensely local. You provide, it is true, that they shall bear a part of the burdens of the Empire. Is this proviso worth the paper it is written on? Will they not next regard this as a grievance, this taxation without representation, and will not the old animosity break out anew? You abandon the Protestants of Ireland to the revenge of the Catholic majority of the new Parliament. To be sure, you provide for toleration in Ireland, but again is this toleration worth the paper it is written on?

The Union in danger!

Probably the strongest force in opposition to the bill was the opinion widely held in England of Irishmen, that they were thoroughly disloyal to the Empire, that they would delight to use their new autonomy to pay off old scores by aiding the enemies of England, that they were traitors in disguise, or undisguised, that they had no regard for property or contract, that an era of religious oppression and of confiscation of property would be inaugurated by this new agency of a parliament of their own.

English dislike of the Irish

The introduction of the Home Rule Bill aroused an amount of bitterness unknown in recent English history. The Conservative party opposed it to a man, and it badly disrupted the Liberal party. Nearly a hundred Liberals withdrew and joined the Conservatives. These men called themselves Liberal-Unionists, Liberals, but not men who were prepared to jeopardize the Union as they held that this measure would do. The result was that the bill was beaten by 343 votes to 313.

Disruption of the Liberal Party

Gladstone dissolved Parliament and appealed to the people. The question was vehemently discussed before the voters. The result was disastrous to the Gladstonian Home Rulers. A majority of over a hundred was rolled up against Gladstone's policy.

The Conservatives returned to power

The consequences of this introduction of the Home Rule proposition into British politics were momentous. One was the impotence, for most of the next twenty years, of the Liberal party. A considerable fraction of it, on the whole the least democratic, went over to the Conservatives and the result was the creation of the Unionist Coalition which for the next twenty years, with a single interruption, was to rule England. The Unionists had a new policy, that of Imperialism. They had preserved the Union, they thought, by defeating Home Rule. They now went further and became the champions of imperial expansion. On the other hand the Liberal party, now that its more aristocratic elements had left it, became more pronouncedly democratic. The line of division between the two parties became sharper. But for the present the Liberal party was in the hopeless minority.

On the fall of Gladstone, Lord Salisbury came into power, head of a Conservative or Unionist Government. The Irish question confronted it as it had confronted Gladstone's ministry. As it would not for a moment consider any measure granting self-government to the Irish, it was compelled to govern them in the old way, by coercion, by force, by relentless suppression of liberties freely enjoyed in England. But the policy of this ministry was not simply negative. Holding that the only serious Irish grievance was the land problem and that, if this were once completely solved, then this new-fangled demand for a political reform would drop away, the Conservatives adopted boldly the policy of purchase that had been timidly applied in Gladstone's Land Acts of 1870 and 1881. The idea was that if only the Irish could get full ownership of their land, could get the absentee and oppressive landlords out of the way, then they would be happy and prosperous and would no longer care for such political nostrums as Home Rule.

The Second Salisbury Ministry (1886–1892)

The policy of coercion

The land purchase clauses of Gladstone's acts had had no great effect as the state had offered to advance only two-thirds of the purchase price. The Conservatives now provided that the state should advance the whole of it, the peasants repaying the state by installments covering a long number of years. The Government buys the land, sells it to the peasant, who that instant becomes its legal owner, and who pays for it gradually. He actually pays less in this way each year than he formerly paid for rent, and in the end he has his holding unencumbered. This bill was passed in 1891, and in five years some 35,000 tenants were thus enabled to purchase their holdings under its provisions. The system was extended much further in later years, particularly by the Land Act of 1903, which set aside a practically unlimited amount of money for the purpose. From 1903 to 1908 there were about 160,000 purchasers. Under this act, which simply increased the inducements to the landlords to sell, Ireland is becoming a country of small freeholders. The earlier principle of dual ownership recognized in Gladstone's land legislation of 1881 has given way completely to this new principle of individual ownership, but no longer individual ownership by the great landowners but now by the peasants, the inhabitants of Ireland. The economic prosperity of Ireland has steadily increased in recent years.

Land Purchase Act

This ministry passed other bills of a distinctly liberal character; among them an act absolutely prohibiting the employment of children under ten, an act designed to reduce the oppression of the sweat-shop by limiting the labor of women to twelve hours a day, with an hour and a half for meals, an act making education free, and a small allotment act intended to create a class of peasant proprietors in England. These measures were supported by all parties. They were important as indicating that social legislation was likely to be in the coming years more important than political legislation, which has proved to be the case. They also show that the Conservative party was changing in character, and was willing to assume a leading part in social reform.

Social legislation

In respect to another item of internal policy, the Salisbury ministry took a stand which has been decisive ever since. In 1889 it secured an immense increase of the navy. Seventy ships were to be added at an expense of 21,500,000 pounds during the next seven years. Lord Salisbury laid it down as a principle that the British navy ought to be equal to any other two navies of the world combined.

Increase of the navy

In foreign affairs the most important work of this ministry lay in its share in the partition of Africa, which will be described elsewhere.

The general elections of 1892 resulted in the return to power of the Liberals, supported by the Irish Home Rulers, and Gladstone, at the age of eighty-two, became for the fourth time prime minister, a record unparalleled in English history. As he himself said, the one single tie that still bound him to public life was his interest in securing Home Rule for Ireland before his end. It followed necessarily from the nature of the case that public attention was immediately concentrated anew on that question.

The Fourth Gladstone Ministry, (1892-1894)

The Second Home Rule Bill

Early in 1893 Gladstone introduced his second Home Rule Bill. The opposition to it was exceedingly bitter and prolonged. Very few new arguments were brought forward on either side. Party spirit ran riot. Gladstone expressed with all his eloquence his faith in the Irish people, his belief that the only alternative to his policy was coercion, and that coercion would be forever unsuccessful, his conviction that it was the duty of England to atone for six centuries of misrule.

Passed by the Commons, defeated by the Lords

After eighty-two days of discussion, marked by scenes of great disorder, members on one occasion coming to blows to the great damage of decorous parliamentary traditions, the bill was carried by a majority of 34 (301 to 267). A week later it was defeated in the House of Lords by 419 to 41, or a majority of more than ten to one. The bill was dead.

Resignation of Gladstone

Gladstone's fourth ministry was balked successfully at every turn by the House of Lords, which, under the able leadership of Lord Salisbury, recovered an actual power it had not possessed since 1832. In 1894 Gladstone resigned his office, thus bringing to a close one of the most remarkable political careers known to English history. His last speech in Parliament was a vigorous attack upon the House of Lords. In his opinion, that House had become the great obstacle to progress. "The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of more than 6,000,000 people," and an hereditary body, "is a controversy which, when once raised, must go forward to an issue." This speech was his last in an assembly where his first had been delivered sixty-one years before. Gladstone died four years later, and was buried in Westminster Abbey (1898).

In the elections of 1895 the Unionists secured a majority of a hundred and fifty. They were to remain uninterruptedly in power until December, 1905.

The Third Salisbury Ministry

Lord Salisbury became prime minister for the third time. He remained such until 1902, when he withdrew from public life, being succeeded by his nephew, Arthur James Balfour. There was, however, no change of party. Lord Salisbury had an immense majority in the House of Commons. His ministry contained several very able men. He himself assumed the Foreign Office, Joseph Chamberlain the Colonial Office, Balfour the leadership of the House of Commons. The withdrawal of Gladstone and the divisions in the Liberal party reduced that party to a position of ineffective opposition. The Irish question sank into the background as the Unionists, resolutely opposed to the policy of an independent parliament in Ireland, declined absolutely to consider Home Rule. They did on the other hand pass certain acts beneficial to Ireland, land purchase acts on a vast scale and measures extending somewhat the strictly local self-government in Ireland. Much social and labor legislation was also enacted.

The commanding question of this period was to be that of imperialism, and the central figure was Joseph Chamberlain, a man remarkable for vigor and audacity, and the most popular member of the cabinet. Chamberlain, who had made his reputation as an advanced Liberal, an advocate of radical social and economic reforms, now stood forth as the spokesman of imperialism. His office, that of Colonial Secretary, gave him excellent opportunities to emphasize the importance of the colonies to the mother country, the desirability of drawing them closer together, of promoting imperial federation.

Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee

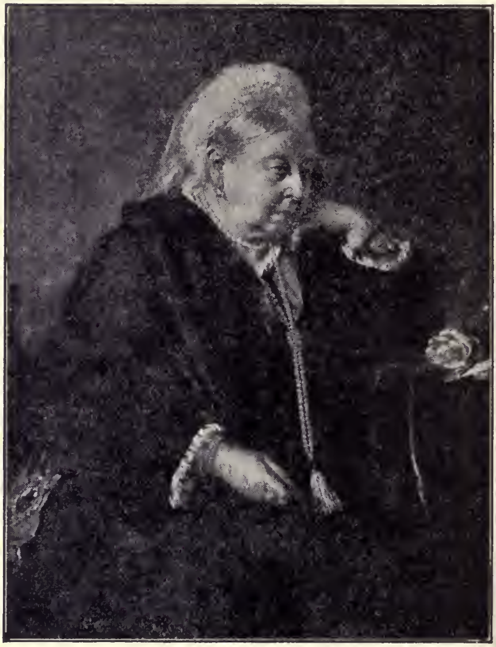
The sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession occurring in 1897 was the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of the loyalty of the colonies to the Empire, as well as of the universal respect and affection in which the sovereign was held. This diamond jubilee was an imposing demonstration of the strength of the sentiment of union that bound the various sections of the Empire together, of the advantages accruing to each from the connection with the others, of the pride of power. Advantage was taken, too, of the presence of the prime ministers of the various colonies in London to discuss methods of drawing the various parts of the Empire more closely together. All these circumstances gave expression to that "imperialism" which was becoming an increasing factor in British politics.

A period of great activity in foreign and colonial affairs began almost immediately after the inauguration of the new Unionist ministry. It was shown in the recovery of the Soudan by Lord Kitchener, but the most important chapter in this activity concerned the conditions in South Africa which led, in 1899, to the Boer War, and which had important consequences. This will better be described elsewhere.[1] This war, lasting from 1899 to 1902, much longer than had been anticipated, absorbed the attention of England until its successful termination. Internal legislation was of slight importance. During the war Queen Victoria died, January 22, 1901, after a reign of over sixty-three years, the longest in British history, and then exceeded elsewhere only by the seventy-one years' reign of Louis XIV of France. She had proved during her entire reign, which began in 1837, a model constitutional monarch, subordinating her will to that of the people, as expressed by the ministry and Parliament. "She passed away," said Balfour in the House of Commons, "without an enemy in the world, for even those who loved not England loved her." The reign of Edward VII (1901–1910), then in his sixty-second year, began.

War in South Africa

Death of Queen Victoria

Reign of Edward VII (1901–1910)



Queen Victoria, at the Age of Seventy-Eight

From the painting by Baron von Angeli, at Windsor Castle.

When the South African war was over Parliament turned its attention to domestic affairs. In 1902 it passed an Education Act which superseded that of Gladstone's first ministry, the Forster Act of 1870, already described. It abolished the school boards established by that law. It admitted the principle of the support of denominational schools out of taxes. In such schools the head teacher must belong to the denomination concerned and a majority of the managers of those schools would also be members of the denomination.

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[1] See pp. 497–502.

Education Act of 1902

The bill gave great offense to Dissenters and believers in secular education. It authorized taxation for the advantage of a denomination of which multitudes of taxpayers were not members. It was held to be a measure for increasing the power of the Church of England, considered one of the bulwarks of Conservatism.

The opposition to this law was intense. Thousands refused to pay their taxes, and their property was, therefore, sold by public authority to meet the taxes. Many were imprisoned. There were over 70,000 summonses to court. The agitation thus aroused was one of the great causes for the crushing defeat of the Conservative party in 1905. Yet the law of 1902 was put into force and is at this moment the law of England, the Liberals having failed in 1906 in an attempt to pass an education bill of their own to supersede it. The educational system remains one of the contentious problems of English politics.

The popularity of the Unionist ministry began to wane after the close of the South African war. Much of its legislation was denounced as class legislation designed to bolster up the Conservative party, not to serve the interest of all England. Moreover a new issue was now injected into British politics which divided the Unionists, as Home Rule had divided the Liberals. Chamberlain came forward with a proposition for tariff reform as a means of binding the Empire more closely together. He urged that England impose certain tariff duties against the outside world, at the same time exempting her colonies from their operation. He called this policy "colonial preference." It would be that but it would also be the abandonment of the free trade policy of Great Britain and the adoption of the protective system.

Tariff reform proposed

As the discussion of this proposal developed it became apparent that Englishmen had not yet lost their faith in free trade as still greatly to their advantage, if not absolutely essential to their welfare. The new controversy disrupted the Unionist party and reunited the Liberals.

The result of this increasing disaffection was shown in the crushing defeat of the Unionists and the inauguration of a very different policy under the Liberals. Since December, 1905 the Liberal party has been in power, first under the premiership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and since his death early in 1908, under that of Herbert Asquith. This party won in the General Elections of 1906 the largest majority ever obtained since 1832.

The Liberal party in power

An important achievement of this administration was the passage in 1908 of the Old Age Pensions Act, which marks a long step forward in the extension of state activity. It grants, under certain slight restrictions, pensions to all persons of a certain age and of a small income. Denounced as paternalistic, as socialistic, as sure to undermine the thrift and the sense of responsibility of the laborers of Great Britain, it was urged as a reasonable and proper recognition of the value of the services to the country of the working classes, services as truly to be rewarded as those of army and navy and administration. The act provides that persons seventy years of age whose income does not exceed twenty-five guineas a year shall receive a weekly pension of five shillings, that those with larger incomes shall receive proportionately smaller amounts, down to the minimum of one shilling a week. Those whose income exceeds thirty guineas and ten shillings a year receive no pensions. It was estimated by the prime minister that the initial burden to the state would be about seven and a half million pounds, an amount that would necessarily increase in later years. The post office is used as the distributing agent. This law went into force on January 1, 1909. On that day over half a million men and women went to the nearest post office and drew their first pensions of from one to five shillings, and on every Friday henceforth as long as they live they may do the same. It was noticed that these men and women accepted their pensions not as a form of charity or poor relief, but as an honorable reward. The statistics of those claiming under this law are instructive and sobering. In the county of London one person in every one hundred and seventeen was a claimant; in England and Wales one in eighty-six; in Scotland one in sixty-seven; in Ireland one in twenty-one.

Old Age Pensions Law

The Unionist party had been in control from 1895 to 1905. Its chief emphasis had been put upon problems of imperialism. Social legislation had slipped into the background. But the conduct and course of the Boer War, the great adventure in imperialism, had not increased the reputation for statesmanship

The Unionist party from 1895 to 1905

or the popularity of the Conservatives, and their domestic legislation aiming, as was held, at the strengthening of the Established Church and the liquor trade, two stout and constant defenders of the party, exposed them to severe attack as aristocratic, as believers in privileged and vested interests, as hostile to the development of the democratic forces in the national life.

Democratic policy of the Liberal party since 1905

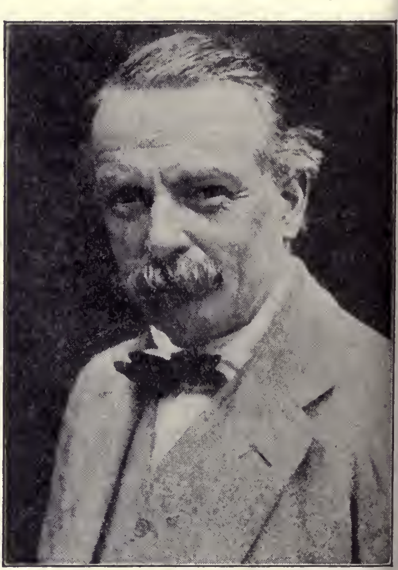
Now that the Liberals were in power they turned energetically to undo the class legislation of the previous ministry, to remove the obstacles to the development of truly popular government. The new Liberal party was more radical than the old Liberal party of the time of the first Home Rule Bill as the more conservative Liberals had left it then and had gone over to the opposition. Moreover there now appeared in Parliament a party more radical still, the Labor party, with some fifty members. Radical social and labor legislation was now attempted. That the existing social system weighed with unjust severity upon the masses was recognized by the ministry. "Property" said Asquith, "must be associated in the mind of the masses of the people, with the ideas of reason and justice."

The Liberals blocked by the House of Lords

But when the Liberals attempted to carry out their fresh and progressive programme they immediately confronted a most formidable obstacle. They passed through the House of Commons an Education bill, to remedy the evils of the Education Act of 1902, enacted in the interests chiefly of the Established Church; also a Licensing bill designed to penalize the liquor trade which Conservative legislation had greatly favored; a bill abolishing plural voting, which gave such undue weight to the propertied classes, enabling rich men to cast several votes at a time when many poor men did not have even a single vote. The obstacle encountered at every step was the House of Lords, which threw out these bills and stood right athwart the path of the Liberal party, firmly resolved not to let any ultra-democratic measures pass, firmly resolved also to maintain all the ground the Conservatives had won in the previous administrations. A serious political and constitutional problem thus arose which had to be settled before the Liberals could use their immense popular majority, as shown in the House of Commons, for the enactment of Liberal policies. The House of Lords, which was always ruled by the Conserva-

A constitutional problem

tives, and which was not, being an hereditary body, subject to direct popular control, now asserted its power frequently and, in the opinion of the Liberals, flagrantly, by rejecting peremptorily the more distinctive Liberal measures. The Lords, encouraged by their easy successes in blocking the Commons, blithely took another step forward, a step which, as events were to prove, was to precede a resounding fall. The Lords in 1909 rejected the budget, a far more serious act of defiance of the popular chamber than any of these others had been, and a most conspicuous revelation of the spirit of confidence which the Lords had in their power, now being so variously and systematically asserted.



David Lloyd George

The budget of 1909

In 1909 Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced the budget. He announced correctly that two new lines of heavy expenditure, the payment of old age pensions and the rapid enlargement of the navy, necessitated new and additional taxation. The new taxes which he proposed would bear mainly on the wealthy classes. The income tax was to be increased. In addition there was to be a special or super-tax on incomes of over £5,000. A distinction was to be made between earned and unearned incomes — the former being the result of the labor of the individual, the latter being the income from investments, representing no direct personal activity on the part of the individual receiving them. Unearned incomes were to be taxed higher than earned. Inheritance taxes were to be graded more sharply and to vary decidedly according to the amount involved. New taxes on the land of various kinds were also to be levied.

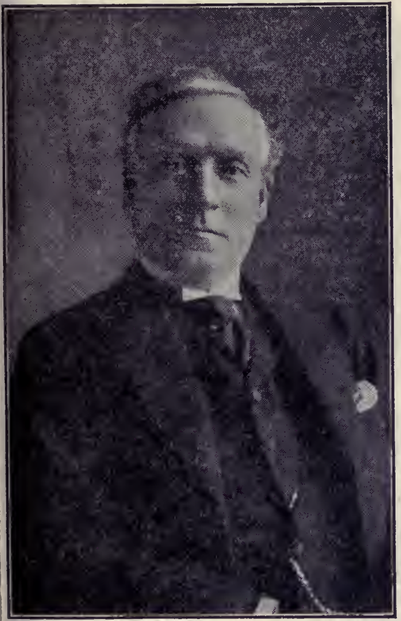
This budget aroused the most vehement opposition of the class of landowners, capitalists, bankers, persons of large property interests, persons who lived on the money they had inherited, on their investments.

Opposition to the budget

They denounced the bill as socialistic, as revolutionary, as in short, odious class legislation directed against the rich, as confiscatory, as destructive of all just property rights.

The Lords reject the budget

The budget passed the House of Commons by a large majority. It then went to the House of Lords. For a long time it had not been supposed that the Lords had any right to reject money bills, as they were an hereditary and not a representative body. They, however, now asserted that they had that right, although they had not exercised it within the memory of men. After a few days of debate they rejected the budget by a vote of 350 to 75 (Nov. 30, 1909).



Herbert Asquith

The act declared unconstitutional by the Commons

Asquith defines the issue

At once was precipitated an exciting and momentous political and constitutional struggle. The Liberals, blocked again by the hereditary chamber, consisting solely of the aristocracy of the land, and blocked this time in a field which had long been considered very particularly to be reserved for the House of Commons, indignantly picked up the gauntlet which the Lords had thrown down. The House of Commons voted overwhelmingly, 349 to 134, that the action of the Lords was "a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the House of Commons." Asquith declared in a crowded House that "the House would be unworthy of its past and of those traditions of which it is the custodian and the trustee," if it allowed any time to pass without showing that it would not brook this usurpation. He declared that the "power of the purse" belonged to the Commons alone. The very principle of representative government was at stake. For if the Lords possessed the right they had assumed the situation was exactly this: that when the voters elected a majority of Conservatives to the Commons then the Conservatives would control the legislation; that, when they elected a majority of Liberals, the Conservatives would still control by being able to block all legislation they disliked by the veto of the House of Lords, always and permanently a body adhering to the Conservative party. An hereditary body, not subject to the people, could veto the people's wishes as expressed by the body that was representative, the House of Commons. In other words the aristocratic element in the state was really more powerful than the democratic, the house representing a class was more powerful than the house representing the people.

The question of the budget and the question of the proper position and the future of the Upper Chamber were thus linked together. As these questions were of exceptional gravity the ministry resolved to seek the opinion of the voters. Parliament was dissolved and a new election was ordered. The campaign was one of extreme bitterness, expressing itself in numerous deeds of violence. The election, held in January, 1910, resulted in giving the Unionists a hundred more votes than they had had in the previous Parliament. Yet despite this gain the Liberals would have a majority of over a hundred in the new House of Commons if the Labor party and the Irish Home Rulers supported them, which they did.

General Election, January, 1910

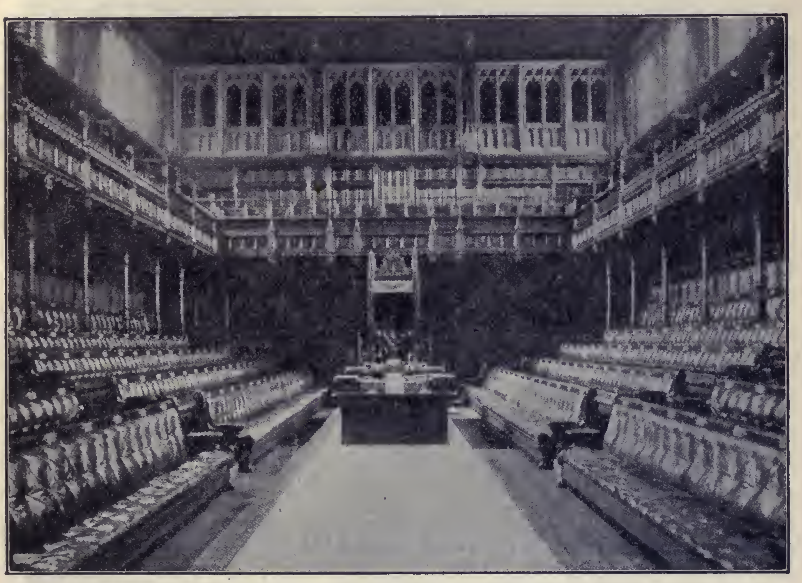
In the new Parliament the budget which had been thrown out the previous year was introduced again, without serious change. Again it passed the House of Commons and went to the Lords. That House yielded this time and passed the budget with all its so-called revolutionary and socialistic provisions.

The budget passed

The Liberals now turned their attention to this question of the "Lords' Veto," or of the position proper for an hereditary, aristocratic chamber in a nation that pretended to be democratic, as did England. The issue stated nearly twenty years before by Gladstone in his last speech in Parliament had now arrived at the crucial stage. What should be the relations between a deliberative assembly elected by the votes of more than six million voters and an hereditary body? The question was vehemently discussed inside Parliament and outside. Various suggestions for reform of the House of Lords were made by the members of that House itself, justly apprehensive for their future. The death of the popular King Edward

The question of the Lords' Veto

VII (May 6, 1910), and the accession of George V, occurring in the midst of this passionate campaign, somewhat sobered the combatants, though only temporarily. Attempts were made to see if some compromise regarding the future of the House of Lords might not be worked out by the two parties. But the attempts were futile, the issue being too deep and too far-reaching.



INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The elections of December, 1910

The ministry, wishing the opinion of the people on this new question, dissolved the House of Commons again and ordered new elections, the second within a single year (December, 1910). The result was that the parties came back each with practically the same number of members as before. The Government's majority was undiminished.

The House of Commons passes the Parliament Bill

The Asquith ministry now passed through the House of Commons a Parliament Bill restricting the power of the House of Lords in several important particulars and providing that the House of Commons should in last resort have its way in any controversy with the other chamber. This bill passed the House of Commons by a large majority. How could it be got through the House of Lords? Would the Lords be likely to vote in favor of the recognition of their inferiority to the other House, would they consent to this withdrawal from them of powers they had hitherto exercised, would they acquiesce in this altered and reduced situation at the hands of a chamber whose measures they had been freely blocking for several years? Of course they would not if they could help it. But there is one way in which the opposition of the House of Lords can be overcome, no matter however overwhelming. The King can create new peers — as many as he likes — enough to overcome the majority against the measure in question. This supreme weapon the King, which of course in fact meant the Asquith ministry, was now prepared to use. Asquith announced that he had the consent of George V to create enough peers to secure the passage of the bill in case it were necessary. The threat was sufficient. The Lords on August 18, 1911, passed the Parliament Act which so profoundly altered their own status, power, and prestige. This measure establishes new processes of law-making. If the Lords withhold their assent from a money bill, that is, any bill raising taxes or making appropriations, for more than one month after it has passed the House of Commons, the bill may be presented for the King's signature and on receiving it becomes law without the consent of the Lords. If a bill other than a money bill is passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, whether of the same Parliament or not, and is rejected by the Lords, it may on a third rejection by them be presented for the King's assent and on receiving that assent will become a law, notwithstanding the fact that the House of Lords has not consented to the bill — provided that two years have elapsed between the second reading of the bill in the first of those sessions and the date on which it passes the Commons for the third time.

The Parliament Bill passed by the House of Lords

Provisions of the Bill

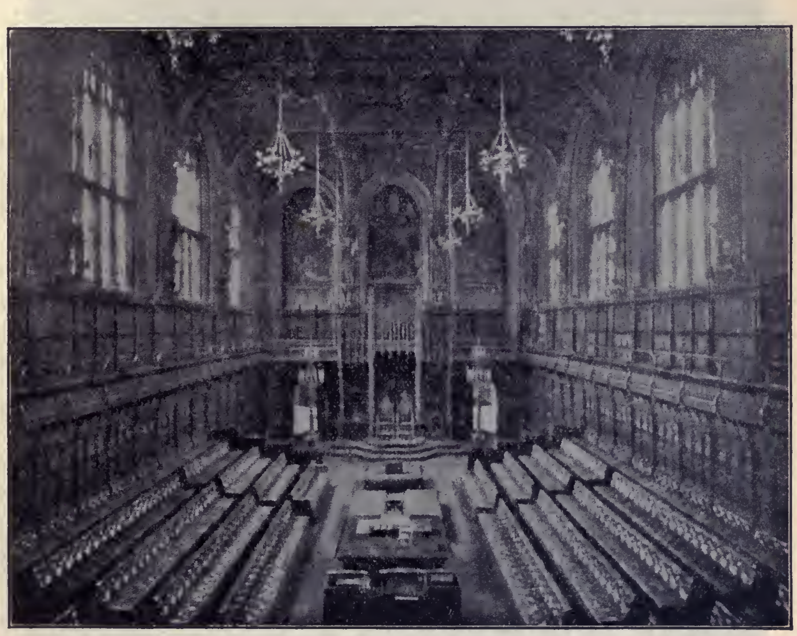
This Parliament or Veto Bill contained another important provision, substituting five years for seven as the maximum duration of a Parliament; that is, members of the Commons are henceforth chosen for five, not seven years. Their term was thus reduced.

Thus the veto power of the House of Lords is gone entirely for all financial legislation, and for all other legislation its veto is merely suspensive. The Commons can have their way in the end. They may be delayed two years.

The Lords' Veto destroyed

The way was now cleared for the enactment of certain legislation desired by the Liberal party which could not secure the approval of the House of Lords. It was possible finally to pass a Home Rule Bill, to the principle of which the Liberal party had been committed for a quarter of a century. On April 11, 1912, Asquith introduced the third Home Rule Bill, granting Ireland a Parliament of her own, consisting of a Senate of forty members and a House of Commons of 164. If the two houses should disagree, then they were to sit and vote together. On certain subjects the Irish Parliament should not have the right to legislate; on peace or war, naval or military affairs, treaties, currency, foreign commerce. It could not establish or endow any religion or impose any religious disabilities. The Irish were to be represented in the Parliament in London by forty-two members instead of the previous number, 103.

The Home Rule question again



Interior of the House of Lords

The third Home Rule Bill introduced

This measure was passionately opposed by the Conservative party and particularly by the Ulster party, Ulster being that province of Ire-

THE CABINET ROOM
At No. 10 Downing Street.

land in which the Protestants are strong. They went so far in their opposition as to threaten civil war, in case Ulster were not exempted from the operation of this law. During the next two years the battle raged about this point, in conferences between

Opposition of Ulster

political leaders, in discussions in Parliament and the press. Attempts at compromise failed as the Home Rule party would not consent to the exemption of a quarter of Ireland from the jurisdiction of the proposed Irish Parliament.

The bill passed by the House of Commons

The bill was, however, passed and was immediately vetoed by the House of Lords. At the next session it was passed again and again vetoed by the Lords. Finally on May 25, 1914, it was passed a third time by the House of Commons by a vote of 351 to 274, a majority of 77. The bill was later rejected by the Lords. It might now become a law without their consent, in conformity with the Parliament Act of 1911. Only the formal assent of the King was necessary.

But the ministry was so impressed with the vehemence and the determination of the "Ulster party," which went so far as to organize an army and establish a sort of provisional government, that it decided to continue discussions in order to see whether some compromise might not be arranged. These discussions were interrupted by the outbreak of the European War.

Disestablishment of the Welsh Church

Meanwhile a bill disestablishing the Anglican Church in Wales had gone through the same process; had thrice been passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. Like the Home Rule bill, it only awaited the signature of the sovereign.

Both laws suspended

Finally that signature was given to both bills on September 18, 1914, but Parliament passed on that same day a bill suspending these laws from operation until the close of the war.

England now had far more serious things to consider and she wisely swept the deck clean of contentious domestic matters until a more convenient season. Whether the Home Rule Act when finally put into force will be accompanied with amendments which will pacify the Protestants of Ulster, remains, of course, to be seen.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

We have thus far concerned ourselves with the history of the European continent. But one of the most remarkable features of the nineteenth century was the reaching out of Europe for the conquest of the world. It was not only a century of nation building but also of empire building on a colossal scale, a century of European emigration and colonization, a century during which the white race seized whatever regions of the earth remained still unappropriated or were too weak to preserve themselves inviolate. Thus magnificent imperial claims were staked out by various powers either for immediate or for ultimate use.

The expansion of Europe

The growth of colonial empires

Many were the causes of this new Wandering of the Peoples. One was the extraordinary increase during the century of the population of Europe — perhaps a hundred and seventy-five millions in 1815, more than four hundred and fifty millions a century later. This is unquestionably one of the most important facts in modern history, the fundamental cause of the colossal emigration. Another cause was the transformation of the economic system, the marvelous increase in the power of production, which impelled the producers to ransack the world for new markets and new sources of raw material. And another and potent cause was the spectacle of the British Empire which touched the imagination or aroused the envy of other peoples, who therefore fell to imitating, within the range of the possible. An examination of the history and characteristics of that Empire is essential to an understanding of modern Europe.

Causes of this growth

At the close of the eighteenth century England possessed in the New World, the region of the St. Lawrence, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and a large, vague region known as the Hudson Bay territory; Jamaica, and other West Indian islands; in Australia, a strip of the eastern coast; in India, the Bengal or lower Ganges region,

The British Empire at the close of the eighteenth century

Bombay, and strips along the eastern and western coasts. The most important feature of her colonial policy had been her elimination of France as a rival, from whom she had taken in the Seven Years' War almost all of her North American and East Indian possessions. This Empire she increased during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, largely at the expense of France and Holland, the ally of France. Thus she acquired the Cape of Good Hope, Guiana in South America, Tobago, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, and the large island of Ceylon. In the Mediterranean she acquired Malta. She also obtained Helgoland, and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands.

Vast growth of the British Empire since 1815

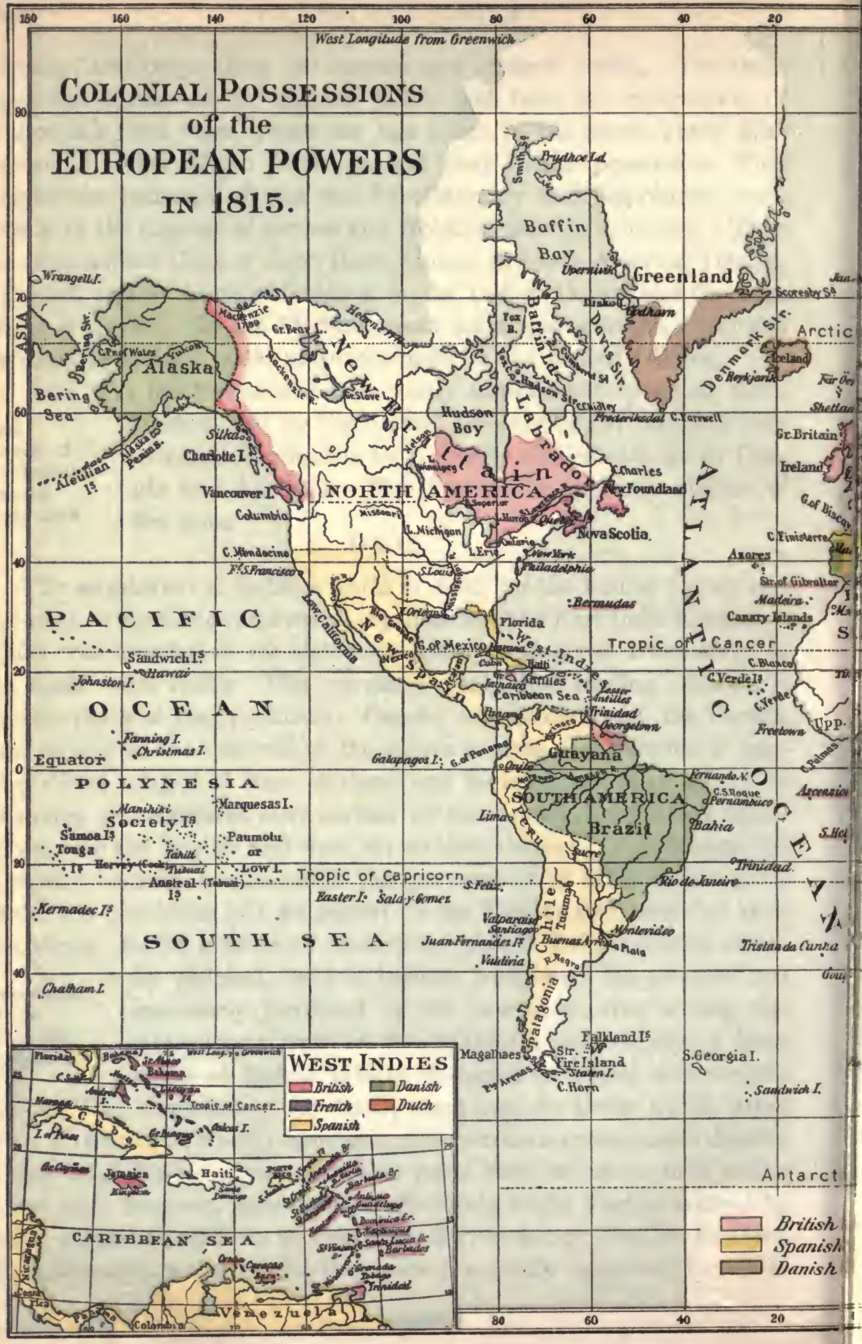
Since 1815 her Empire has been vastly augumented by a long series of wars, and by the natural advance of her colonists over countries contiguous to the early settlements, as in Canada and Australia. Her Empire lies in every quarter of the globe.

INDIA

The acquisition of India, a world in itself, for the British Crown was the work of a private commercial organization, the East India Company, which was founded in the sixteenth century and given a monopoly of the trade with India. This company established trading stations in various parts of that peninsula. Coming into conflict with the French, and mixing in the quarrels of the native princes, it succeeded in winning direct control of large sections, and indirect control of others by assuming protectorates over certain of the princes, who allied themselves with the English and were left on their thrones. This commercial company became invested with the government of these acquisitions, under the provisions of laws passed by the English Parliament at various times. In the nineteenth century the area of British control steadily widened, until it became complete. Its progress was immensely furthered by the overthrow, after a long and intermittent war, of the Mahratta confederacy, a loose union of Indian princes dominating central and western India. This confederacy was finally conquered in a war which lasted from 1816 to 1818, when a large part of its territories were added directly to the English possessions, and other parts were left under their native rulers who, however, were brought effectively under English control by being obliged to conform to English policy, to accept English *Residents* at their courts, whose advice they were practically compelled to follow,

Overthrow of the Mahratta confederacy

COLONIAL POSSESSIONS of the EUROPEAN POWERS IN 1815.


West Longitude from Greenwich
180
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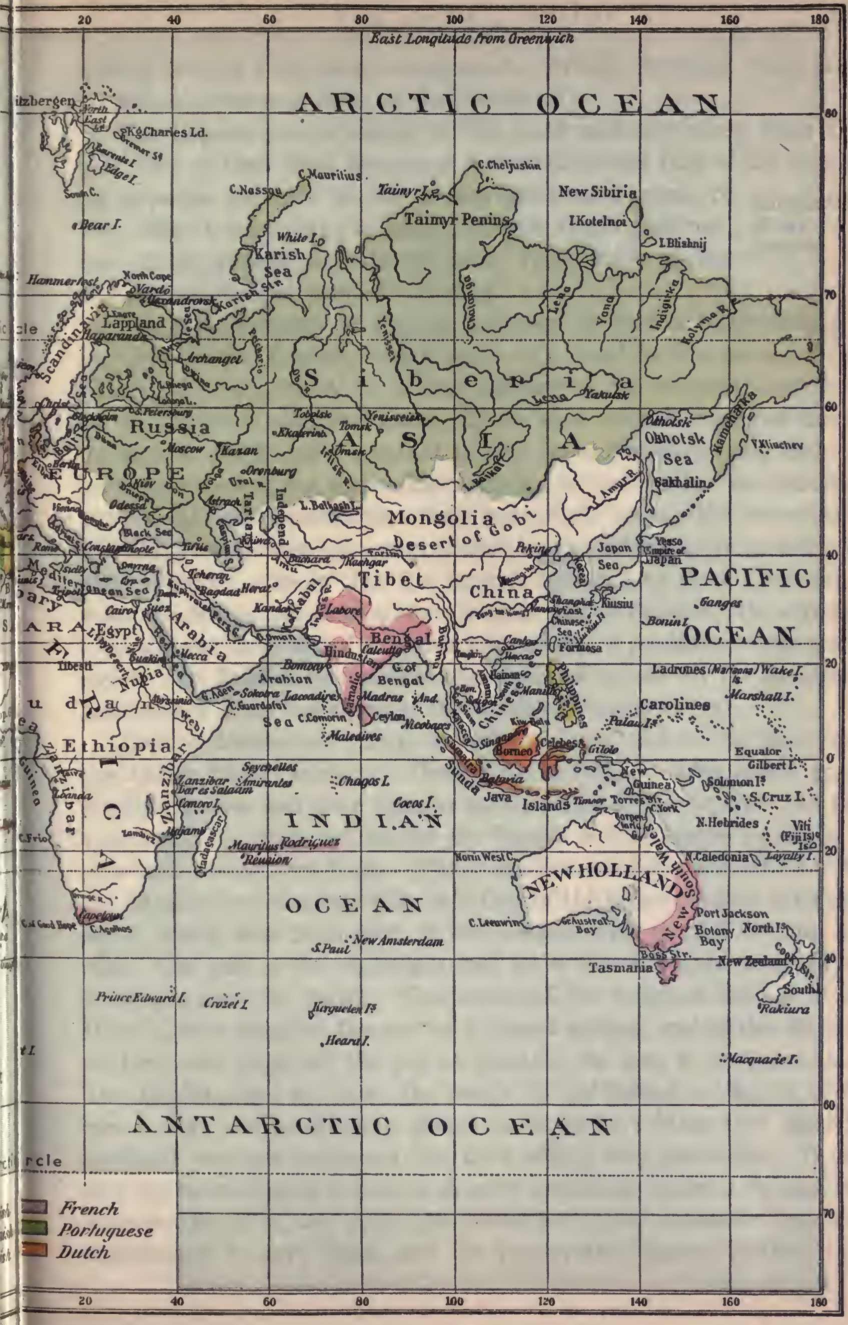
ASIA
Wrangell I.
Bering Str.
C. Pr. of Wales
Yukon
Alaska
Bering Sea
Aleutian Is.
Alaska Penins.
Sitka
Charlotte I.
Vancouver I.
Columbia
C. Mendocino
Ft. S. Francisco
Mackenzie 1789
Gr. Bear L.
Mackenzie R.
Gr. Slave L.
Hearne
New Britain
NORTH AMERICA
Nelson
L. Winnipeg
Hudson Bay
Fox B.
Missouri
L. Michigan
Superior
Huron
Ontario
L. Erie
St. Louis
Mississippi
N. Orleans
Rio Grande
New Mexico
Low. California
New Spain
G. of Mexico
Florida
Havana
Cuba
Haiti
Gr. Antilles
Jamaica
Caribbean Sea
Lesser Antilles
West Indies
Trinidad
Georgetown
Panama
Orinoco
Guayana
Quito
Amazon R.
SOUTH AMERICA
Brazil
Lima
Peru
Sucre
Bahia
Pernambuco
C. S. Roque
Rio de Janeiro
Montevideo
La Plata
Buenos Ayres
Tucuman
Chile
Valparaiso
Santiago
Valdivia
R. Negro
Patagonia
Magalhaes Str.
Pta. Arenas
Fire Island
Staten I.
C. Horn
Falkland Is.
S. Georgia I.
Sandwich I.
Galapagos I.
G. of Panama
S. Felix
Easter I.
Sala y Gomez
Juan Fernandez Is.
Labrador
Quebec
St. Lawrence R.
C. Charles
New Foundland
Nova Scotia
New York
Philadelphia
Bermudas
Baffin Bay
Smith Sd.
Prudhoe Ld.
Baffin Ld.
Fox Ch.
Cumberland Sd.
Hudson Str.
C. Chidley
Upernivik
Disko I.
Godhavn
Davis Str.
Greenland
Frederiksdal
C. Farewell
Scoresby Sd.
Denmark Str.
Iceland
Reykjavik
Arctic
Fär Öer
Shetland
Gr. Britain
Ireland
G. of Biscay
C. Finisterre
Azores
Str. of Gibraltar
Madeira
Canary Islands
Tropic of Cancer
C. Blanco
C. Verde Is.
C. Verde
Freetown
Upp.
C. Palmas
Fernando N.
Ascension
S. Hel
Trinidad
Tristan da Cunha
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Antarct
PACIFIC OCEAN
Sandwich Is.
Hawaii
Johnston I.
Fanning I.
Christmas I.
Equator
POLYNESIA
Manihiki
Marquesas I.
Society Is.
Samoa Is.
Tonga Is.
Tahiti
Paumotu or Low I.
Hervey (Cook)
Tubuai
Austral (Tubuai) Is.
Tropic of Capricorn
Kermadec Is.
SOUTH SEA
Chatham I.
British
Spanish
Danish
WEST INDIES
British
French
Spanish
Danish
Dutch
West Long. fr. Greenwich
Florida
C. Sable
Bahama I.
Gr. Abaco
Nassau
Andros I.
Eleuthera
Havana
Tropic of Cancer
Cuba
I. of Pines
Gt. Inagua
Caicos I.
Gr. Cayman
Jamaica
Kingston
Haiti
Santo Domingo
Porto Rico
St. Thomas
St. Croix
Anguilla
St. Martin
Barbuda
Antigua
Guadeloupe
Dominica
Martinique
Santa Lucia
St. Vincent
Barbados
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
Windward Is.
CARIBBEAN SEA
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Panama
Colombia
Venezuela
Oruba
Curaçao
Buen Ayre


East Longitude from Greenwich
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ARCTIC OCEAN
itzbergen
North East Ld.
Kg Charles Ld.
Bremer St.
Barents I.
Edge I.
South C.
Bear I.
C. Nassau
C. Mauritius
Taimyr I.
C. Cheljuskin
Taimyr Penins.
New Sibiria
I. Kotelnoi
I. Blishnij
White I.
Karish Sea
Karish Str.
Hammerfest
North Cape
Vardo
Alexandrovsk
Lappland
Haparanda
Scandinavia
White Sea
Archangel
Petchora
Onega
Ladoga L.
S. Petersburg
Stockholm
Baltic
Berlin
Elbe
Russia
Moscow
Kazan
Volga
EUROPE
Kiev
Dnieper
Don
Ural R.
Orenburg
Odessa
Vienna
Danube
Black Sea
Astrach
Tartary
Caspian S.
Khiva
Constantinople
Tiflis
Rome
Mediterranean Sea
Smyrna
Cyp.
Tripoli
Barbary
SAHARA
Cairo
Suez
Egypt
Teheran
Bagdad
Herat
Euphrates
Persia
Kandahar
Kabul
Arabia
Red Sea
Mecca
Suakin
Nubia
Libyan Desert
Ibesti
Sudan
Abyssinia
AFRICA
Ethiopia
G. Aden
Sokotra
C. Guardafui
Webi
Zanzibar
Zanzibar
Dar es Salaam
Comoro I.
Mozambique
Madagascar
Zambez
Guinea
Loanda
C. Frio
Orange R.
Capetown
C. of Good Hope
C. Agulhas
Seychelles
Amirantes
Mauritius
Rodriguez
Reunion
Obi
Yenissei
Tobolsk
Ekaterinb.
Tomsk
Omsk
Yenisseisk
Irtish R.
Independ.
L. Balkhash
Siberia
ASIA
Chatanga
Lena
Yana
Indigirka
Kolyma R.
Yakutsk
Lena
L. Baikal
Ochotsk
Ochotsk Sea
Kamchatka
V. Kliuchev
Sakhalin
Amur R.
Mongolia
Desert of Gobi
Yarkand
Kashgar
Buchara
Amu
Tibet
Lahore
Indus
Bengal
Calcutta
Hindustan
Bombay
Carnatic
Madras
G. of Bengal
Arabian Sea
Lacadives
C. Comorin
Ceylon
Maledives
Chagos I.
Andaman
Nicobars
Burma
China
Peking
Hoangho
Yang-tse-kiang
Shanghai
Nanking
Canton
Macao
East Chinese Sea
Formosa
Hainan
Annam
Siam
Saigon
Malacca
Singapore
South Chinese Sea
Manila
Philippines
Korea
Japan Sea
Japan
Yesso
Empire of Japan
Kiusiu
Liukiu Is.
Bonin I.
PACIFIC OCEAN
Ganges
Ladrones (Marianas)
Wake I.
Marshall I.
Carolines
Palau Is.
Equator
Gilbert I.
Borneo
Celebes
Gilolo
Sumatra
Batavia
Java
Sunda Islands
Timor
New Guinea
Torres Str.
C. York
Solomon Is.
S. Cruz I.
N. Hebrides
Viti (Fiji Is.) Is.
N. Caledonia
Loyalty I.
INDIAN OCEAN
Cocos I.
North West C.
NEW HOLLAND
Gulf of Carpentaria
South Wales
New
C. Leeuwin
Gt. Austral. Bay
Port Jackson
Botany Bay
Bass Str.
Tasmania
North I.
Cook Str.
New Zealand
South I.
Rakiura
New Amsterdam
S. Paul
Prince Edward I.
Crozet I.
Kerguelen Is.
Heard I.
Macquarie I.
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
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and by putting their native armies under British direction. Such is the condition of many of them at the present day.

Annexation of the Punjab

The English also advanced to the north and northwest, from Bengal. One of their most important annexations was that of the Punjab, an immense territory on the Indus, taken as a result of two difficult wars (1845 to 1849), and the Oudh province, one of the richest sections of India, lying between the Punjab and Bengal, annexed in 1856.

The steady march of English conquest aroused a bitter feeling of hostility to the English, which came to a head in the famous Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, which for a time threatened the complete overthrow of the British in northern India. There were various causes of this insurrection: the bitter discontent of the deposed princes and their adherents, who sent out emissaries to stir up hatred against the intruders; the fear of other princes that their turn might come; the introduction of railways and telegraphs, represented by the priests as an attack upon their religion; rumors that the English intended to force Christianity upon the people and destroy their religion and civilization; the attempts to stamp out the custom of female infanticide; a prophecy of the soothsayers that English domination was destined to end on the hundredth anniversary of its beginning at the battle of Plassey (1757).

The Indian Mutiny (1857)

English domination rested on military force, and in the main upon the native Indian soldiers. There were in India in 1857 about 45,000 English troops, and over 250,000 native soldiers, the Sepoys. In that year a mutiny broke out among the Sepoys of the Ganges provinces in northern India. The immediate occasion was the introduction of a new rifle, or rather of the paper-covered cartridges for it, which were lubricated, it was alleged, with the fat of cows and pigs. One end of the cartridges had to be bitten by the teeth before being put into the barrel. This outraged the religious feelings of the Hindus, who regarded the cow as a sacred animal, and of the Mohammedans, who regarded the pig as unclean, the lard as contaminating. The English tried to dispel the rumor by publishing a formula of the grease used, and by ordering officers to assure the soldiers that these ingredients were not employed, but their efforts were unavailing. A cavalry regiment refused to receive the new munitions, some of its members were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, their comrades began an insurrection to save them, and the insurrection spread swiftly. The native soldiery seized Delhi, the ancient capital of the Moguls, Lucknow, Cawnpore, and other places, massacring with barbarous cruelty large numbers of men, women, and children. Shortly all northern India seemed lost.

The English took a fearful and decisive revenge. Many of the Sepoys remained loyal, European troops were rushed to the scene of the disturbance, and the insurrection was crushed. Beside themselves with rage and terrified by the narrowness of the escape, the English meted out ferocious punishment. Hundreds were shot in cold blood, without trial, and thousands were hanged after trials that were a travesty of justice. Many were fastened to the mouths of cannon and blown to pieces.

Change in the government of India

Since this mutiny of 1857 no attempts have been made to overthrow English control. One important consequence was that in 1858 the government of India was transferred to the Crown from the private company which had conducted it for a century. It passed under the direct authority of England. In 1876, as we have seen, India was declared an empire, and Queen Victoria assumed the title Empress of India, January 1, 1877. This fact was officially announced in India by Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, to an imposing assembly of the ruling princes.

The vast population of India

An Empire it surely is, with its three hundred million inhabitants. A Viceroy stands at the head of the government. There is a Secretary for India in the British Ministry. The government is largely carried on by the highly organized Civil Service of India, and is in the hands of about eleven hundred Englishmen. About 220 millions of people are under the direct control of Great Britain; about 67 millions live in native states under native rulers, the "Protected Princes of India," of whom there were, a few years ago, nearly seven hundred. For all practical purposes, however, these princes must follow the advice of English officials, or Residents, stationed in their capitals.

Annexation of Burma and Baluchistan

Not only did England complete her control of India in the nineteenth century, but she added countries round about India, Burma toward the east, and, toward the west, Baluchistan, a part of which was annexed outright, and the remainder brought under a protectorate. She also imposed a kind of protectorate upon Afghanistan, as a result of two Afghan wars (1839–42 and 1878–80).

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

In 1815, as already stated, Great Britain possessed, in North America, six colonies: Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland; and the Hudson Bay Company's territories stretched to the north and northwest with undefined boundaries. The total population of these colonies was about 460,000. The colonies were entirely separate from each other. Each had its own government, and its relations were not with the others, but with England. The oldest and most populous was Lower Canada, which included Montreal and Quebec and the St. Lawrence valley. This was the French colony conquered by England in 1763. Its population was French-speaking, and Roman Catholic in religion.

Upper and Lower Canada

The two most important of these colonies were Lower Canada, largely French, and Upper Canada, entirely English. Each had received a constitution in 1791, but in neither colony did the constitution work well and the fundamental reason was that neither the people nor their legislatures had any control over the executive. The Governor, who could practically veto all legislation, considered himself responsible primarily to the English Government, not to the people of the province. England had not yet learned the secret of successful management of colonies despite the fact that the lesson of the American Revolution and the loss of the thirteen colonies a half a century earlier was sufficiently plain. It took a second revolt to point the moral and adorn the tale. In 1837 disaffection had reached such a stage that revolutionary movements broke out in both Upper and Lower Canada. These were easily suppressed by the Canadian authorities without help from England, but the grievances of the colonists still remained.

The rebellion of 1837

The Durham Mission

The English Government, thoroughly alarmed at the danger of the loss of another empire, adopted the part of discretion and sent out to Canada a commissioner to study the grievances of the colonists. The man chosen was Lord Durham, whose part in the reform of 1832 had been brilliant. Durham was in Canada five months. The report in which he analyzed the causes of the rebellion and suggested changes in policy entitles him to the rank of the greatest colonial statesman in British history. In a word he adopted the dictum of Fox who had said "the only method of retaining distant colonies with advantage, is to enable them to govern themselves." He proposed the introduction of the cabinet system of government as worked out in England. This gives the popular house of the legislature control over the executive.

Ministerial responsibility introduced into Canada

Durham's recommendations were not immediately followed, as to many Englishmen they seemed to render the colonies independent. Ten years later, however, this principle of ministerial responsibility was adopted by Lord Elgin (1847), the Governor of Canada and the son-in-law of Durham. His example was followed by his successors and gradually became established usage. The custom spread rapidly to the other colonies of Great Britain which were of English stock and were therefore considered capable of self-government. This is the cement that holds the British Empire together. For self-government has brought with it contentment.

The founding of the Dominion of Canada, 1867

Lord Durham had also suggested a federation of all the North American colonies. This was brought about in 1867 when the British North America Act, which had been drawn up in Canada and which expressed Canadian sentiment, was passed without change by the English Parliament. By this act Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were joined into a confederation called the Dominion of Canada. There was to be a central or federal parliament sitting in Ottawa. There were also to be local or provincial legislatures in each province to legislate for local affairs. Questions affecting the whole Dominion were reserved for the Dominion Parliament.

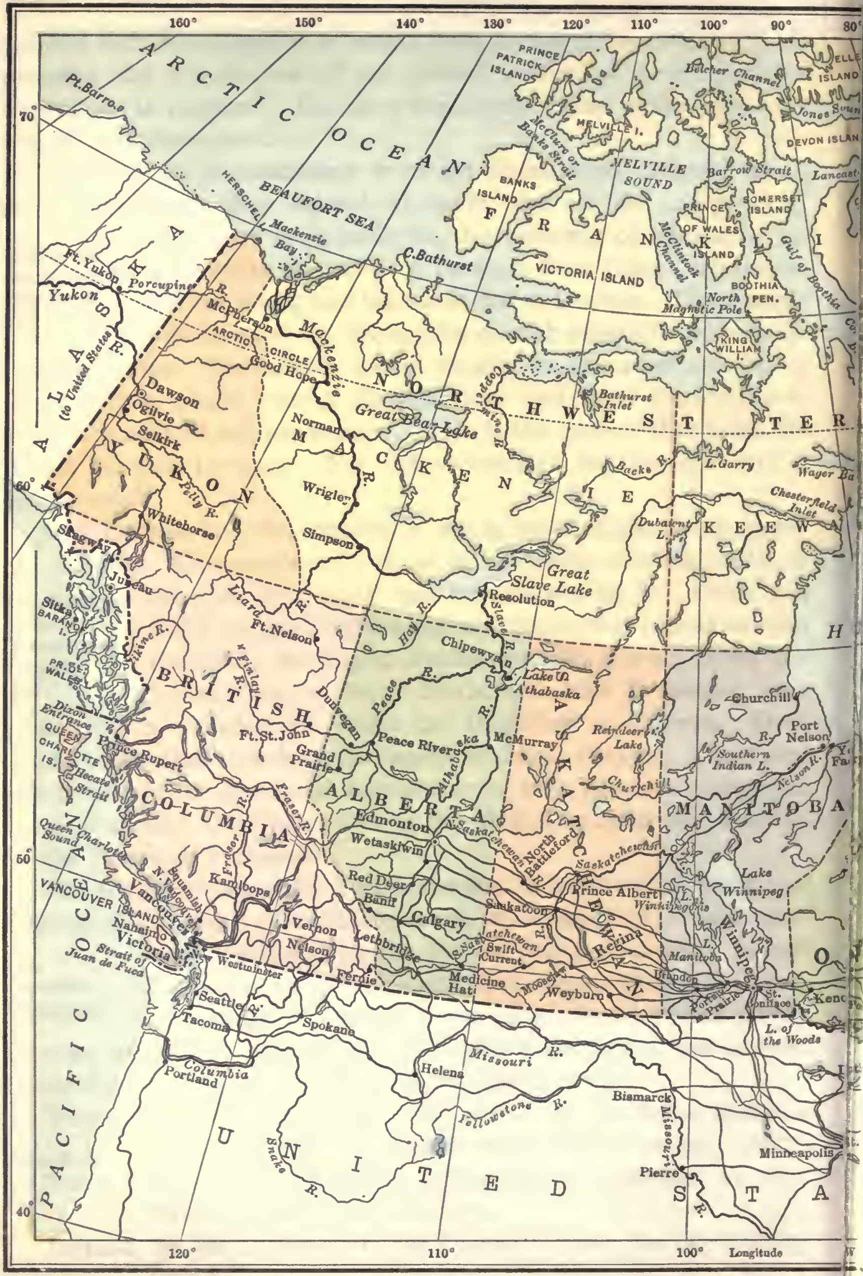
The Dominion Parliament

The central or Dominion Parliament was to consist of a Senate and a House of Commons. The Senate was to be composed of seventy members nominated for life by the Governor-General, himself appointed by the monarch, and representing the Crown. The House of Commons was to be elected by the people. In some respects the example of the English Government was followed in the constitution, in others that of the United States.

Growth of the Dominion

Though the Dominion began with only four provinces provision was made for the possible admission of others. Manitoba was admitted in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873.

In 1846, by the settlement of the Oregon dispute, the line dividing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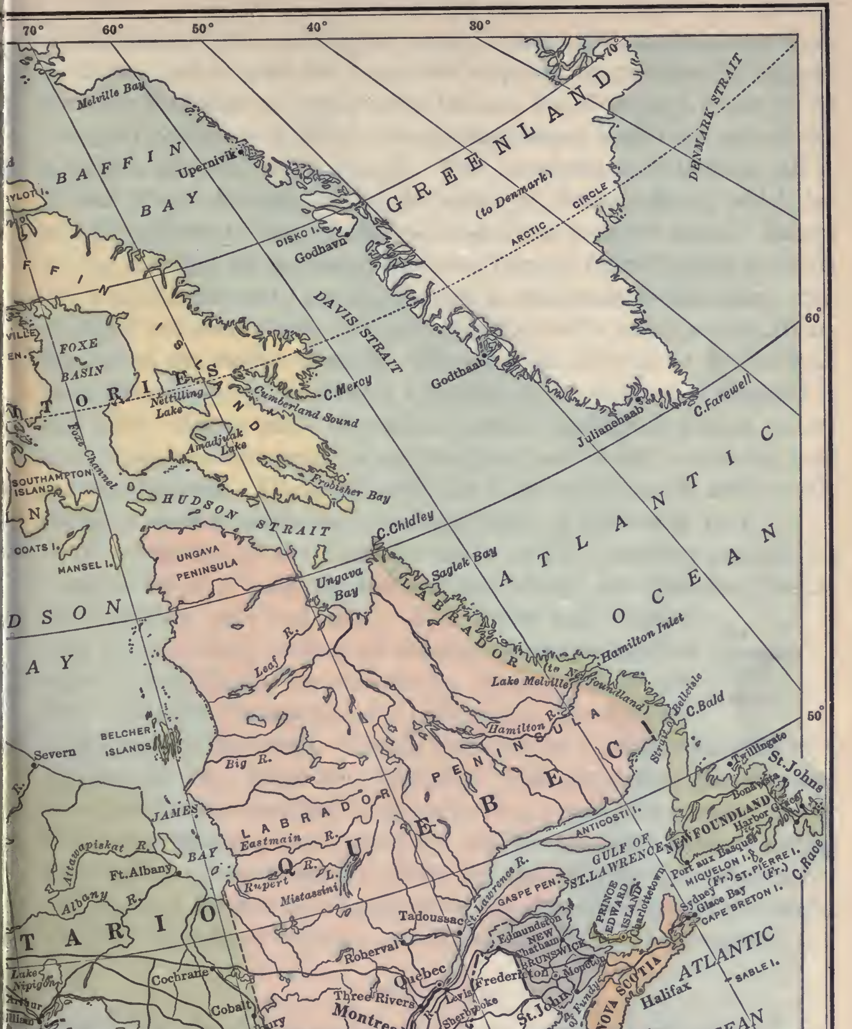
Longitude
ARCTIC OCEAN
Pt. Barrow
BEAUFORT SEA
HERSCHEL I.
Mackenzie Bay
PRINCE PATRICK ISLAND
McClure or Banks Strait
MELVILLE I.
MELVILLE SOUND
Belcher Channel
ELLESMERE ISLAND
Jones Sound
DEVON ISLAND
Barrow Strait
Lancaster
BANKS ISLAND
VICTORIA ISLAND
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND
McClintock Channel
SOMERSET ISLAND
Gulf of Boothia
BOOTHIA PEN.
North Magnetic Pole
KING WILLIAM I.
C. Bathurst
FRANKLIN
Ft. Yukon
Porcupine R.
Yukon R.
ALASKA (to United States)
McPherson
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Good Hope
Mackenzie R.
Coppermine R.
Bathurst Inlet
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
Dawson
Ogilvie
Selkirk
YUKON
Pelly R.
Whitehorse
Skagway
Juneau
Sitka
BARANOF I.
Norman
Great Bear Lake
MACKENZIE
Wrigley
Simpson
Backs R.
L. Garry
Wager Ba
Chesterfield Inlet
Dubawnt L.
KEEWATIN
Great Slave Lake
Resolution
Slave R.
Liard R.
Ft. Nelson
Hay R.
Chipewyan
Lake Athabaska
Stikine R.
PR. OF WALES I.
Finlay R.
Peace R.
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Dunvegan
Ft. St. John
Grand Prairie
Peace River
Athabaska R.
McMurray
SASKATCHEWAN
Reindeer Lake
Churchill R.
Churchill
Port Nelson
Southern Indian L.
Nelson R.
Dixon Entrance
QUEEN CHARLOTTE IS.
Prince Rupert
Hecate Strait
Fraser R.
ALBERTA
Edmonton
Wetaskiwin
N. Saskatchewan R.
North Battleford
Saskatchewan R.
MANITOBA
Lake Winnipeg
Queen Charlotte Sound
Kamloops
Red Deer
Banff
Prince Albert
L. Winnipegosis
VANCOUVER ISLAND
Squamish
N. Vancouver
Vancouver
Nanaimo
Victoria
Strait of Juan de Fuca
New Westminster
Vernon
Nelson
Calgary
Lethbridge
S. Saskatchewan R.
Saskatoon
Swift Current
Regina
Moose Jaw
Weyburn
Medicine Hat
Fernie
Brandon
L. Manitoba
Winnipeg R.
Portage la Prairie
St. Boniface
Kenora
L. of the Woods
ONTARIO
Seattle
Tacoma
Spokane
Columbia R.
Portland
Helena
Missouri R.
Yellowstone R.
Bismarck
Missouri R.
Snake R.
Pierre
Minneapolis
PACIFIC OCEAN
UNITED STATES



CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND 1924

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Williams Engraving Co., N.Y.
70° 60° 50° 40° 30°
60° 50° 40°
90° from Greenwich 80° 70°
GREENLAND
(to Denmark)
DENMARK STRAIT
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Melville Bay
Upernivik
BAFFIN BAY
BYLOT I.
DISKO I.
Godhavn
DAVIS STRAIT
Godthaab
Julianehaab
C.Farewell
C.Mercy
Cumberland Sound
Frobisher Bay
Nettilling Lake
Amadjuak Lake
BAFFIN ISLAND
FOXE BASIN
Foxe Channel
SOUTHAMPTON ISLAND
COATS I.
MANSEL I.
HUDSON STRAIT
C.Chidley
UNGAVA PENINSULA
Ungava Bay
Saglek Bay
LABRADOR (to Newfoundland)
Hamilton Inlet
Lake Melville
Hamilton R.
Strait of Belleisle
C.Bald
ATLANTIC OCEAN
HUDSON BAY
BELCHER ISLANDS
Severn
Leaf R.
Big R.
LABRADOR PENINSULA
JAMES BAY
Eastmain R.
Rupert R.
L. Mistassini
QUEBEC
Attawapiskat R.
Ft.Albany
Albany R.
ONTARIO
TERRITORIES
Lake Nipigon
Port Arthur
Fort William
Lake Superior
Cochrane
Cobalt
Sudbury
Sault Ste.Marie
North Bay
Ottawa R.
Ottawa
Hull
Montreal
Three Rivers
Quebec
Levis
Sherbrooke
Roberval
Tadoussac
St. Lawrence R.
ANTICOSTI I.
GULF OF ST.LAWRENCE
GASPE PEN.
Edmundston
Chatham
NEW BRUNSWICK
Fredericton
Moncton
St.John
B. of Fundy
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
Charlottetown
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax
Yarmouth
C.Sable
SABLE I.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CAPE BRETON I.
Sydney
Glace Bay
MIQUELON I. (Fr.)
ST.PIERRE I. (Fr.)
Port aux Basques
NEWFOUNDLAND
Harbor Grace
St.Johns
Bonavista
Trillingate
C.Race
Kingston
Georgian Bay
Lake Huron
Collingwood
Toronto
Hamilton
L. Ontario
Sarnia
London
Buffalo
Detroit
L. Erie
Cleveland
Lake Michigan
Milwaukee
Chicago
UNITED STATES
Portland
Boston
New York

the English possessions from the United States was extended to the Pacific Ocean, and in 1869 the Dominion acquired by purchase (£300,000) the vast territories belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, out of which the great provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan have been carved and admitted into the union (1905). The Dominion now includes all of British North America except the island of Newfoundland, which has steadily refused to join. It thus extends from ocean to ocean. Except for the fact that she receives a Governor-General from England and that she possesses no treaty powers, Canada is practically independent. She manages her own affairs, and even imposes tariffs which are disadvantageous to the mother country. That she has imperial as well as local patriotism, however, was shown strikingly in her support of England in the South African war. She sent Canadian regiments thither at her own expense to coöperate in an enterprise not closely connected with her own fortunes. The same spirit, the same willingness to make costly sacrifices, were to be shown, on a larger scale, in the war of 1914.

The Canadian Pacific Railway

The founding of the Canadian union in 1867 rendered possible the construction of a great transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific, built between 1881 and 1885. This has in turn reacted upon the Dominion, binding the different provinces together and contributing to the remarkable development of the west. Another transcontinental railway has recently been built farther to the north. Canada is connected by steamship lines with Europe and with Japan and Australia. Her population has increased from less than five hundred thousand in 1815 to more than seven million. Her prosperity has grown immensely, and her economic life is becoming more varied. Largely an agricultural and timber producing country, her manufactures are now developing under the stimulus of protective tariffs, and her vast mineral resources are in process of rapid development.

AUSTRALIA

In the Southern Hemisphere, too, a new empire was created by Great Britain during the nineeenth century, an empire nearly as extensive territorially as the United States or Canada, about three-fourths as large as Europe, and inhabited almost entirely by a population of English descent.

No systematic exploration of this southern continent, *Terra Australis*, was undertaken until toward the close of the eighteenth century, but certain parts had been sighted or traced much earlier by Spanish, Portuguese, and particularly by Dutch navigators. Among the last, Tasman is to be mentioned, who in 1642 explored the southeastern portion, though he did not discover that the land which was later to bear his name was an island, a fact not known, indeed, for a century and a half. He discovered the islands to the east of Australia, and gave to them a Dutch name, New Zealand. The Dutch called the *Terra Australis* New Holland, claiming it by right of discovery. But they made no attempt to occupy it. The attention of the English was first directed thither by the famous Captain Cook, who made three voyages to this region between 1768 and 1779. Cook sailed around New Zealand, and then along the eastern coast of this New Holland. He put into a certain harbor, which was forthwith named Botany Bay, so varied was the vegetation on the shores. Sailing up the eastern coast, he claimed it all for George III, and called it New South Wales because it reminded him of the Welsh coast. Seventeen years, however, went by before any settlement was made.

Early explorations

The voyages of Captain Cook

At first Australia was considered by English statesmen a good place to which to send criminals, and it was as a convict colony that the new empire began. The first expedition for the colonization of the country sailed from England in May, 1787 with 750 convicts on board, and reached Botany Bay in January, 1788. Here the first settlement was made, and to it was given the name of the colonial secretary of the day, Sydney. For many years fresh cargoes of convicts were sent out, who, on the expiration of their sentences, received lands. Free settlers came too, led to emigrate by various periods of economic depression at home, by promises of land and food, and by an increasing knowledge of the adaptability of the new continent to agriculture, and particularly to sheep raising. By 1820 the population was not far from 40,000. During the first thirty years the government was military in character.

A convict colony

The free settlers were strongly opposed to having Australia regarded as a prison for English convicts, and after 1840 the system was gradually abolished. Australia was at first mainly a pastoral country, producing wool and hides. But, in 1851 and 1852, rich deposits of gold were found, rivaled only by those discovered a little earlier in California. A tremendous immigration ensued. The popula-

The discovery of gold

tion of the colony of Victoria (cut off from New South Wales) increased from 70,000 to more than 300,000 in five years. Australia has ever since remained one of the great gold producing countries of the world.

The Six Australian Colonies

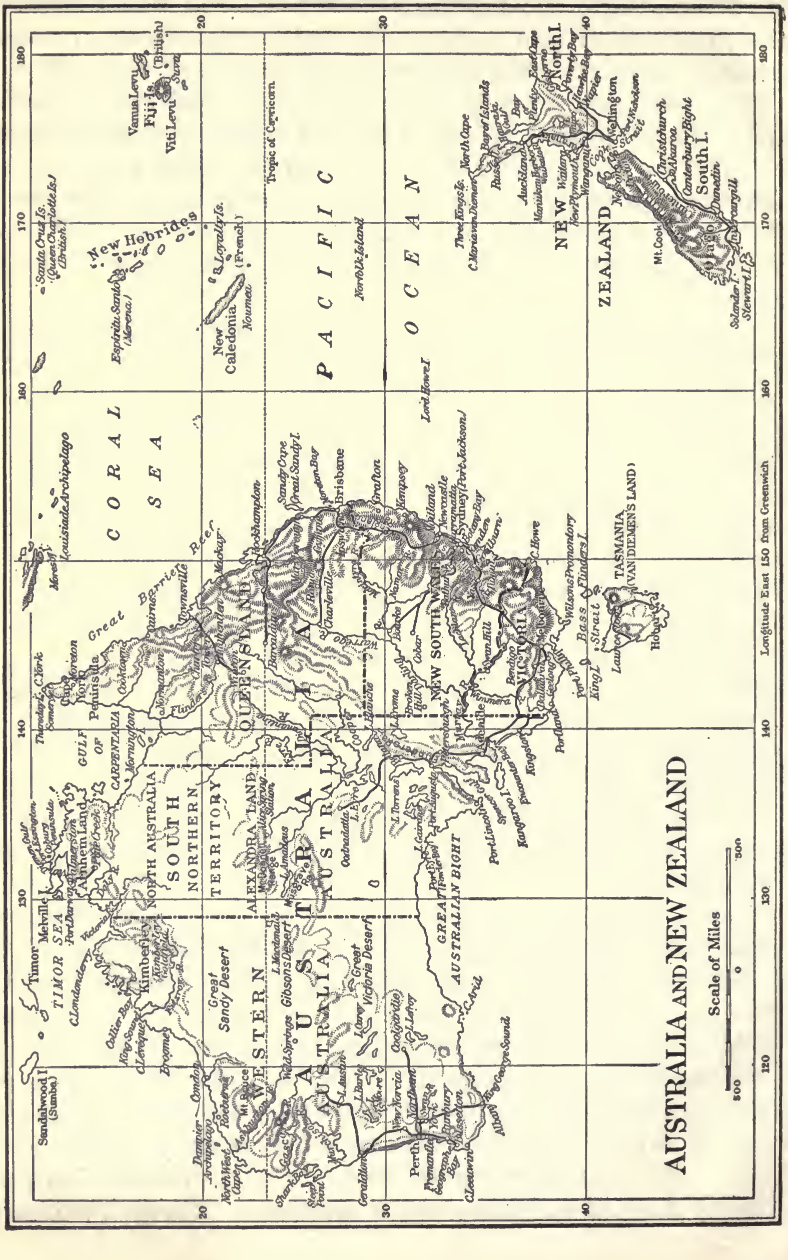
Thus there gradually grew up six colonies, New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and the neighboring island of Tasmania. These were gradually invested with self-government, parliaments, and responsible ministries in the fashion worked out in Canada. The population increased steadily, and by the end of the century numbered about four millions.

Reasons for their federation

The great political event in the history of these colonies was their union into a confederation at the close of the century. Up to that time the colonies had been legally unconnected with each other, and their only form of union was the loose one under the British Crown. For a long time there was discussion as to the advisability of binding them more closely together. Various reasons contributed to convince the Australians of the advantages of federation; the desirability of uniform legislation concerning commercial and industrial matters, railway regulation, navigation, irrigation, and tariffs. Moreover the desire for nationality, which has accomplished such remarkable changes in Europe in the nineteenth century, was also active here. An Australian patriotism had grown up. Australians desired to make their country the dominant authority in the Southern Hemisphere. They longed for a larger outlook than that given by the life of the separate colonies, and thus both reason and sentiment combined toward the same end, a close union, the creation of another "colonial nation."

Creation of the Australian Commonwealth

Union was finally achieved after ten years of earnest discussion (1890–1900). The various experiments in federation were carefully studied, particularly the constitutions of the United States and Canada. The draft of the constitution was worked over by several conventions, by the ministers and the governments of the various colonies, and was finally submitted to the people for ratification. Ratification being secured, the constitution was then passed through the British Parliament under the title of "The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act" (1900). The constitution was the work of the Australians. The part taken by England was simply one of acceptance. Though Parliament



AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Scale of Miles
300
0
300
Longitude East 150 from Greenwich
120
130
140
150
160
170
180
20
30
40
Tropic of Capricorn
PACIFIC
OCEAN
CORAL SEA
TIMOR SEA
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
GREAT AUSTRALIAN BIGHT
Great Barrier Reef
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
NORTHERN TERRITORY
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NORTH AUSTRALIA
ALEXANDRA LAND
QUEENSLAND
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
TASMANIA (VAN DIEMEN'S LAND)
Bass Strait
NEW ZEALAND
North I.
South I.
Cook Str.
Stewart I.
Solander I.
Wellington
Auckland
Christchurch
Dunedin
Invercargill
Napier
Nelson
Mt. Cook
Canterbury Bight
New Plymouth
Wanganui
North Cape
East Cape
Bay of Islands
Three Kings Is.
Norfolk Island
Lord Howe I.
New Caledonia
Noumea
Loyalty Is. (French)
New Hebrides
Espiritu Santo (Merena)
Santa Cruz Is. (Queen Charlotte Is.) (British)
Fiji Is. (British)
Vanua Levu
Viti Levu
Suva
Louisiade Archipelago
Moresby
Thursday I.
C. York
Cape York Peninsula
Cooktown
Cairns
Townsville
Mackay
Rockhampton
Brisbane
Sandy Cape
Great Sandy I.
Moreton Bay
Grafton
Kempsey
Maitland
Newcastle
Sydney (Port Jackson)
Botany Bay
C. Howe
Wilsons Promontory
Flinders I.
King I.
Launceston
Hobart
Melbourne
Geelong
Ballarat
Bendigo
Portland
Adelaide
Port Augusta
Port Lincoln
Kangaroo I.
Spencer G.
L. Torrens
L. Eyre
L. Gairdner
Oodnadatta
Cooper Cr.
Darling R.
Murray R.
Murrumbidgee
Wimmera
Broken Hill
Cobar
Bourke
Charleville
Warrego R.
Normanton
Burketown
Flinders R.
Mornington
Port Darwin
Palmerston
Arnhem Land
Melville I.
Victoria R.
Alice Springs Station
McDonnell Ranges
L. Amadeus
Musgrave Ra.
Timor
Sandalwood I. (Sumba)
C. Londonderry
Kimberley
Collier Bay
King Sound
C. Leveque
Broome
Great Sandy Desert
Gibsons Desert
Great Victoria Desert
Wild Springs
L. Macdonald
Coolgardie
L. Lefroy
L. Carey
L. Austin
L. Barlee
Cue
Mt. Bruce
Ashburton
Roebourne
Condon
Dampier Archipelago
North West Cape
Gascoyne
Shark Bay
Steep Point
Geraldton
Perth
Fremantle
Bunbury
Busselton
C. Leeuwin
Albany
King George Sound
C. Arid
Esperance
New Norcia
Northam
York

made certain suggestions of detail, it did not insist upon them in the case of Australian opposition.

The Federal Parliament

The constitution established a federation consisting of the six colonies which were henceforth to be called states, not provinces as in the case of Canada. It created a federal Parliament of two houses, a Senate consisting of six senators from each state, and a House of Representatives apportioned among the several states according to population. The powers given to the Federal Government were carefully defined. The new system was inaugurated January 1, 1901.

NEW ZEALAND

Not included in the new commonwealth is an important group of islands of Australasia called New Zealand, situated 1,200 miles east of Australia. England began to have some connection with these islands shortly after 1815, but it was not until 1839 that they were formally annexed to the British Empire. In 1854 New Zealand was given responsible government, and in 1865 was entirely separated from New South Wales and made a separate colony. Emigration was methodically encouraged. New Zealand was never a convict colony. Population increased and it gradually became the most democratic colony of the Empire. In 1907 the designation of the colony was changed to the Dominion of New Zealand.

New Zealand

New Zealand consists of two main islands with many smaller ones. It is about a fourth larger than Great Britain and has a population of about 1,000,000, of whom about 50,000 are aborigines, the Maoris. Its capital is Wellington, with a population of about 70,000. Auckland is another important city. New Zealand is an agricultural and grazing country, and also possesses rich mineral deposits, including gold.

New Zealand is of great interest to the world of to-day because of its experiments in advanced social reform, legislation concerning labor and capital, landowning and commerce. State control has been extended over more branches of industry than has been the case in any other country.

Advanced social legislation

The Government owns and operates the railways. The roads are run, not for profit, but for service to the people. As rapidly as profits exceed three per cent passenger and freight rates are reduced. Comprehensive and successful attempts are made by very low rates to induce the people in congested districts to live in the country. Workmen going in and out travel about three miles for a cent. Children in the primary grades in schools are carried free, and those in higher grades at very low fares.

The Government also owns and operates the telegraphs and telephones and conducts postal savings banks. Life insurance is largely in its hands. It has a fire and accident insurance department. In 1903 it began the operation of some state coal mines. Its land legislation is remarkable. Its main purpose is to prevent the land from being monopolized by a few, and to enable the people to become landholders. In 1892 progressive taxation on the large estates was adopted, and in 1896 the sale of such estates to the government was made compulsory, and thus extensive areas have come under government ownership. The state transfers them under various forms of tenure to the landless and working classes. The system of taxation, based on the principle of graduation, higher rates for larger incomes, properties, and inheritances, is designed to break up or prevent monopoly and to favor the small proprietor or producer.

System of taxation

In industrial and labor legislation New Zealand has also made radical experiments. Arbitration in labor disputes is compulsory if either side invokes it, and the decision is binding. Factory laws are stringent, aiming particularly at the protection of women, the elimination of "sweating." In stores the Saturday half-holiday is universal. The Government has a Labor Department whose head is a member of the cabinet. Its first duty is to find work for the unemployed, and its great effort is to get the people out of the cities into the country. There is an Old Age Pension Law, enacted in 1898 and amended in 1905, providing pensions of about a hundred and twenty-five dollars for all men and women after the age of sixty-five whose income is less than five dollars a week.

Old Age Pensions

All this governmental activity rests on a democratic basis. There are no property qualifications for voting, and women have the suffrage as well as men. The referendum has been adopted.

The Australian colony of Victoria has enacted much legislation resembling that described in the case of New Zealand.

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

England acquires Cape Colony

As an incident in the wars against France and her ally and dependent, Holland, England seized the Dutch possession in South Africa, Cape Colony. This colony she retained in 1814, together with certain Dutch possessions in South America, paying six million pounds as compensation. This was the beginning of English expansion into Africa, which was to attain remarkable proportions before the close of the century. The population at the time England took possession consisted of about 27,000 people of European descent, mostly Dutch, and of about 30,000 African and Malay slaves owned by the Dutch, and about 17,000 Hottentots. Immigration of Englishmen began forthwith.

Friction with the Boers

Friction between the Dutch (called Boers, i.e., peasants), and the English was not slow in developing. The forms of local government to which the Boers were accustomed were abolished and new ones established. English was made the sole language used in the courts. The Boers, irritated by these measures, were rendered indignant by the abolition of slavery in 1834. They did not consider slavery wrong. Moreover, they felt defrauded of their property as the compensation given was inadequate — about three million pounds — little more than a third of what they considered their slaves were worth.

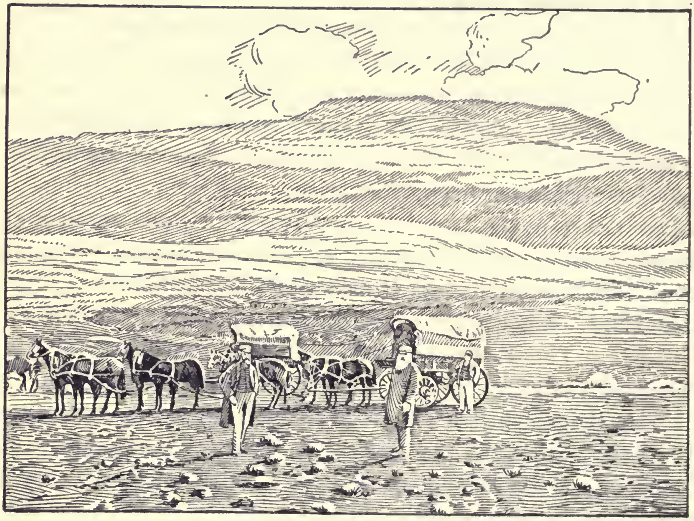
The Great Trek

The Boers resolved to leave the colony and to settle in the interior where they could live unmolested by the intruders. This migration or Great Trek began in 1836, and continued for several years. About 10,000 Boers thus withdrew from Cape Colony. Rude carts drawn by several pairs of oxen transported their families and their possessions into the wilderness. The result was the founding of two independent Boer republics to the north of Cape Colony, namely the Orange Free State and the Transvaal or South African Republic. A most checquered career has been theirs. The Orange Free State was declared annexed to the British Empire in 1848 but it rebelled and its independence was recognized by Great Britain in 1854. From that time until 1899 it pursued a peaceful career, its independence not infringed upon.

The independence of the Transvaal was also recognized, in 1852. But twenty-five years later, in 1877, under the strongly imperialistic

The Transvaal annexed to the British Empire

ministry of Lord Beaconsfield, it was abruptly declared annexed to the British Empire, on the ground that its independence was a menace to the peace of England's other South African possessions. The Boers' hatred of the English naturally expressed itself and they took up arms in the defense of their independence.



Majuba Hill

Majuba Hill

In 1880 Lord Beaconsfield was overthrown and Gladstone came into power. Gladstone had denounced the annexation, and was convinced that a mistake had been made which must be rectified. He was negotiating with the Boer leaders, hoping to reach, by peaceful means, a solution that would be satisfactory to both sides, when his problem was made immensely more difficult by the Boers themselves, who, in December, 1880, rose in revolt and defeated a small detachment of British troops at Majuba Hill, February 27, 1881. In a military sense this so-called battle of Majuba Hill was an insignificant affair, but its effects upon Englishmen and Boers were tremendous and far-reaching. Gladstone, who had already been negotiating with a view to restoring the independence of the Transvaal, which he considered had been unjustly overthrown, did not think it right to reverse his policy because of a mere skirmish, however humiliating. His ministry therefore went its way, not believing that it should be deflected from an act of justice and conciliation merely because of a military misfortune of no importance in itself. The independence of the Transvaal was formally recognized with the restriction that it could not make treaties with foreign countries without the approval of Great Britain and with the proviso, which was destined to gain tremendous importance later, that "white men were to have full liberty to reside in any part of the republic, to trade in it, and to be liable to the same taxes only as those exacted from citizens of the republic."

Policy of the Gladstone administration

Gladstone's action was severely criticised by Englishmen who did not believe in retiring, leaving a defeat unavenged. They denounced the policy of the ministry as hostile to the welfare of the South African colonies and damaging to the prestige of the Empire. The Boers on the other hand considered that they had won their independence by arms, by the humiliation of the traditional enemy, and were accordingly elated. In holding this opinion they were injuring themselves by self-deception and by the idea that what they had once done they could do again, and they were angering the British by keeping alive the memory of Majuba Hill. The phrase just quoted, concerning immigration, contained the germ of future trouble, which in the end was to result in the violent overthrow of the republic, for a momentous change in the character of the population was impending.

The South African Republic was entirely inhabited by Boers, a people exclusively interested in agriculture and grazing, solid, sturdy, religious, freedom-loving, but, in the modern sense, unprogressive, ill-educated, suspicious of foreigners, and particularly of Englishmen. The peace and contentment of this rural people were disturbed by the discovery, in 1884, that gold in immense quantities lay hidden in their mountains, the Rand. Immediately a great influx of miners and speculators began. These were chiefly Englishmen. In the heart of the mining district the city of Johannesburg grew rapidly, numbering in a few years over 100,000 inhabitants, a city of foreigners. Troubles quickly arose between the native Boers and the aggressive, energetic Uitlanders or foreigners.

The Boers

The Uitlanders

The Uitlanders gave wide publicity to their grievances. Great obstacles were put in the way of their naturalization; they were given no share in the government, not even the right to vote. Yet in parts of the Transvaal they were more numerous than the natives, and bore the larger share of taxation. In addition they were forced to render military service, which, in their opinion, implied citizenship. They looked to the British Government to push their demand for reforms. The Boer Government was undoubtedly an oligarchy, but the Boers felt that it was only by refusing the suffrage to the unwelcome intruders that they could keep control of their own state, which at the cost of much hardship they had created in the wilderness. In 1895 occurred an event which deeply embittered them, the Jameson Raid — an invasion of the Transvaal by a few hundred troopers under Dr. Jameson, the administrator of Rhodesia, with the apparent purpose of overthrowing the Boer Government. The raiders were easily captured by the Boers, who, with great magnanimity, handed them over to England. This indefensible attack and the fact that the guilty were only lightly punished in England, and that the man whom all Boers held responsible as the arch-conspirator, Cecil Rhodes, was shielded by the British Government, entered like iron into the souls of the Boers and only hardened their resistance to the demands of the Uitlanders. These demands were refused and the grievances of the Uitlanders, who now outnumbered the natives perhaps two to one, continued. Friction steadily increased. The British charged that the Boers were aiming at nothing less than the ultimate expulsion of the English from South Africa, the Boers charged that the British were aiming at the extinction of the two Boer republics. There was no spirit of conciliation in either government.

The Jameson Raid

Joseph Chamberlain

Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary, was arrogant and insolent. Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal, was obstinate and ill-informed. Ultimately in October, 1899 the Boers declared war upon Great Britain. The Orange Free State, no party to the quarrel, threw in its lot with its sister Boer republic.

The South African War

This war was lightly entered upon by both sides. Each grossly underestimated both the resources and the spirit of the other. The English Government had made no preparation at all adequate, apparently not believing that in the end this petty state would dare oppose the mighty British Empire. The Boers, on the other hand, had been long preparing for a conflict, and knew that the number of British troops in South Africa was small, totally insufficient to put down their resistance. Moreover, for years they had deceived themselves with a gross exaggeration of the significance of Majuba Hill as a victory over the British. Each side believed that the war would be short, and would result in its favor.

Paul Kruger

Lord Roberts

The war, which they supposed would be over in a few months, lasted for nearly three years. England suffered at the outset many humiliating reverses. The war was not characterized by great battles, but by many sieges at first, and then by guerilla fighting and elaborate, systematic, and difficult conquest of the country. It was fought with great bravery on both sides. For the English, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were the leaders, and of the Boers several greatly distinguished themselves, obtaining world-wide reputations, Christian de Wet, Louis Botha, Delarey.

Victory of the English

The English won in the end by sheer force of numbers and peace was finally concluded on June 1, 1902. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State lost their independence, and became colonies of the British Empire. Otherwise the terms offered by the conquerors were liberal. Generous money grants and loans were to be made by England to enable the Boers to begin again in their sadly devastated land. Their language was to be respected wherever possible.

Annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State

The work of reconciliation has proceeded with remarkable rapidity since the close of the war. Responsible government, that is, self-government, was granted to the Transvaal Colony in 1906 and to the Orange River Colony in 1907. This liberal conduct of the English Government had the most happy consequences, as was shown very convincingly by the spontaneity and the strength of the movement for closer union, which culminated in 1909 in the creation of a new "colonial nation" within the British Empire. In 1908 a convention was held in which the four colonies were represented. The outcome of its deliberations, which lasted several months, was the draft of a constitution for the South African Union. This was then submitted to the colonies for approval and, by June, 1909, had been ratified by them all. The constitution was in the form of a statute to be enacted by the British Parliament. It became law September 20, 1909.

The South African Union

The South African Union was the work of the South Africans themselves, the former enemies, Boers and British, harmoniously coöperating. The central government consists of a Governor-General appointed by the Crown; an Executive Council; a Senate and a House of Assembly. Both Dutch and English are official languages and enjoy equal privileges. Difficulty was experienced in selecting the capital, so intense was the rivalry of different cities. The result was a compromise. Pretoria was chosen as the seat of the executive branch of the government, Cape Town as the seat of the legislative branch.

The creation of the South African Union is the most recent triumph of the spirit of nationality which has so greatly transformed the world since 1815. The new commonwealth has a population of about 1,150,000 whites and more than 6,000,000 people of non-European descent. Provision has been made for the ultimate admission of Rhodesia into the Union.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

The far-flung British Empire

At the opening of the twentieth century Great Britain possesses an empire far more extensive and far more populous than any the world has ever seen, covering about thirteen millions of square miles, if Egypt and the Soudan be included, with a total population of over four hundred and twenty millions. This Empire is scattered everywhere, in Asia, Africa, Australasia, the two Americas, and the islands of the seven seas. The population includes a motley host of peoples. Only fifty-four million are English-speaking, and of these about forty-two million live in Great Britain. Most of the colonies are self-supporting. They present every form of government, military, autocratic, representative, democratic. The sea alone binds the Empire. England's throne is on the mountain wave in a literal as well as in a metaphorical sense. Dominance of the oceans is essential that she may keep open her communications with her far-flung colonies. It is no accident that England is the greatest sea-power of the world, and intends to remain such. She regards this as the very vital principle of her imperial existence.

A noteworthy feature of the British Empire, as already sufficiently indicated, is the practically unlimited self-government enjoyed by several of the colonies, those in which the English stock predominates, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand. This policy is in contrast to that pursued by the French and German governments, which rule their colonies directly from Paris and Berlin. But this system does not apply to the greatest of them all, India, nor to a multitude of smaller possessions.

The problem of Imperial Federation

A question much and earnestly discussed during the last twenty-five years is that of Imperial Federation. May not some machinery be developed, some method be found, whereby the vast empire may be more closely consolidated, and for certain purposes act as a single state? If so, its power will be greatly augmented, and the world will witness the most stupendous achievement in the art of government recorded in its history. The creation of such a Greater Britain has seized, in recent years, the imagination of many thoughtful statesmen. That the War of 1914 will contribute to the solution of this problem seems a reasonable expectation. For that war has shown the existence of an intense imperial patriotism among Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, and apparently even Indians, all rushing instinctively to support the mother country in her hour of need, all evidently willing to give the last full measure of devotion to a cause which they regard as common to them all. So powerful a spirit may well find a way of embodying and crystallizing itself in permanent political institutions. The sense of unity, indisputably revealed, may well be the harbinger of a coming organization adapted to preserve and foster that sense and to develop it more richly still.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

Africa three times the size of Europe

Lying almost within sight of Europe and forming the southern boundary of her great inland sea is the immense continent, three times the size of Europe, whose real nature was revealed only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In some respects the seat of very ancient history, in most its history is just beginning. In Egypt a rich and advanced civilization appeared in very early times along the lower valley of the Nile. Yet only after thousands of years and only in our own day have the sources and the upper course of that famous river been discovered. Along the northern coasts arose the civilization and state of Carthage, rich, mysterious, and redoubtable, for a while the powerful rival of Rome, succumbing to the latter only after severe and memorable struggles. The ancient world knew therefore the northern shores of Africa. The rest was practically unknown. In the fifteenth century came the great series of geographical discoveries, which immensely widened the known boundaries of the world. Among other things they revealed the hitherto unknown outline and magnitude of the continent. But its great inner mass remained as before, unexplored, and so it remained until well into the nineteenth century.

The period of discovery

Situation in 1815

In 1815 the situation was as follows: the Turkish Empire extended along the whole northern coast to Morocco, that is, the Sultan was nominally sovereign of Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria. Morocco was independent under its own sultan. Along the western coasts were scattered settlements, or rather stations, of England, France, Denmark, Holland, Spain, and Portugal. Portugal had certain claims on the eastern coast, opposite Madagascar. England had just acquired the Dutch Cape Colony whence, as we have seen, her expansion into a great South African power has proceeded. The interior of the continent was unknown, and was of interest only to geographers.

For sixty years after 1815, progress in the appropriation of Africa by

Europe was slow. The most important annexation was that of Algeria by France between 1830 and 1847. In the south, England was spreading out, and the Boers were founding their two republics.

The French conquest of Algeria

European annexation waited upon exploration. Africa was the "Dark Continent," and until the darkness was lifted it was not coveted. About the middle of the century the darkness began to disappear. Explorers penetrated farther and farther into the interior, traversing the continent in various directions, opening a chapter of geographical discovery of absorbing interest. It is impossible within our limits to do more than allude to the wonderful work participated in by many intrepid explorers, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, Dutch, Germans, and Belgians. A few incidents only can be mentioned.

The sources of the Nile

It was natural that Europeans should be curious about the sources of the Nile, a river famous since the dawn of history, but whose source remained enveloped in obscurity. In 1858 one source was found by Speke, an English explorer, to consist of a great lake south of the equator, to which the name Victoria Nyanza was given. Six years later another Englishman, Sir Samuel Baker, discovered another lake, also a source, and named it Albert Nyanza.

David Livingstone

Two names particularly stand out in this record of African exploration, Livingstone and Stanley. David Livingstone, a Scotch missionary and traveler, began his African career in 1840, and continued it until his death in 1873. He traced the course of the Zambesi River, of the upper Congo, and the region round about Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa. He crossed Africa from sea to sea. He opened up a new country to the world. His explorations caught the attention of Europe, and when, on one of his journeys, Europe thought that he was lost or dead, and an expedition was sent out to find him, that expedition riveted the attention of Europe as no other in African history had done. It was under the direction of Henry M. Stanley, sent out by the New York *Herald*. Stanley's story of how he found Livingstone was read with the greatest interest in Europe, and heightened the desire, already widespread, for more knowledge about the great continent. Livingstone, whose name is the most important in the history of African exploration, died in 1873. His body was borne with all honor to England and given the burial of a national hero in Westminster Abbey.

Stanley

By this time not only was the scientific curiosity of Europe thoroughly aroused, but missionary zeal saw a new field for activity. Thus Stanley's journey across Africa, from 1874 to 1878, was followed in Europe with an attention unparalleled in the history of modern explorations. Stanley explored the equatorial lake region, making important additions to knowledge. His great work was, however, his exploration of the Congo River system. Little had been known of this river save its lower course as it approached the sea. Stanley proved that it was one of the largest rivers in the world, that its length was more than three thousand miles, that it was fed by an enormous number of tributaries, that it drained an area of over 1,300,000 square miles, that in the volume of its waters it was only exceeded by the Amazon.

Stanley's explorations of the Congo

Thus, by 1880, the scientific enthusiasm and curiosity, the missionary and philanthropic zeal of Europeans, the hatred of slave hunters who plied their trade in the interior, had solved the great mystery of Africa. The map showed rivers and lakes where previously all had been blank.

Upon discovery quickly followed appropriation. France entered upon her protectorate of Tunis in 1881, England upon her "occupation" of Egypt in 1882. This was a signal for a general scramble. A feverish period of partition succeeded the long, slow one of discovery. European powers swept down upon this continent lying at their very door, hitherto neglected and despised, and carved it up among themselves. This they did without recourse to war by a series of treaties among themselves, defining the boundaries of their claims. Africa became an annex of Europe. Out of this rush for territories the great powers, England, France, and Germany, naturally emerged with the largest acquisitions, but Portugal and Italy each secured a share. The situation and relative extent of these may best be appreciated by an examination of the map. Most of the treaties by which this division was affected were made between 1884 and 1890.

Africa appropriated by Europe

One feature of this appropriation of Africa by Europe was the foundation of the Congo Free State. This was the work of the second King of Belgium, Leopold II, a man who was greatly interested in the exploration of that continent. After the discoveries of Livingstone, and the early ones of Stanley, he called a conference of the powers in 1876. As a result of its deliberations an International African Association was established, which was to have its seat in Brus-

The Congo Free State

sels, and whose aim was to be the exploration and civilization of central Africa. Each nation wishing to coöperate was to collect funds for the common object.

In 1879 Stanley was sent out to carry on the work he had already begun. Hitherto an explorer he now became, in addition, an organizer and state builder.

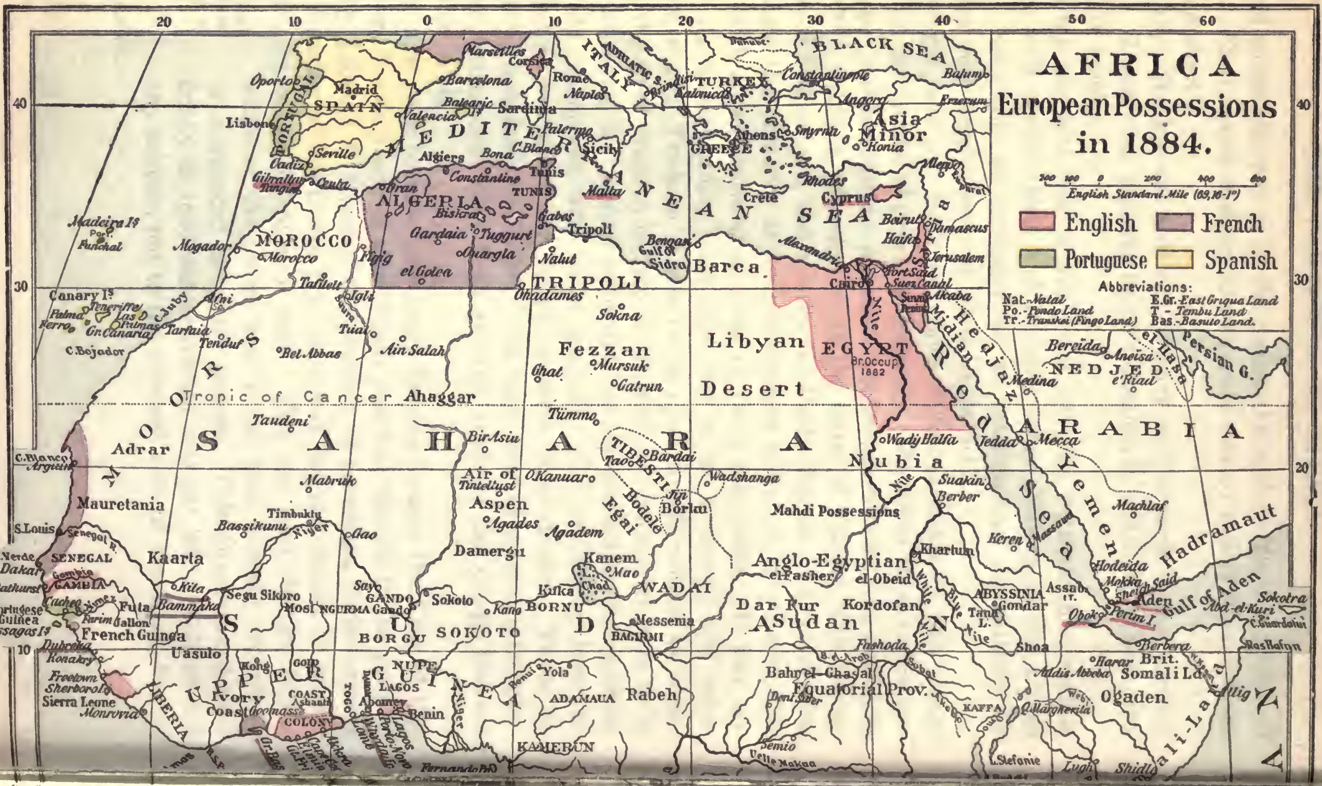
During the next four or five years, 1879–84, he made hundreds of treaties with native chiefs and founded many stations in the Congo basin. Nominally an emissary of an international association, his expenses were largely borne by King Leopold II.

Portugal now put forth extensive claims to much of this Congo region on the ground of previous discovery. To adjust these claims and other matters a general conference was held in Berlin, in 1884–5, attended by all the states of Europe, with the exception of Switzerland, and also by the United States. The conference recognized the existence as an independent power of the Congo Free State, with an extensive area, most of the Congo basin. It was evidently its understanding that this was to be a neutral and international state. Trade in it was to be open to all nations on equal terms, the rivers were to be free to all, and only such dues were to be levied as should be required to provide for the necessities of commerce. No trade monopolies were to be granted. The conference, however, provided no machinery for the enforcement of its decrees. Those decrees have remained unfulfilled. The state quickly ceased to be international, monopolies have been granted, trade in the Congo has not been free to all.

The Berlin Conference

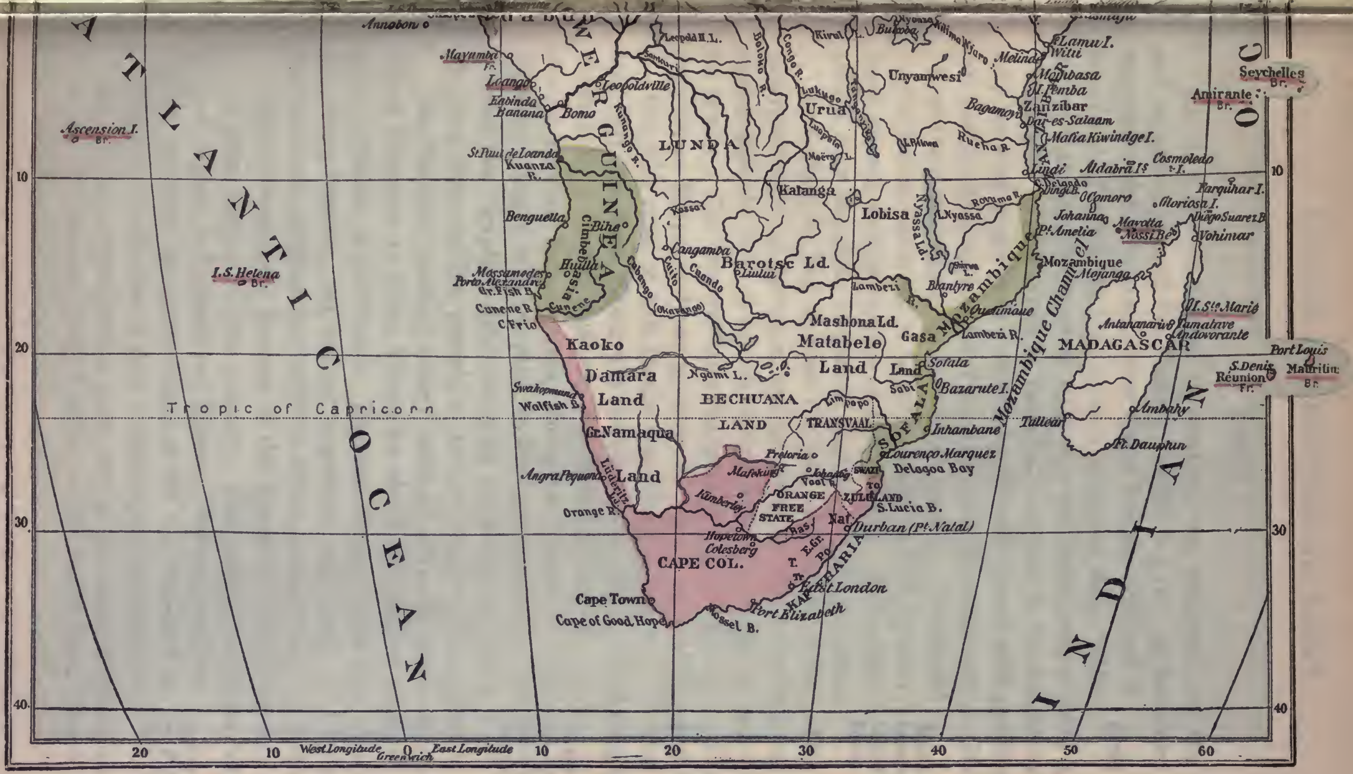
The new state became practically Belgian because the King of Belgium was the only one to show much practical interest in the project. In 1885, Leopold II assumed the position of sovereign, declaring that the connection of the Congo Free State and Belgium should be merely personal, he being the ruler of both. This and later changes in the status of the Congo have either been formally recognized or acquiesced in by the powers. This international state finally in 1908 was converted outright into a Belgian colony subject, not to the personal rule of the King, but to Parliament.

The Congo Free State declared a Belgian colony



AFRICA
European Possessions in 1884.

English Standard Mile (69,16=1°)
English
French
Portuguese
Spanish
Abbreviations:
Nat.-Natal
Po.-Pondo Land
Tr.-Transkei (Fingo Land)
E.Gr.-East Griqua Land
T-Tembu Land
Bas.-Basuto Land.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
ITALY
TURKEY
GREECE
Asia Minor
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
TRIPOLI
Barca
Fezzan
Libyan Desert
EGYPT
Br. Occup. 1882
Nubia
SAHARA
Tropic of Cancer
Ahaggar
TIBESTI
Mahdi Possessions
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
Dar Fur
Kordofan
WADAI
BORNU
SOKOTO
ABYSSINIA
Red Sea
ARABIA
Hedjaz
Midian
NEDJED
Yemen
Hadramaut
Gulf of Aden
Persian G.
Brit. Somali Ld.
Ogaden
Equatorial Prov.
Bahr el-Ghasal
UPPER GUINEA
LIBERIA
Ivory Coast
GOLD COAST COLONY
Sierra Leone
French Guinea
Portugese Guinea
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
Mauretania
Kaarta
Adrar
Canary Is.
Madeira Is.
KAMERUN
ADAMAUA
Rabeh
Aden
Perim I.
Sokotra
Malta
Cyprus
Crete
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica
Cairo
Alexandria
Port Said
Suez Canal
Khartum
Timbuktu
Tripoli
Tunis
Algiers
Madrid
Lisbon
Gibraltar
Tangier
Mecca
Medina
Jerusalem
Damascus
Constantinople


ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Tropic of Capricorn
Ascension I. Br.
I. S. Helena Br.
Annobon
Mayumba Fr.
Loango
Kabinda
Banana
Bomo
Leopoldville
LOWER GUINEA
LUNDA
St. Paul de Loanda
Kuanza R.
Benguella
Bihe
Cimbebasia
Huilla
Mossamedes
Porto Alexandre
Gr. Fish B.
Cunene R.
C. Frio
Kaoko
Damara Land
Swakopmund
Walfish B.
Gr. Namaqua Land
Angra Pequena
Lüderitz Ld.
Orange R.
Cape Town
Cape of Good Hope
Mossel B.
CAPE COL.
Hopetown
Colesberg
Kimberley
Mafeking
ORANGE FREE STATE
Pretoria
TRANSVAAL
Limpopo
BECHUANA LAND
Ngami L.
Matabele Land
Mashona Ld.
Barotse Ld.
Liului
Cangamba
Cuando
Cubango
(Okavango)
Katanga
Lobisa
Nyassa Ld.
L. Nyassa
Zambezi R.
Blantyre
Quelimane
Gasa Land
SOFALA
Sofala
Bazaruto I.
Inhambane
Lourenço Marquez
Delagoa Bay
SWAZI
ZULULAND
S. Lucia B.
Natal
Durban (Pt. Natal)
KAFFRARIA
East London
Port Elizabeth
Mozambique
Mozambique Channel
Rovuma R.
Lindi
Zanzibar
Dar-es-Salaam
Mafia Kiwindge I.
Bagamoyo
Pemba
Mombasa
Melinde
Witu
Lamu I.
Unyamwesi
Urua
Congo R.
Boloko R.
Leopold II. L.
Rueha R.
MADAGASCAR
Antananarivo
Tamatave
Andovorante
Majanga
Tullear
Ambohy
Ft. Dauphin
I. Ste. Marie
Vohimar
Diego Suarez B.
Nossi Be
Mayotta
Johanna
Comoro
Moriosa I.
Farquhar I.
Aldabra Is.
Cosmoledo I.
Amirante Br.
Seychelles Br.
Port Louis
Mauritius Br.
S. Denis
Réunion Fr.
West Longitude
Greenwich
East Longitude
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60

EGYPT

Egypt

Mehemet Ali founds a semi-royal house

Egypt, a seat of ancient civilization, was conquered by the Turks and became a part of the Turkish Empire in 1517. It remained nominally such down to 1915 when Great Britain declared it annexed to the British Empire as a protected state. During all that time its supreme ruler was the Sultan who resided in Constantinople. But a series of remarkable events in the nineteenth century resulted in giving it a most singular and complicated position. To put down certain opponents of the Sultan an Albanian warrior, Mehemet Ali, was sent out early in the nineteenth century. Appointed by the Sultan Governor of Egypt in 1806, he had, by 1811, made himself absolute master of the country. He had succeeded only too well. Originally merely the representative of the Sultan, he had become the real ruler of the land. His ambitions grew with his successes, and he was able to gain the important concession that the right to rule as viceroy in Egypt should be hereditary in his family. The title was later changed to that of Khedive. Thus was founded an Egyptian dynasty, subject to the dynasty of Constantinople.

Ismail and the rapid growth of the Egyptian debt

The fifth ruler of this family was Ismail (1863–79). It was under him that the Suez Canal was completed, a great undertaking carried through by a French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the money coming largely from European investors. This Khedive plunged into the most reckless extravagance. As a result the Egyptian debt rose with extraordinary rapidity from three million pounds in 1863 to eighty-nine million in 1876.

The Khedive, needing money, sold, in 1875, his shares in the Suez Canal Company to Great Britain for about four million pounds, to the great irritation of the French. This was a mere temporary relief to the Khedive's finances, but was an important advantage to England, as the canal was destined inevitably to be the favorite route to India.

Intervention of England and France

This extraordinary increase of the Egyptian debt is the key to the whole later history of that country. The money had been borrowed abroad, mainly in England and France. Fearing the bankruptcy of Egypt the governments of the two countries intervened in the interest of their investors, and succeeded in imposing their control over a large part of the financial administration. This was the famous Dual Control, which lasted from 1879 to 1883.

The Khedive, Ismail, resented this tutelage, was consequently forced to abdicate, and was succeeded by his son Tewfik, who ruled from 1879 to 1892. The new Khedive did not struggle against the Dual Control, but certain elements of the population did. The bitter hatred inspired by this intervention of the foreigners flared up in a native movement which had as its war cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and as its leader, Arabi Pasha, an officer in the army. Before this movement of his subjects the Khedive was powerless. It was evident that the foreign control, established in the interests of foreign bond-holders, could only be perpetuated by the suppression of Arabi and his fellow-malcontents, and that the suppression could be accomplished only by the foreigners themselves. Thus financial intervention led directly to military intervention. England sought the coöperation of France, but France declined. She then proceeded alone, defeated Arabi in September, 1882, and crushed the rebellion.

Revolt of Arabi Pasha

English expedition crushes the insurrection

The English had intervened nominally in the interest of the Khedive's authority against his rebel, Arabi, though they had not been asked so to intervene either by the Khedive himself or by the Sultan of Turkey, legal sovereign of Egypt, or by the powers of Europe. Having suppressed the insurrection, what would they do? Would they withdraw their army? The question was a difficult one. To withdraw was to leave Egypt a prey to anarchy; to remain was certainly to offend the European powers, which would look upon this as a piece of British aggression. Particularly would such action be resented by France. Consequently England did not annex Egypt. She recognized the Khedive as still the ruler, Egypt as still technically a part of Turkey. But she insisted on holding the position of "adviser" to the Khedive and also insisted that her "advice" in the government of Egypt be followed. From 1883 to 1915 such was the situation. A British force remained in Egypt, the "occupation," as it was called, continued, advice was compulsory. England was ruler in fact, not in law. The Dual Control ended in 1883, and England began in earnest a work of reconstruction and reform which was carried forward under the guidance of Lord Cromer, who was British Consul-General in Egypt until 1907.

England assumes the position of "adviser"

In intervening in Egypt in 1882, England became immediately involved in a further enterprise which brought disaster and humiliation.

Loss of the Soudan

Egypt possessed a dependency to the south, the Soudan, a vast region comprising chiefly the basin of the Upper Nile, a poorly organized territory with a varied, semi-civilized, nomadic population, and a capital at Khartoum. This province, long oppressed by Egypt, was in full process of revolt. It found a chief in a man called the Mahdi, or leader, who succeeded in arousing the fierce religious fanaticism of the Soudanese by claiming to be a kind of Prophet or Messiah. Winning successes over the Egyptian troops, he proclaimed a religious war, the people of the whole Soudan rallied about him, and the result was that the troops were driven into their fortresses and there besieged. Would England recognize any obligation to preserve the Soudan for Egypt? Gladstone, then prime minister, determined to abandon the Soudan. But even this was a matter of difficulty. It involved at least the rescue of the imprisoned garrisons. The ministry was unwilling to send a military expedition. It finally decided to send out General Gordon, a man who had shown a remarkable power in influencing half-civilized races. It was understood that there was to be no expedition. It was apparently supposed that somehow Gordon, without military aid, could accomplish the safe withdrawal of the garrisons. He reached Khartoum, but found the danger far more serious than had been supposed, the rebellion far more menacing. He found himself shortly shut up in Khartoum, surrounded by frenzied and confident Mahdists. At once there arose in England a cry for the relief of Gordon, a man whose personality, marked by heroic, eccentric, magnetic qualities, bafflingly contradictory, had seized in a remarkable degree the interest, enthusiasm, and imagination of the English people. But the Government was dilatory. Weeks, and even months, went by. Finally, an expedition was sent out in September, 1884. Pushing forward rapidly,

General Gordon

against great difficulties, it reached Khartoum January 28, 1885, only to find the flag of the Mahdi floating over it. Only two days before the place had been stormed and Gordon and eleven thousand of his men massacred.

Death of Gordon

For a decade after this the Soudan was left in the hands of the dervishes, completely abandoned. But finally England resolved to recover this territory, which she did by the battle of Omdurman in which General Kitchener completely annihilated the power of the dervishes, September 2, 1898.

Recovery of the Soudan

Egypt and the Soudan were formally declared annexed to the British Empire in 1915 as an incident of the European War. The Khedive was deposed and a new Khedive was put in his place, and Great Britain prepared to rule Egypt as she rules many of the states of India, preserving the formality of a native prince as sovereign. Egypt was declared a "Protected State."

Egypt and the Soudan annexed to the British Empire

Lord Kitchener

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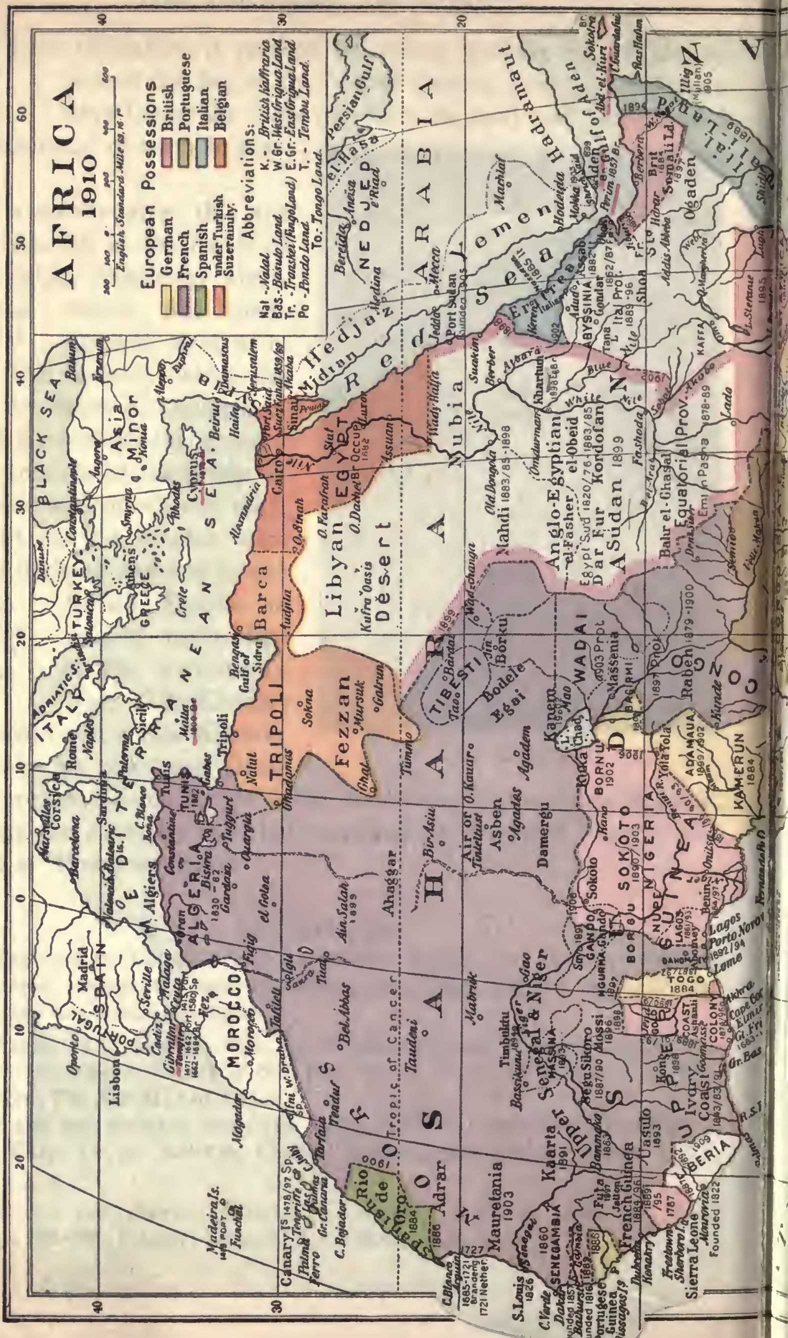
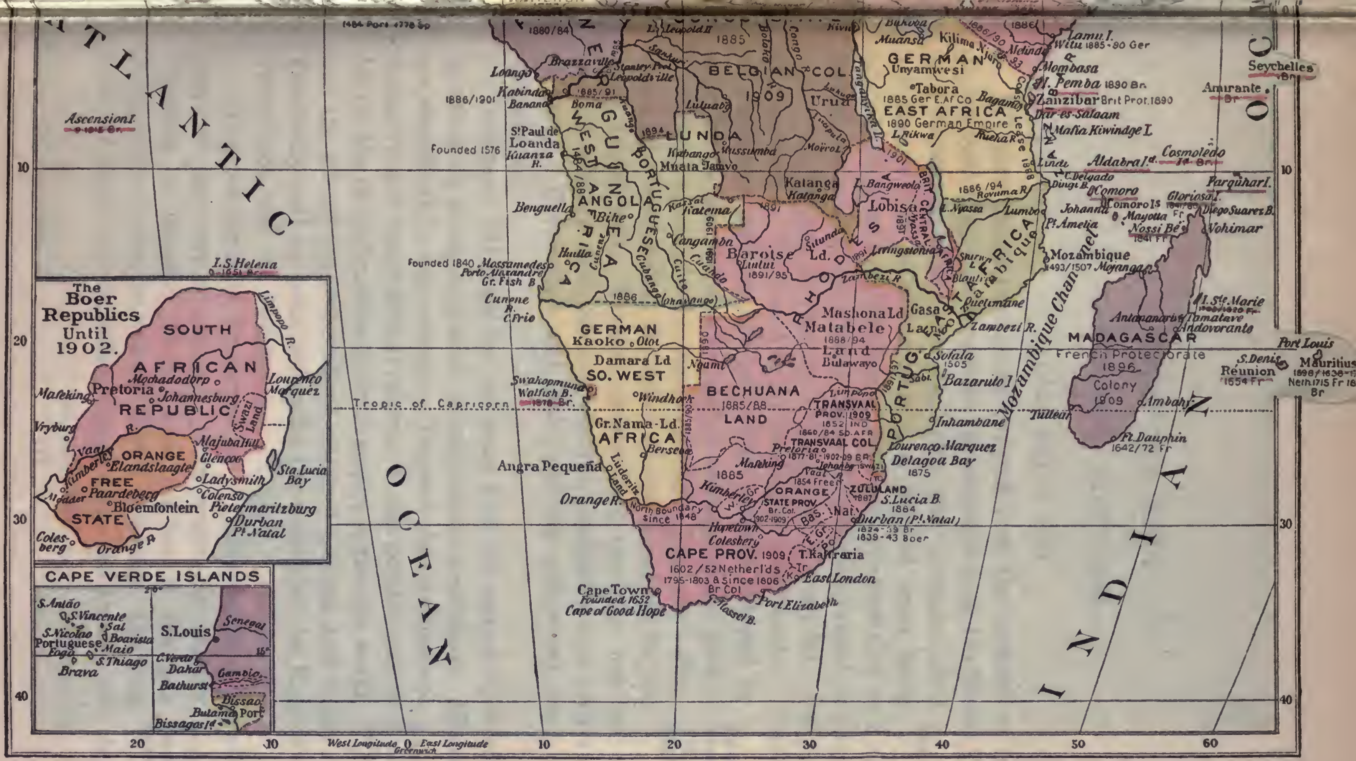

AFRICA
1910
English Standard Miles
European Possessions
German
French
Spanish
under Turkish Suzerainty
British
Portuguese
Italian
Belgian
Abbreviations:
Nat. - Natal
Bas. - Basuto Land
Tr. - Transkei (Fingo Land)
Po. - Pondo Land
K. - British Kaffraria
W. Gr. - West Griqua Land
E. Gr. - East Griqua Land
T. - Tembu Land
To. - Tongo Land
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
TRIPOLI
Fezzan
Barca
EGYPT
Libyan Desert
SAHARA
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
ABYSSINIA
ARABIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Red Sea
Rio de Oro
Senegal & Niger
SENEGAMBIA
French Guinea
Sierra Leone
LIBERIA
Ivory Coast
TOGO
DAHOMEY
NIGERIA
KAMERUN
WADAI
Tropic of Cancer


ATLANTIC
OCEAN
INDIAN
Ascension I. 1815 Br.
I. S. Helena 1651 Br.
Founded 1576
Founded 1840
1886/1901
Loango
Brazzaville
Stanley Pool
Leopoldville
Kabinda
Banana
Boma
1885/91
St. Paul de Loanda
Kuanza R.
Benguella
Massamedes
Porto Alexandre
Gr. Fish B.
Cunene R.
C. Frio
WEST
PORTUGUESE
ANGOLA
AFRICA
GUINEA
1484/88
1886
Bihe
Huilla
BELGIAN COL.
1885
1909
LUNDA
1894
Kubango
Mussumba
Muata Jamvo
Katanga
Kasai
Kalema
Lualaba
Boloko
Congo
L. Leopold II
Sankuru
Urua
Kivu
Tanganyika L.
Lukuga
L. Bangweolo
Moiro L.
Luapula
RHODESIA
Barotse Ld.
Lialui
1891/95
Lobisa
Cangamba
Cuando
Cuito
Cubango
Okavango
Zambezi R.
Livingstonia
Mashona Ld.
Matabele Land
1888/94
Bulawayo
BRIT. CENTRAL AFRICA
Nyassa
1891
L. Nyassa
Shire R.
Blantyre
Quelimane
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
Mozambique
1891
Gasa Land
Sofala 1505
Sabi
Bazaruto I.
Inhambane
Lourenço Marquez
Delagoa Bay 1875
GERMAN SO. WEST AFRICA
Kaoko
Otoi
Damara Ld.
Gr. Nama-Ld.
Windhoek
Bersaba
Swakopmund
Walfish B. 1878 Br.
Angra Pequeña
Luderitz Land
Orange R.
North Boundary since 1848
Ngami
1890
BECHUANA LAND
1885/88
1885
Mafeking
Kimberley
Limpopo
TRANSVAAL PROV. 1909
1852 IND
1860/84 S. AFR.
TRANSVAAL COL.
Pretoria
1877-81, 1902-09 Br.
Johannesburg
Swazi
Vaal
1854 Free
ORANGE STATE PROV.
Br. Col.
1902-1909
Bas.
Nat.
ZULULAND 1887
S. Lucia B. 1884
Durban (Pt. Natal) 1824-39 Br. 1839-43 Boer
T. Kaffraria
East London
Port Elizabeth
Mossel B.
Hopetown
Colesberg
CAPE PROV. 1909
1602/52 Netherl'ds
1795-1803 & since 1806 Br. Col.
Cape Town Founded 1652
Cape of Good Hope
Tropic of Capricorn
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
Unyamwesi
Tabora
1885 Ger. E. Af. Co.
1890 German Empire
Muansa
Bukoba
Kilima Njaro
1886/90
1886
L. Rikwa
Rufiji R.
Ruaha R.
Lease 1888
1886/94
Rovuma R.
Lumbo
Bagamoyo
Lamu I.
Witu 1885-90 Ger.
Melinda
Mombasa
Pemba 1890 Br.
Zanzibar Brit. Prot. 1890
Dar-es-Salaam
Mafia
Kiwindge I.
Lindi
C. Delgado
Dingi B.
Mozambique Chan.
Mozambique 1493/1507
Mojanga
Pt. Amelia
Comoro
Comoro Is. 1841/86
Johanna
Mayotta Fr.
Nossi Be 1841 Fr.
Aldabra Id.
Cosmoledo Id. Br.
Glorioso I.
Diego Suarez B.
Vohimar
Farquhar I.
Amirante Br.
Seychelles Br.
MADAGASCAR
French Protectorate 1896
Colony 1909
Antananarivo
Tamatave
Andovoranto
I. Ste. Marie 1750/1820 Fr.
Ambahy
Tullear
Ft. Dauphin 1642/72 Fr.
Port Louis
S. Denis
Réunion 1654 Fr.
Mauritius 1598/1638 Neth. 1715 Fr. 1810 Br.
The Boer Republics Until 1902.
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Pretoria
Mochadodorp
Johannesburg
Mafeking
Vryburg
Swazi Land
Lourenço Marquez
Limpopo R.
Vaal R.
ORANGE FREE STATE
Kimberley
Elandslaagte
Paardeberg
Modder
Bloemfontein
Colesberg
Orange R.
Majuba Hill
Glencoe
Ladysmith
Colenso
Pietermaritzburg
Durban Pt. Natal
Sta. Lucia Bay
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS
S. Antão
S. Vincente
S. Nicolao
Sal
Boavista
Maio
Portuguese
Fogo
S. Thiago
Brava
S. Louis
Senegal
C. Verde
Dakar
Gambia
Bathurst
Bissao
Bulama
Port.
Bissagos Id.
10
20
30
40
West Longitude 0 East Longitude
Greenwich
50
60

CHAPTER XXIX

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

SPAIN SINCE 1823

Spain

We have traced the history of Spain from the downfall of Napoleon to the year 1823, and have seen the restored King Ferdinand VII reign in a manner so cruel, so unintelligent, and tyrannical that the people rose in insurrection and insisted upon being accorded a liberal constitution.[1] And we have seen that as a result the powers, commonly called the Holy Alliance, intervened in 1823 to put down this reform movement, sent a French army into the peninsula, and restored to Ferdinand his former absolute authority. This recovery of his former position through foreign aid was followed by a period of disgraceful and ruthless revenge on the part of Ferdinand upon all who were considered Liberals. Hundreds were executed at the order of courts-martial for the most trivial acts. Various classes were carefully watched as "suspects," military men, lawyers, doctors, professors, and even veterinary surgeons. Universities and clubs, political and social, were closed as dangerous.

Revenge of Ferdinand VII after 1823

Loss of the American colonies

Ferdinand VII ruled for ten years after his second restoration, and in the spirit of unprogressive, unenlightened absolutism. His reign was not signalized by any attempt to improve the conditions of a country that sorely needed reform. It was notable mainly for the loss of the immense Spanish empire in the new world, and the rise of the independent states of Central and South America. Practically nothing remained under the scepter of the King save Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines.

Isabella proclaimed Queen

Upon the death of Ferdinand in 1833 his daughter Isabella, three years of age, was proclaimed Queen under her mother Christina as Regent. Don Carlos, brother of the late King, claimed that he was the lawful sovereign, asserting that the Salic law, excluding women from the throne, was the law of

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[1] See page 263.

The Carlist War

the land. A war of seven years followed to determine whether he or his niece should rule. The supporters of the Queen were victorious but during the war in order to gain strength the Regent was forced to grant a seemingly liberal constitution. This was more an apparent than a real concession; yet, at least nominally, the monarchy was henceforth constitutional and not absolute. Spain's political education was at least begun. As a matter of fact, however, the real rulers of the country for many years were the military leaders who overthrew and succeeded each other as ministers.

Character of Isabella's reign

The reign of Isabella lasted from 1833 to 1868. She was declared of age in 1843. Her reign was, on the whole, one of reaction. Adhering tenaciously to the principle of monarchical authority, the Queen was influenced throughout by her favorites, and did not observe the spirit, and frequently not the letter, of the constitution. Her reign was marked by absolutism nearly as unqualified as that of her predecessors. Constitutional forms were used to cover arbitrary actions. It was a period of short and weak ministries, court intrigues, petty politics, a period little instructive. Whatever disturbances occurred were vigorously repressed.

The overthrow of Isabella II

Dissatisfaction with this régime, marked, as it was, by arbitrariness, by religious and intellectual intolerance, by abuses and corruption, and by the scandalous immorality of the Queen, increased as the reign progressed. Finally in 1868 a revolt broke out which resulted in the flight of the Queen to France, and in the establishment of a provisional government, in which Marshal Serrano and General Prim were the leading figures. The reign of the Spanish Bourbons was declared at an end, and universal suffrage, religious liberty, and freedom of the press were proclaimed as the fundamental principles of the future constitution.

The Hohenzollern condidacy

The Cortes were elected a little later by universal suffrage and the future government of Spain was left to their determination. They pronounced in favor of a monarchy and against a republic. They then ransacked Europe for a king and finally chose Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. His candidacy is important in history as having been the immediate occasion of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. In the end Leopold declined the invitation.

In November, 1870, the crown was offered by a vote of 191 out of

311, to Amadeo, second son of Victor Emmanuel II,[1] King of Italy. The smallness of the majority was ominous. The new king's reign was destined to be short and troubled. Landing in Spain at the close of 1870, he was coldly received. Opposition to him came from several sources — from the Republicans, who were opposed to any monarch; from the Carlists, who claimed that the heir of Don Carlos, brother of Ferdinand VII, was the lawful king; from the supporters of Alfonso, son of Isabella, who held that he was the legitimate ruler. Amadeo was disliked also for the simple reason that he was a foreigner. The clergy attacked him for his adherence to constitutional principles of government. No strong body of politicians supported him. Ministries rose and fell with great rapidity, eight in two years, one of them lasting only seventeen days. Each change left the government more disorganized and more unpopular. Believing that the problem of giving peace to Spain was insoluble, and wearying of an uneasy crown, Amadeo, in February, 1873, abdicated.

Amadeo of Savoy chosen king

Abdication of Amadeo

Immediately the Cortes or Parliament declared Spain a Republic, by a vote of 258 to 32. But the advent of the Republic did not bring peace. Indeed, its history was short and agitated. European powers, with the exception of Switzerland, withdrew their diplomatic representatives. The United States alone recognized the new government. The Republic lasted from February, 1873 to the end of December, 1874. It established a wide suffrage, proclaimed religious liberty, proposed the complete separation of the church and state, and voted unanimously for the immediate emancipation of slaves in Porto Rico.

Spain declared a republic

The causes of its fall were numerous. The fundamental one was that the Spaniards had had no long political training, essential for efficient self-government, no true experience in party management. The leaders did not work together harmoniously. Moreover, the Republicans, once in power, immediately broke up into various groups, which fell to wrangling with each other. The enemies of the Republic were numerous, the Monarchists, the clergy, offended by the proclamation of religious liberty, all those who profited by the old régime and who resented the reforms which were threatened. Also, the problems that faced the new government increased the confusion. Three

The causes of its fall

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[1] Sixty-three voted for a republic; the other votes were scattering or blank.

wars were in progress during the brief life of the Republic — a war in Cuba, a Carlist war, and a war with the Federalists in southern Spain.

Presidents succeeded each other rapidly. Figueras was in office four months, Pi y Margall six weeks, Salmeron and Castelar for short periods. Finally, Serrano became practically dictator. The fate of the Republic was determined by the generals of the army, the most powerful body in the country, who declared in December, 1874 in favor of Alfonso, son of Isabella II. The Republic fell without a struggle. Alfonso, landing in Spain early in 1875, and being received in Madrid with great enthusiasm, assumed the government, promising a constitutional monarchy. Thus, six years after the dethronement of Isabella, her son was welcomed back as king. The new King was now seventeen years of age. His reign lasted ten years, until his death in November, 1885. In 1876 a new Constitution was voted, the last in the long line of ephemeral documents issuing during the century from either monarch or Cortes or revolutionary junta. Still in force, the Constitution of 1876 creates a responsible ministry, and a Parliament of two chambers. Spain possesses the machinery of parliamentary government, ministries rising and falling according to the votes of Parliament. Practically, however, the political warfare is largely mimic, determined by the desire for office, not by devotion to principles or policies.

Alfonso XII recognized as king

The Constitution of 1876

Alfonso XII died in 1885. His wife, an Austrian princess, Maria Christina, was proclaimed regent for a child born a few months later, the present King, Alfonso XIII. Maria Christina, during the sixteen years of her regency, confronted many difficulties. Of these the most serious was the condition of Cuba, Spain's chief colony. An insurrection had broken out in that island in 1868, occasioned by gross misgovernment by the mother country. This Cuban war dragged on for ten years, cost Spain nearly 100,000 men and $200,000,000, and was only ended in 1878 by means of lavish bribes and liberal promises of reform in the direction of self-government. As these promises were not fulfilled, and as the condition of the Cubans became more unendurable, another rebellion broke out in 1895. This new war, prosecuted with great and savage severity by Weyler, ultimately aroused the United States to intervene in the interests of humanity and civilization. A war resulted between the United States and Spain in

Death of Alfonso XII

The Spanish-American War

1898, which proved most disastrous to the latter. Her naval power was annihilated in the battles of Santiago and Cavite; her army in Santiago was forced to surrender, and she was compelled to sign the Treaty of Paris of 1898, by which she renounced Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. The Spanish Empire, which at the opening of the nineteenth century bulked large on the map of the world, comprising immense possessions in America and the islands of both hemispheres, has disappeared. Revolts in Central and South America, beginning when Joseph Napoleon became king in 1808, and ending with Cuban independence ninety years later, have left Spain with the mere shreds of her former possessions, Rio de Oro, Rio Muni in western Africa, some land about her ancient *presidios* in Morocco, and a few small islands off the African coast. The disappearance of the Spanish colonial empire is one of the most significant features of the nineteenth century. Once one of the great world powers, Spain is to-day a state of inferior rank.

Loss of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines

In 1902 the present King, Alfonso XIII, formally assumed the reins of government. He married in May, 1906 a member of the royal family of England, Princess Ena of Battenberg. Profound and numerous reforms are necessary to range the country in the line of progress. Though universal suffrage was established in 1890, political conditions and methods have not changed. Illiteracy is widespread. Out of a population of 18,000,000 perhaps 12,000,000 are illiterate. In recent years attempts have been made to improve this situation; also to reduce the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the state. Nothing important has yet been accomplished in this direction. Liberty of public worship has only recently been secured for the members of other churches.

Alfonso XIII assumes power

PORTUGAL, 1815–1914

Portugal, like other countries, felt the full shock of Napoleonic aggression. French armies were sent into the peninsula in 1807 for the purpose of forcing that country into the Continental System, of closing all Europe to English commerce. The royal family fled from Lisbon just as the French were approaching, and went to the capital of Portugal's leading colony, Brazil. The actual authority in Portugal for several years was the English army and Lord Beresford. After the fall of Napoleon the Portuguese hoped for the return of the royal family, but this did not occur.

Flight of royal family to Brazil, 1807

Portugal loses Brazil

The King, John VI, was contented in Rio de Janeiro; moreover, he felt that his departure from Brazil would be the signal for a rebellion in that colony which would end in its independence. The situation gave great dissatisfaction to the Portuguese, whose pride was hurt by the fact that they no longer had a court in Lisbon, and that the mother country seemed to be in the position of a colony, inferior in importance to Brazil. The King finally returned from Brazil, leaving his eldest son, Dom Pedro, as regent of that country. In 1822 Brazil declared itself an independent empire under Dom Pedro I. Three years later its independence was recognized by Portugal. Thus Portugal lost its leading colony.

Introduction of parliamentary government

Donna Maria da Gloria

The death of John VI in 1826 created a new crisis which distracted the country for many years. His eldest son, Dom Pedro, was Emperor of Brazil. His younger son was Dom Miguel. Dom Pedro was lawfully King of Portugal. He opened his reign as Pedro IV by granting a liberal constitutional charter introducing parliamentary government of the English type. Then, not wishing to return from Brazil, he abdicated in favor of his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria. Hoping to disarm his brother Dom Miguel, who himself wished to be king, he betrothed his daughter, aged seven, to Dom Miguel, decreeing that the marriage should be celebrated when Donna Maria became of age. He then appointed Dom Miguel regent for the little princess. But Miguel, landing in Portugal in 1828, was proclaimed king by the absolutists. He accepted the crown. His reign was odious in the extreme, characterized by cruelty and arbitrariness, by a complete defiance of the law, of all personal liberty, by imprisonments and deportations and executions. Dom Pedro abdicated his position as Emperor of Brazil, and returned to Europe to take charge of the cause of his daughter. This civil war between Maria da Gloria and Dom Miguel resulted in the favor of the former. Dom Miguel formally renounced all claims to the throne and left Portugal never to return (1834).

Death of Maria

Maria reigned until her death in 1853, a reign rendered turbulent and unstable by the violence of political struggles and by frequent insurrections. In 1852 the Charter of 1826, restored by Maria's government, was liberalized by important alterations, with the result that various parties were satisfied, and political life under her successor, Pedro V, was mild and orderly. His reign was uneventful. He was followed in 1861 by Louis I, and he in 1889 by Carlos I.

Recent events in Portugal

Meanwhile radical parties, Republican, Socialist, grew up. Discontent expressed itself by deeds of violence. The Government replied by becoming more and more arbitrary. The King, Carlos I, even assumed to alter the Charter of 1826, still the basis of Portuguese political life, by mere decree. The controversy between Liberals, Radicals, and Conservatives developed astounding bitterness. Parliamentary institutions ceased to work normally, necessary legislation could not be secured. On February 1, 1908, the King and the Crown Prince were assassinated in the streets of Lisbon. The King's second son, Manuel, succeeded. Manuel's reign was brief, for, in October, 1910, a revolution broke out in Lisbon. After several days of severe street fighting the monarchy was overthrown and a Republic was proclaimed. The King escaped to England. Dr. Theophile Braga, a native of the Azores, and for over forty years a very distinguished man of letters, was chosen President. The constitution was remodeled and liberalized. The Church was separated from the State in 1911, and State payments for the maintenance and expenses of worship ceased.

Portugal proclaimed a republic, 1910

Since 1910 Portugal, therefore, has been a Republic. The problems confronting her are numerous and serious. She is burdened with an immense debt, disproportionate to her resources, and entailing oppressive taxation. Although primary education has been compulsory since 1911, over seventy per cent of the population over six years of age still remain illiterate. Her population is about six millions. She has small colonial possessions in Asia and extensive ones in Africa, which have thus far proved of little value. The Azores and Madeira are not colonies but are integral parts of the republic.

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CHAPTER XXX

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM SINCE 1830

HOLLAND

Kingdom of the Netherlands

We have described the dismemberment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1830 and the years succeeding. That kingdom, which included what we know as Holland and Belgium, was the work of the Congress of Vienna, created as a bulwark against France. The Belgians had revolted and, supported in the end by some of the great powers, had won their independence. Since then there have been two kingdoms.

The old Dutch provinces preserved the name henceforth of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. This kingdom, more frequently called Holland in English-speaking countries, has had a history of comparatively quiet internal development, and has played no important rôle in international politics. It has passed through several reigns, that of William I, from 1814 to 1840; of William II, from 1840 to 1849; of William III, from 1849 to 1890, and of Queen Wilhelmina since 1890. The questions of greatest prominence in its separate history have been those concerning constitutional liberties, educational policy, and colonial administration.

The Fundamental Law of 1815

The political system rested upon the Fundamental Law granted by William I in 1815. By this the kingdom became a constitutional monarchy, but a monarchy in which the king was more powerful than the Parliament, or States-General. The legislative power of the States-General was restricted to the acceptance and rejection of bills submitted by the Government. They had no powers of origination or of amendment. The budget was voted for a period of years; the civil service was beyond their control. The ministry was not responsible to them, but to the king alone.

Such a system was an advance upon absolutism, but it left the king extensive powers, not easily or adequately controlled, and rendered possible the personal government of William I, which ended in the revolt of the Belgians in 1830. The Liberals of Holland demanded that this system should be radically changed, and that thenceforth the emphasis should be laid upon Parliament, and that Parliament should be brought into closer connection with the people. After an agitation of several years they succeeded in securing a revision of the constitution. By the revised Constitution of 1848 the power of the king was diminished, that of Parliament greatly increased. The Upper House was no longer to be appointed by the monarch, but elected by the provincial estates. The Lower House was to be chosen directly by the voters, that is, those who paid a certain property tax, varying according to locality. The ministers were made responsible to the States-General, which also acquired the right to initiate legislation, to amend projects submitted, and to vote the budget annually. Their sessions became public. Since 1848 the constitution has been subjected to slight amendments, one of the more important being the enlargement in 1887 of the electorate and the extension of the suffrage practically to householders and lodgers, as in England. This increased the number of voters from about 140,000 to about 300,000. By a later reform, voted in 1896, increasing the variety of property qualifications, the number was augmented to about 700,000, or one for every seven inhabitants. Universal suffrage, demanded by Socialists and Liberals, has not been granted.

The constitution of 1848

Extension of the franchise

The Kingdom of the Netherlands possesses extensive colonies in the East Indies and the West Indies. Of these the most important is Java. Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes in Asia, Curaçao and Surinam or Dutch Guiana in America, are valuable possessions. The Dutch colonial empire has a population of about 38,000,000, compared with a population of about 6,000,000 in the Netherlands themselves. The colonies are of great importance commercially, furnishing tropical commodities in large quantities, sugar, coffee, pepper, tea, tobacco, and indigo.

The Dutch Colonies

BELGIUM

The constitution adopted by the Belgians in 1831, at the time of their separation from Holland, is still the basis of the state. It established an hereditary monarchy, a Parliament of two chambers, and a ministry responsible to it. The King, Leopold I, scrupulously observed the methods of parliamentary government from the outset, choosing his ministers from the party having the majority in the chambers. Leopold's reign lasted from 1831 to his death in 1865. It was one of peaceful development. Institutions essential to the welfare of the people were founded. Though the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the powers, it was nevertheless essential that she should herself have force enough to assert her neutrality. The army was consequently organized and put upon a war basis of 100,000 men. State universities were founded, and primary and secondary schools were opened in large numbers. Legislation favorable to industry and commerce was adopted. Railroads were built. Liberty of religion, of the press, of association, of education, was guaranteed by the constitution. Foreign relations were prudently conducted by Leopold I, whose influence with other rulers of Europe was great, owing to his extensive acquaintance with European statesmen, his knowledge of politics, his sureness of judgment. Under Leopold I Belgium's material and intellectual development was rapid.

The reign of Leopold I

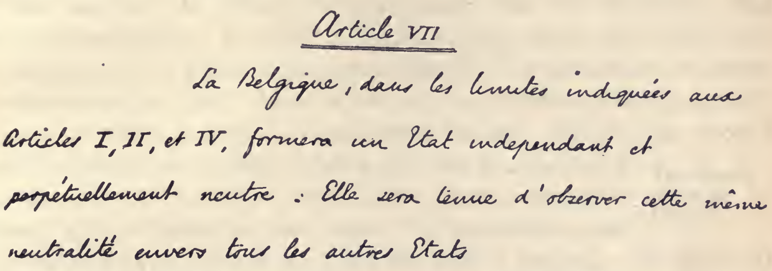
King Albert I
From a photograph by Collings, London.

He was succeeded in 1865 by his son, Leopold II, who ruled for forty-four years. The two most important political questions during most of this period concerned the suffrage and the schools. The suffrage was limited by a comparatively high property qualification, with the result that in 1890 there were only about 135,000 voters out of a population of six millions. As the cities had grown rapidly, and as the working classes were practically disfranchised, the demand for universal suffrage became increasingly clamorous until it could no longer be ignored. In 1893 the constitution was revised, and the suffrage greatly enlarged. Every man of twenty-

The suffrage

five years of age, not disqualified for some special reason, received the franchise. But supplementary votes were given to those who, in addition to the age qualification, could meet certain property qualifications. This is the principle of plural voting, and was designed to give the propertied classes more weight than they would have from numbers alone. It was provided that no voter should have more than three votes. This form of suffrage is strongly opposed by the Socialists, a growing party which has attempted to secure the recognition of the principle of "one man, one vote," but has not thus far been successful.

By a law of 1899 Belgium established a system of Proportional Representation, being the first country in Europe to do this. An experience of fifteen years has shown that this electoral device is distinctly conservative in tendency.



Article VII

La Belgique, dans les limites indiquées aux
Articles I, II, et IV, formera un Etat independant et
perpétuellement neutre : Elle sera tenue d'observer cette même
neutralité envers tous les autres Etats

Facsimile of Article VII of the Treaty of 1839, which Guaranteed the Independence and Perpetual Neutrality of Belgium

The political parties of most importance have been the Liberal and the Catholic. The Catholics have struggled to gain sectarian religious instruction in the schools, and have in great measure succeeded. Their opponents desire unsectarian schools.

Education

Belgium is the most densely populated country in Europe. Its population of more than seven millions is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. It possesses one colony, the former Congo Free State, transformed into a colony in 1908.

Leopold II died December 17, 1909, and was succeeded by his nephew Albert I.

In August, 1914 the neutrality of Belgium was broken by Germany, despite her explicit and solemn recognition by treaty of Belgian inviolability. Germany overran, devastated, and conquered that country. Its future will depend upon the outcome of the European War.

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CHAPTER XXXI

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland in 1815 was a loose confederation of twenty-two states or cantons.[1] These varied greatly in their forms of government. A few were pure democracies, the people meeting *en masse* at stated periods, generally in some meadow or open place, to enact laws and to elect officials to execute them. But these were the smaller and poorer cantons. In others, the government was not democratic, but was representative. In some of these political power was practically monopolized by a group of important families, the patricians; in others by the propertied class. Most of the cantons, therefore, were not democratic, but were governed by privileged classes. The central government consisted of a Diet, which really was a congress of ambassadors, who voted according to the instructions given them by the cantons that sent them. The constitution was the Pact of 1815. Switzerland did not have a capital. The Diet sat alternately in three leading cities, Bern, Zurich, and Lucerne.

The Constitution of 1815

In Swiss institutions, therefore, the emphasis was put upon the cantons, not upon the confederation. This had been the case during the five hundred years of Swiss history, save during a short period of French domination under the Directory and under Napoleon. The cantons retained all powers that were not expressly granted to the Diet. They had their own postal systems, their own coinage. A person was a citizen of a canton, not of Switzerland. Leaving his canton, he was a man without a country. Cantons might make commercial treaties with foreign powers. The Pact of 1815 said nothing about the usual liberties of the press, of public meeting, of religion. These matters were, therefore, left in the hands of

The importance of the cantons

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[1] Three of these were divided into "half-cantons," thus making in all twenty-five cantonal governments. A "half-canton" has the same powers in local government as has a whole canton. In federal affairs, however, it has only half the weight.

the cantons, which legislated as they chose, in some cases very illiberally. Several possessed established churches, and did not allow any others. Valais did not permit Protestant worship, Vaud did not permit Catholic. Education was entirely a cantonal affair. Most of the cantons were neither democratic nor liberal, and it remained for the future to accomplish the unification of these petty states.

The "Era of Regeneration"

For about fifteen years after 1815 most of the cantons followed generally reactionary policies. Then began the period which the Swiss call the era of regeneration, in which the constitutions of many of the cantons were liberalized by the recognition of the classes hitherto excluded from power, and now becoming clamorous. The cantonal governments were wise enough to make the concessions demanded, such as universal suffrage, freedom of the press, equality before the law, before discontent appealed to force. Between 1830 and 1847 there were nearly thirty revisions of cantonal constitutions.

The same party which demanded liberal cantonal constitutions demanded a stronger central government. This, however, was not effected so easily, but only after a short civil war, the war of the *Sonderbund*.

The Sonderbund

As each canton possessed control of religion and education, it had come about that in the seven Catholic cantons the Jesuits had gained great influence, which they were striving to increase. The Radical party stood for liberty of religion, secular education, a lay state. It wished to increase the power of the central government, so that it might impose its views upon the whole confederation. For this reason the Catholic cantons were opposed to any increase of the federal power, and wished to maintain the authority of the cantons untouched, for only thus could they maintain their views. Religious and political passions finally rose so high that in 1847 the seven Catholic cantons formed a special league (*Sonderbund*), for the purpose of protecting the interests which they considered threatened. They regarded their action as merely defensive against possible attack. The Radicals were, however, able to get a vote through the Diet ordering the disbandment of this league. As the members of the league refused to disband, a war resulted (1847). It was of brief duration and was over in three weeks. The victory, which did not cost many lives, was easily won by the forces of the federal government, which were much more numerous and better equipped than those of the league. The *Sonderbund* was dissolved, the Jesuits were expelled, and the triumphant Radicals proceeded to carry out their cherished plan of strengthening the federal government. This they accomplished by the Constitution of 1848, which superseded the Pact of 1815. This constitution, with some changes, is still in force. It transformed Switzerland into a true federal union, resembling, in many respects, the United States. The Diet of ambassadors gave way to a representative body with extensive powers of legislation.

The Constitution of 1848

The federal legislature was henceforth to consist of two houses: the National Council, elected directly by the people, one member for every 20,000 inhabitants; and the Council of States, composed of two members for each canton. In the former, population counts; in the latter, the equality of the cantons is preserved. The two bodies sitting together choose the Federal Tribunal, and also a committee of seven, the Federal Council, to serve as the executive. From this committee of seven they elect each year one who acts as its chairman and whose title is "President of the Swiss Confederation," but whose power is no greater than that of any of the other members. It was recognized that there should be a single capital, and Bern was chosen as such, on account of its position near the border of the German- and French-speaking districts.

The Federal Government

Larger powers were now given to the confederation: the control of foreign affairs, the army, tariffs, the postal system, and the coinage. The cantons retained great powers, such as the right to legislate concerning civil and criminal matters, religion, and education.

Powers of the Federal and cantonal governments

The new constitution was put immediately into force. It converted an ancient league of states into a strong federal union. It created for the first time in history a real Swiss nation. This was one of the triumphs of the nationalistic spirit, of which Europe saw so many during the nineteenth century. It was also a triumph of another of the motive forces of the century, the democratic spirit.

Since 1848 Switzerland has pursued a course of peaceful development, but one of extraordinary interest to the outside world. This interest consists not in great events, nor in foreign policy, for Switzerland has constantly preserved a strict neutrality, but in the steady and thoroughgoing evo-

The chief significance of Switzerland

lution of certain political forms which may be of great value to all self-governing countries. There have been developed in Switzerland certain processes of law-making the most democratic in character known to the world. The achievement has been so remarkable, the process so uninterrupted, that it merits description.

Important contributions to democratic government

In all countries calling themselves democratic, the political machinery is representative, not direct, i.e., the voters do not make the laws themselves, but merely at certain periods choose people, their representatives, who make them. These laws are not ratified or rejected by the voters; they never come before the voters directly. But the Swiss have sought, and with great success, to render the voters law-makers themselves, and not the mere choosers of law-makers, to apply the power of the democracy to the national life at every point, and constantly. They have done this in various ways. Their methods have been first worked out in the cantons, and later in the confederation.

The Landesgemeinde cantons

Some of the smaller cantons have from time immemorial been pure democracies. The voters have met together at stated times, usually in the open air, have elected their officials, and by a show of hands have voted the laws. There are six such cantons to-day. Such direct government is possible, because these cantons are small both in area and population. They are so small that no voter has more than fifteen miles to go to the voting place, and most have a much shorter distance.

The referendum

But in the other cantons this method does not prevail. In them the people elect representative assemblies, as in England and the United States, but they exercise a control over them not exercised in these countries, a control which renders self-government almost as complete as in the six cantons described above. They do this by the so-called referendum and initiative. In the cantons where these processes are in vogue the people do not, as in the *Landesgemeinde* cantons, come together in mass meeting and enact their own laws. They elect, as in other countries, their own legislature, which enacts the laws. The government is representative, not democratic. But the action of the legislature is not final, only to be altered, if altered at all, by a succeeding legislature. Laws passed by the cantonal legislature may or must be referred to the people (referendum), who then have the right to reject or accept them, who, in other words, become the law-makers, their legislature being simply a kind of committee to help them by suggesting measures and by drafting them.

The initiative

The initiative, on the other hand, enables a certain number of voters to propose a law or a principle of legislation and to require that the legislature submit the proposal to the people, even though it is itself opposed to it. If ratified the proposal becomes law. The initiative thus reverses the order of the process. The impulse to the making of a new law comes from the people, not from the legislature. The referendum is negative and preventive. It is the veto power given to the people. The initiative is positive, originative, constructive. By these two processes a democracy makes whatever laws it pleases. The one is the complement of the other. They do not abolish legislatures, but they give the people control whenever a sufficient number wish to exercise it. The constitution of the canton of Zurich expresses the relation as follows: "The people exercise the law-making power with the assistance of the state legislature." The legislature is not the final law-making body. The voters are the supreme legislators. These two devices, the referendum and the intiative, are intended to establish, and do establish, government of the people, and by the people. They are of immense interest to all who wish to make the practice of democracy correspond to the theory. By them Switzerland has more nearly approached democracy than has any other country.

The population of Switzerland

Switzerland has made great progress in education and in industry. The population has increased over a million since 1850 and now numbers about three and a half millions. The population is not homogeneous in race or language. About 71 per cent speak German, 21 per cent French, 5 per cent Italian, and a small fraction speak a peculiar Romance language called Roumansch. But language is not a divisive force, as it is elsewhere, as it is, for example, in Austria-Hungary and in the Balkan peninsula, probably because no political advantages or disadvantages are connected with it.

The neutralization of Switzerland

The neutrality of Switzerland is guaranteed by the powers.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

DENMARK

During the later wars of Napoleon Denmark had been his ally, remaining loyal to the end, while other allies had taken favorable occasion to desert him. For this conduct the conquerors of Napoleon punished her severely by forcing her, by the Treaty of Kiel, January, 1814, to cede Norway to Sweden, which had sided with the conquerors. The condition of the Danish kingdom was therefore deplorable, indeed. By the loss of Norway her population was reduced one-third. Her trade was ruined, and her finances were in the greatest disorder.

Denmark loses Norway

The government was an absolute monarchy and it remained so down to the memorable mid-century upheaval of Europe in 1848. In 1849 the King, Frederick VII, issued a constitution. In 1854 he promulgated another and in 1855 still another. The difficulty was that the question of a constitution was bound up with that vastly complicated problem of the relation of the duchies, Schleswig and Holstein, to Denmark. That problem was settled, as we have seen, in 1864, by the attack of two great powers, Prussia and Austria, upon Denmark, and their appropriation of the duchies for themselves. The question of the duchies was thus settled, as far as Denmark was concerned. For the second time in the nineteenth century Denmark suffered a dismemberment at the hands of the great military powers. This reduced her territorial extent by a third, her population by about a million.

Constitution granted

Denmark loses Schleswig-Holstein

Since that war Denmark has pursued a policy of internal development, undisturbed by foreign politics. A constitution was issued in 1866, a revision of that of 1849, establishing a Parliament of two houses. This Parliament, long conservative, has become in recent years increasingly liberal. In 1891, an old age pension system was established. All over sixty years, of good

Revision of the Constitution

character, are entitled to a pension, half of which is paid by the state, half by the local authority. There is no requirement of previous payments on the part of the recipients as there is in Germany. By amendments to the constitution adopted in 1915 the suffrage was made practically universal, being extended to nearly all women as well as men. Voters must be at least twenty-five years of age. Education is compulsory between the ages of seven and fourteen. The population of Denmark is about two million and three quarters. The area is about that of Switzerland.

Growth of radicalism

Denmark has extensive possessions — Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and the three small West Indian islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John. Of these the most important is Iceland, 600 miles west of Norway, with an area of over 40,000 square miles and a population of about 85,000. Iceland was granted home rule in 1874, and has its own Parliament of thirty-six members. In 1874 Iceland celebrated the thousandth anniversary of its settlement. The Faroes are not colonies, but parts of the kingdom.

Denmark's colonies

The present king is Frederick VIII, who has been on the throne since 1906.

SWEDEN AND NORWAY

Both Sweden and Norway were affected by the course of the Napoleonic wars. After the Treaty of Tilsit of 1807, by which Russia and France became allies, Russia proceeded to gratify a long cherished ambition by seizing Finland from Sweden, thus gaining a large territory and a long coast line on the Baltic Sea. Later, Sweden, uniting with the Allies against Napoleon, was rewarded in 1814 by the acquisition of Norway, torn from Denmark, which had adhered to Napoleon to the end, and which was accordingly considered a proper subject for punishment.

The Norwegians had not been consulted in this transaction. They were regarded as a negligible quantity, a passive pawn in the international game, a conception that proved erroneous, for no sooner did they hear that they were being handed by outsiders from Denmark to Sweden than they protested, and proceeded to organize resistance. Claiming that the Danish King's renunciation of the crown of Norway restored that crown to themselves, they proceeded to elect a king of their own, May 17, 1814, and they adopted a liberal constitution, the Constitution of Eidsvold, establishing a Parliament, or Storthing.

The Constitution of Eidsvold

But the King of Sweden, to whom this country had been assigned by the consent of the powers, did not propose to be deprived of it by act of the Norwegians themselves. He sent the Crown Prince, Bernadotte, into Norway to take possession. A war resulted between the Swedes and the Norwegians, the latter being victorious. Then the great powers intervened so peremptorily that the newly elected Norwegian king, Christian, resigned his crown into the hands of the Storthing. The Storthing then acquiesced in the union with Sweden, but only after having formally elected the King of Sweden as the King of Norway, thus asserting its sovereignty, and also after the King had promised to recognize the Constitution of 1814, which the Norwegians had given themselves.

Sweden and Norway separate nations under the same king

Thus there was no fusion of Norway and Sweden. There were two kingdoms and one king. The same person was King of Sweden and King of Norway, but he governed each according to its own laws, and by means of separate ministries. No Swede could hold office in Norway, no Norwegian in Sweden. Each country had its separate constitution, its separate parliament. In Sweden the parliament, or Diet, consisted of four houses, representing respectively the nobility, the clergy, the cities, and the peasantry. In Norway the parliament, or Storthing, consisted of two chambers. Sweden had a strong aristocracy, Norway only a small and feeble one. Swedish government and society were aristocratic and feudal, Norwegian very democratic. Norway, indeed, was a land of peasants, who owned their farms, and fisherfolk, sturdy, simple, independent. Each country had its own language, each its own capital, that of Sweden at Stockholm, that of Norway at Christiania.

The two kingdoms, therefore, were very dissimilar, with their different languages, different institutions, and different conditions. They had in common a king, and ministers of war and foreign affairs. The connection between the two countries, limited as it was, led during the century to frequent and bitter disagreements, ending a few years ago in their final separation.

The Constitution of 1866

The institutions of Sweden were aristocratic and antiquated. They remained such until 1866 when the first breach was made in this stiff and illiberal régime. In that year the Diet was transformed into a modern parliament, consisting of two chambers. But the Upper Chamber was to be controlled by the noble and rich classes; the Lower also represented propertied classes, as such high property qualifications were to be required of voters that as a matter of fact only about eight per cent of the people possessed the suffrage under this constitution. This system went into force in 1866, and remained in force until 1909.

Under Oscar II, who ruled from 1872 to 1907, the relations between Sweden and Norway became acute, ending finally in complete rupture.

Friction between Sweden and Norway

Friction between them had existed ever since 1814, and had provoked frequent crises. The fundamental cause had lain in the different conceptions prevalent among the two peoples as to the real nature of the union effected in that year. The Swedes maintained that Norway was unqualifiedly ceded to them by the Treaty of Kiel in 1814; that they later were willing to recognize that the Norwegians should have a certain amount of independence; that they, nevertheless, possessed certain rights in Norway and preponderance in the Union. The Norwegians, on the other hand, maintained that the Union rested, not upon the Treaty of Kiel, a treaty between Denmark and Sweden, but upon their own act; that they had been independent, and had drawn up a constitution for themselves, the Constitution of Eidsvold; that they had voluntarily united themselves with Sweden by freely electing the King of Sweden as King of Norway; that there was no fusion of the two states; that Sweden had no power in Norway; that Sweden had no preponderance in the Union, but that the two states were on a plane of entire equality. With two such dissimilar views friction could not fail to develop, and it began immediately after 1814 on a question of trivial importance. The Norwegians were resolved to

Dissimilar views in regard to the Union

Oscar II

manage their own internal affairs as they saw fit, without any intermixture of Swedish influence. But their King was also King of Sweden, and, as a matter of fact, lived in Sweden most of the time, and was rarely seen in Norway. Moreover, Sweden was in population much the larger partner in this uncomfortable union.

Abolition of Norwegian nobility

By the Constitution of Eidsvold the King had only a suspensive veto over the laws of the Storthing, the Norwegian parliament. Any law could be enacted over that veto if passed by three successive Storthings, with intervals of three years between the votes. The process was slow, but sufficient to insure victory in any cause in which the Norwegians were in earnest. It was thus that, despite the King's veto, they carried through the abolition of the Norwegian nobility. Contests between the Storthing and the King of Norway, occurring from time to time, over the question of the national flag, of annual sessions, and other matters, kept alive the antipathy of the Norwegians to the Union. Meanwhile, their prosperity increased. Particularly did they develop an important commerce. One-fourth of the merchant marine of the continent of Europe passed gradually into their hands. This gave rise to a question more serious than any that had hitherto arisen — that of the consular service.

Dissolution of the Union

About 1892 began a fateful discussion over the question of the consular service. The Norwegian Parliament demanded a separate consular service for Norway, to be conducted by itself, to care for Norway's commercial interests, so much more important than those of Sweden. This the King would not grant, on the ground that it would break up the Union, that Sweden and Norway could not have two foreign policies. The conflict thus begun dragged on for years, embittering the relations of the Norwegians and the Swedes and inflaming passions until in 1905 (June 7) the Norwegian Parliament declared unanimously "that the Union with Sweden under one king has ceased." The war feeling in Sweden was strong, but the Government finally decided, in order to avoid the evils of a conflict, to recognize the dissolution of the Union, on condition that the question of separation should be submitted to the people of Norway. Sweden held that there was no proof that the Norwegian people desired this, but was evidently of the opinion that the whole crisis was simply the work of the Storthing. That such an opinion was erroneous was established by the vote on August 13, 1905, which showed over 368,000 in favor of separation and only 184 votes in opposition. A conference was then held at Carlstad to draw up a treaty or agreement of dissolution. This agreement provided that any disputes arising in the future between the two countries, which could not be settled by direct diplomatic negotiations should be referred to the Hague International Arbitration Tribunal. It further provided for the establishment of a neutral zone along the frontiers of the two countries, on which no military fortifications should ever be erected.

Treaty of Carlstad

Later in the year the Norwegians chose Prince Charles of Denmark, grandson of the then King of Denmark, as King of Norway. There was a strong feeling in favor of a republic, but it seemed clear that the election of a king would be more acceptable to the monarchies of Europe, and would avoid all possibilities of foreign intervention. The new king assumed the name of Haakon VII, thus indicating the historical continuity of the independent kingdom of Norway, which had grown up in the Middle Ages. He took up his residence in Christiania.

Death of Oscar II

On December 8, 1907, Oscar II, since 1905 King of Sweden only, died, and was succeeded by his son as Gustavus V.

In 1909 Sweden took a long step toward democracy. A franchise reform bill, which had long been before parliament, was finally passed. Manhood suffrage was established for the Lower House, and the qualifications for election to the Upper House were greatly reduced.

Suffrage in Norway

In Norway, men who have reached the age of twenty-five, and who have been residents of the country for five years, have the right to vote. By a constitutional amendment adopted in 1907 the right to vote for members of the Storthing was granted to women who meet the same qualifications, and who, in addition, pay, or whose husbands pay, a tax upon an income ranging from about seventy-five dollars in the country to about one hundred dollars in cities. About 300,000 of the 550,000 Norwegian women of the age of twenty-five or older, thus secured the suffrage. They had previously enjoyed the suffrage in local elections.

Sweden has a population of about five and a half millions; Norway of less than two and a half millions.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE DISRUPTION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF THE BALKAN STATES

Decay of the Ottoman Empire

All through the period covered by this book there went on the process of the dismemberment of an empire which had once terrified the western world, threatening all Europe with subjection beneath her peculiarly galling and debasing yoke. During the past two centuries that empire has been on the defensive and has steadily lost ground. In the eighteenth century Russia and Austria, her neighbors, despoiled her of some of her valuable lands. In the nineteenth it was, in the main, her own subjects who rose against her, who tore the empire apart, and founded a number of independent states on soil that was formerly Turkish. The map of modern Europe shows no greater change as compared with the map a hundred years ago than in the Balkan peninsula. That change is the product of a most eventful history, the solution thus far given to one of the most intricate and contentious problems European statesmen have ever had to consider, the Eastern Question, the question, that is, of what should be done with Turkey.

The Eastern Question

Treatment of subject peoples

The Turks, an Asiatic, Mohammedan people, had conquered southeastern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and had subdued many different races; the Greeks, claiming descent from the Greeks of antiquity; the Roumanians, claiming descent from Roman colonists of the Empire; the Albanians, and various branches of the great Slavic race, the Servians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, and Montenegrins. Full of contempt for those whom they had conquered, the Turks made no attempt to assimilate them or to fuse them into one body politic. They were satisfied with reducing them to subjection, and with exploiting them. These Christian peoples were effaced for several centuries beneath Mohammedan oppression, their property likely to be confiscated, their lives taken, whenever it suited their rulers. They bore their ills with resignation as long as they thought it impossible to resist oppression, yet they never acquiesced in their position. Hating their oppressors with a deathless hatred they only waited for their hour of liberation. That hour seemed to come at the opening of the nineteenth century with the vast changes then being effected as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. But the wars of liberation of the Balkan peoples from the Turks, begun in the first decade of the nineteenth century, are not yet over, in the second decade of the twentieth century. It is a long, bloody, turbulent, confused, heroic history.

SERVIA

The revolt of the Servians

The Servians were the first to rise, — in 1804 under Kara George, a swineherd. The Turks were driven from Servia for a time, but they regained it in 1813. The Servians again arose, and in 1820, Milosch Obrenovitch, who had instigated the murder of Kara George in 1817, and who thus became leader himself, secured from the Sultan the title of "Prince of the Servians of the Pashalik of Belgrade." His policy henceforth was directed to the acquisition of complete autonomy for Servia. This, after long negotiations and strongly supported by Russia, he achieved in 1830, when a decree of the Sultan bestowed upon him the title of "Hereditary Prince of the Servians." Thus, after many years of war and negotiations, Servia ceased to be a mere Turkish province, and became a principality tributary to the Sultan, but self-governing, and with a princely house ruling by right of heredity — the house of Obrenovitch which had succeeded in crushing the earlier house of Kara George. This was the first state to arise in the nineteenth century out of the dismemberment of European Turkey. Its capital was Belgrade.

THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The condition of the Greeks

The next of these subject peoples to rise against the hated oppressor was the Greeks. The Greeks had been submerged by the Turkish flood but not destroyed. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they had experienced a great reinvigoration of their racial and national consciousness. Their condition in 1820 was better than it had been for centuries, their spirit was higher and less disposed to bend before Turkish arrogance, their prosperity was greater. There had occurred in the eighteenth century a remarkable intellectual revival, connected with the restoration and purification of the Greek language.

In 1821 the Greeks rose in revolt and began a war which did not end until they had achieved their independence in 1829. During the first six years they fought alone against the Turks. This period was followed by a period of foreign intervention. The war was one of utter atrocity on both sides, a war of extermination, a war not limited to the armies. Each side, when victorious, murdered large numbers of non-combatants, men, women, and children.

The Greek war of independence

The war was ineffectually prosecuted by Turkey. The period was made still more wretched by the inability of the Greeks to work together harmoniously. Torn by violent factional quarrels, they were unable to gain any pronounced advantage. On the other hand, Turkey, unable to conquer by her own force, called upon the Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, for aid. This ruler had built up a strong, disciplined army, well-equipped and trained in European methods, a force far superior to any which the Sultan or the Greeks possessed. Under Ibrahim, the Pasha's son, an Egyptian army of 11,000 landed in the Morea early in 1825, and began a war of extermination. The Morea was rapidly conquered. The fall of Missolonghi after a remarkable siege lasting about a year (April, 1825–April, 1826), with the loss of almost all the inhabitants, and the capture the following year of Athens and the Acropolis, seemed to have completed the subjugation of Greece. Few places remained to be seized.

Factional quarrels among the Greeks

From the extremity of their misfortune the Greeks were rescued by the decision of foreign powers finally to intervene. The sympathy of cultivated people had, from the first, been aroused for the country which had given intellectual freedom and distinction to the world, this Mother of the Arts, which was now making an heroic and romantic struggle for an independent and worthy life of her own. Everywhere Philhellenic societies were formed under this inspiration of the memories of Ancient Greece. These societies, founded in France, Germany, Switzerland, England, and the United States, sought to aid the insurgents by sending money, arms, and volunteers, and by bringing pressure to bear upon the governments to intervene. Many men from western Europe joined the Greek armies. The most illustrious of these was Lord Byron, who gave his life for the idea of a free Greece, dying of fever at Missolonghi in 1824. Finally the governments resolved to intervene. England, Russia, and France by the Treaty of London of 1827,

Foreign intervention

agreed to demand that Greece be made a self-governing state under Turkish sovereignty, be therefore placed in practically the same situation as Servia. The demand was refused by the Turkish government. A naval battle at Navarino, October 20, 1827, resulted in the destruction of the Turkish fleet. The following year Russia declared war upon Turkey. This Russo-Turkish war lasted over a year. In the first campaign the Russians were unsuccessful, but, redoubling their efforts, and under better leadership, they crossed the Balkans, and marched rapidly toward Constantinople. The French meanwhile had sent an army into the Morea, and had forced the Egyptian troops to leave the country and sail for Egypt. The Sultan was obliged to yield and the Treaty of Adrianople was signed with Russia September 14, 1829.

The battle of Navarino

War between Russia and Turkey

As the outcome of this series of events Greece became a kingdom, entirely independent of Turkey, its independence guaranteed by the three powers, Russia, England, and France. The Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, were made practically, though not nominally, independent. The Sultan's power in Europe was therefore considerably reduced. In 1833 Otto, a lad of seventeen, second son of King Louis I of Bavaria, became the first King of Greece. A new Christian state had been created in southeastern Europe.

Creation of the Kingdom of Greece

THE CRIMEAN WAR

Russia emerged from the Turkish War with increased prestige and power. It had been her campaign of 1829 that had brought the Sultan to terms. Greece had become independent, and was more grateful to her than to the other powers. Moldavia and Wallachia, still nominally a part of Turkey, were practically free of Turkish control, and Russian influence in them was henceforth paramount. Several years later Russia was emboldened to attempt to extend her influence still further, and this attempt precipitated a reopening of the Eastern Question, and the first great European war since the fall of Napoleon I.

The Principalities

Russia demanded the right of protection over all Greek Christians living in the Turkish Empire, of whom there were several millions. The demand was loosely expressed and might possibly, if granted, grow into a constant right of intervention by Russia

Russian demands

in the internal affairs of Turkey, ultimately making that country a kind of vassal of the former. This, at any rate, was the assertion of Turkey. War therefore broke out between the two powers, Russia and Turkey, in 1853. Russia expected that the war would be limited to these two. In this she was shortly undeceived, for England and France and later Piedmont, came to the support of the Turks. Russia found herself opposed by four powers instead of by one. England went to war because she feared an aggressive and expanding Russia, feared for the route to India; France because Napoleon III wished to pay back old grudges against Russia, wished revenge for the Moscow campaign of Napoleon I, wished also to tear up the treaties of 1815, which sealed the humiliation of France. Piedmont went to war merely to win the interest of England and France for Cavour's plans for the making of Italy.

War between Russia and Turkey

Coalition against Russia

The war was chiefly fought in the Crimea, a peninsula in southern Russia, jutting out into the Black Sea and important because there Russia had constructed, at Sebastopol, a great naval arsenal, and because the Russian navy was there. To seize Sebastopol, to sink the fleet, would destroy Russia's naval power for many years, and thus remove the weapon with which she could seriously menace Turkey.

The allies invade the Crimea

The siege of Sebastopol was the chief feature of the Crimean War. That siege lasted eleven months. Sebastopol was defended in a masterly fashion by Todleben, the Russian engineer, and the only military hero of the first order that the war developed. Parts of this campaign, subsidiary to the siege, were the battles of the Alma, of Balaklava, rendered forever memorable by the splendid charges of the heavy and light brigades, and of Inkermann, full of stirring and heroic incident. The Allies suffered fearfully from the weather, the bitter cold, the breakdown of the commissary department, and the shocking inefficiency of the medical and hospital service. These deficiencies were remedied in time, but only after a terrible loss of life.

The siege of Sebastopol

Early in 1855 (March 2), Nicholas I died, bitterly disappointed at the failure of his plans. Throughout the summer of 1855 the state of Sebastopol grew steadily worse and it finally fell, on September 8, 1855, after a siege of 336 days, and an enormous expenditure in human lives.

The war dragged on for some weeks longer, but as most of the powers were anxious for peace, they agreed to enter the Congress of Paris, which met February 25, 1856, and which, after a month's deliberation, signed the Treaty of Paris, March 30, 1856. The treaty provided that the Black Sea should henceforth be neutralized, that it should not be open to vessels of war, even of those countries bordering on it, Russia and Turkey, and that no arsenals should be established or maintained on its shores. Its waters were to be open to the merchant ships of every nation. The navigation of the Danube was declared free. The Russian protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia was abolished and they were declared independent under the suzerainty of the Porte. The most important clause was that by which the powers admitted Turkey to the European family of states, from which she had been previously excluded as a barbarous nation, and by which they also agreed no more to interfere with her internal affairs. This action was taken, it was said, because the Sultan had, "in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a firman recording his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his Empire."

Treaty of Paris

Thus Turkey was bolstered up by the Christian powers of western Europe because they did not wish to see Russia installed in Constantinople. As a solution of the Eastern Question the war was a flat failure. The promise of the Sultan that the lot of his Christian subjects should be improved was never kept. Their condition became worse.

REVOLTS IN THE BALKANS

By the middle of the nineteenth century the only part of the Turkish Empire that had become independent was Greece; Servia and Moldavia-Wallachia were semi-independent and aspired to become completely so. The two latter provinces shortly declared themselves united under the single name of Roumania and, in 1866, they chose as their prince, a member of the Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family, Charles I. This German prince, who was the ruler of Roumania until his death in 1914, was at that time twenty-seven years of age. He at once set to work to study the conditions of his newly adopted country, ably seconded in this by his wife, a German princess, whose literary gift was to win her a great reputation, and was to be used in the interest of Roumania. As "Carmen Sylva" she wrote poems and stories, published a collection of

Rise of Roumania

Charles I of Roumania

Roumanian folklore, and encouraged the national idea by showing her preference for the native Roumanian dress and for old Roumanian customs.

Charles I was primarily a soldier, and the great work of the early years of his reign was to build up the army, as he believed it essential if Roumania was to be really independent in her attitude toward Russia and Turkey. He increased the size of the army, equipped it with Prussian guns, and had it drilled by Prussian officers. The wisdom of this was apparent when the Eastern Question was again reopened.

Reopening of the Eastern Question

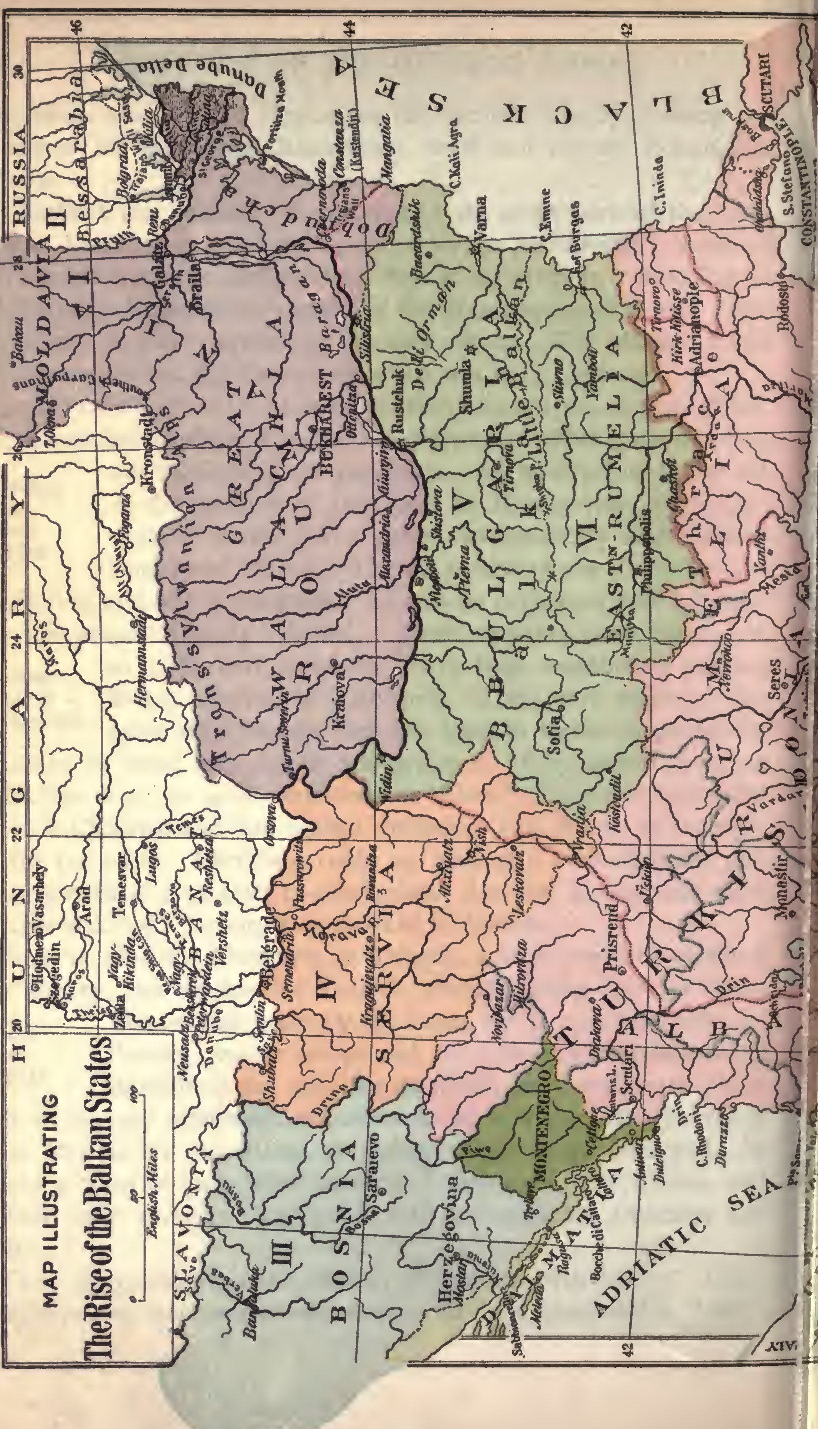
In 1875 the Eastern Question entered once more upon an acute phase. Movements began which were to have a profound effect upon the various sections of the peninsula. An insurrection broke out in the summer of that year in Herzegovina, a province west of Servia. For years the peasantry had suffered from gross misrule. The oppression of the Turks became so grinding and was accompanied by acts so barbarous and inhuman that the peasants finally rebelled. These peasants were Slavs, and as such were aided by Slavs from neighboring regions, Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria. They were made all the more bitter because they saw Slavs in Servia comparatively contented, as these were largely self-governed. Why should not they themselves enjoy as good conditions as others? Religious and racial hatred of Christian and Slav against the infidel Turk flamed up throughout the peninsula. Christians could not rest easy witnessing the outrages committed upon their co-religionists. And just at this time those outrages attained a ferocity that shocked all Europe.

The insurrection of Herzegovina

Early in 1876 the Christians in Bulgaria, a large province of European Turkey, rose against the Turkish officials, killing some of them. The revenge taken by the Turks was of incredible atrocity. Pouring regular troops and the ferocious irregulars called Bashi-Bazouks into the province, they butchered thousands with every refinement or coarseness of brutality. In the valley of the Maritza all but fifteen of eighty villages were destroyed. In Batak, a town of 7000 inhabitants, five thousand men, women, and children were savagely slaughtered with indescribable treachery and cruelty.

The Bulgarian atrocities

These Bulgarian atrocities thrilled all Europe with horror. Gladstone, emerging from retirement, denounced "the unspeakable Turk,"



MAP ILLUSTRATING

The Rise of the Balkan States

English Miles
0
50
100
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
MOLDAVIA
Bessarabia
TRANSYLVANIA
WALLACHIA
GREATER WALLACHIA
ROUMANIA
BULGARIA
EASTERN RUMELIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
Herzegovina
MONTENEGRO
SLAVONIA
BANAT
DALMATIA
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
THRACE
TURKEY
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Dobrudja
Deli Orman
Baragan
Southern Carpathians
Little Balkan
Danube Delta
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
Bakau
Galatz
Braila
Reni
Bolgrad
Ismail
Kronstadt
Fogaras
Hermannstadt
BUKHAREST
Oltenitza
Giurgiu
Alexandria
Krajova
Turnu Severin
Orsova
Widin
Silistria
Rustchuk
Sistova
Nikopoli
Plevna
Tirnova
Shumla
Varna
Bazardshik
Mangalia
Constanza
(Kustendji)
Cernavoda
Trajan's Wall
Sulina
St. George
Kilia
C. Kali Agra
C. Emine
Burgas
Slivno
Yamboli
Philippopolis
Sofia
Köstendil
Vranja
Nish
Leskovatz
Aleksinatz
Kragujevatz
Semendria
Pasarowitz
Belgrade
Semlin
Shabatz
Drina
Morava
Novibazar
Mitrovitza
Prisrend
Djakova
Üsküb
Monastir
Seres
Nevrokop
Xanthi
Mesta
Haskoi
Adrianople
Kirk-Kilisse
Tirnovo
Rodosto
Maritza
Vardar
Drin
Scutari
Cettinje
Antivari
Dulcigno
Durazzo
C. Rhodoni
Ragusa
Cattaro
Mostar
Serajevo
Bosna
Banjaluka
Sabbioncello
Meleda
Piva
Trebinje
Szegedin
Hodmezo-Vasarhely
Arad
Temesvar
Lugos
Temes
Weisskirchen
Versheitz
Nagy-Kikinda
Zenta
Neusatz
Peterwardein
Maros
Theiss
Danube
Save
Aluta
Sereth
Pruth
Varna
Constantinople
S. Stefano
Scutari
Bosporus
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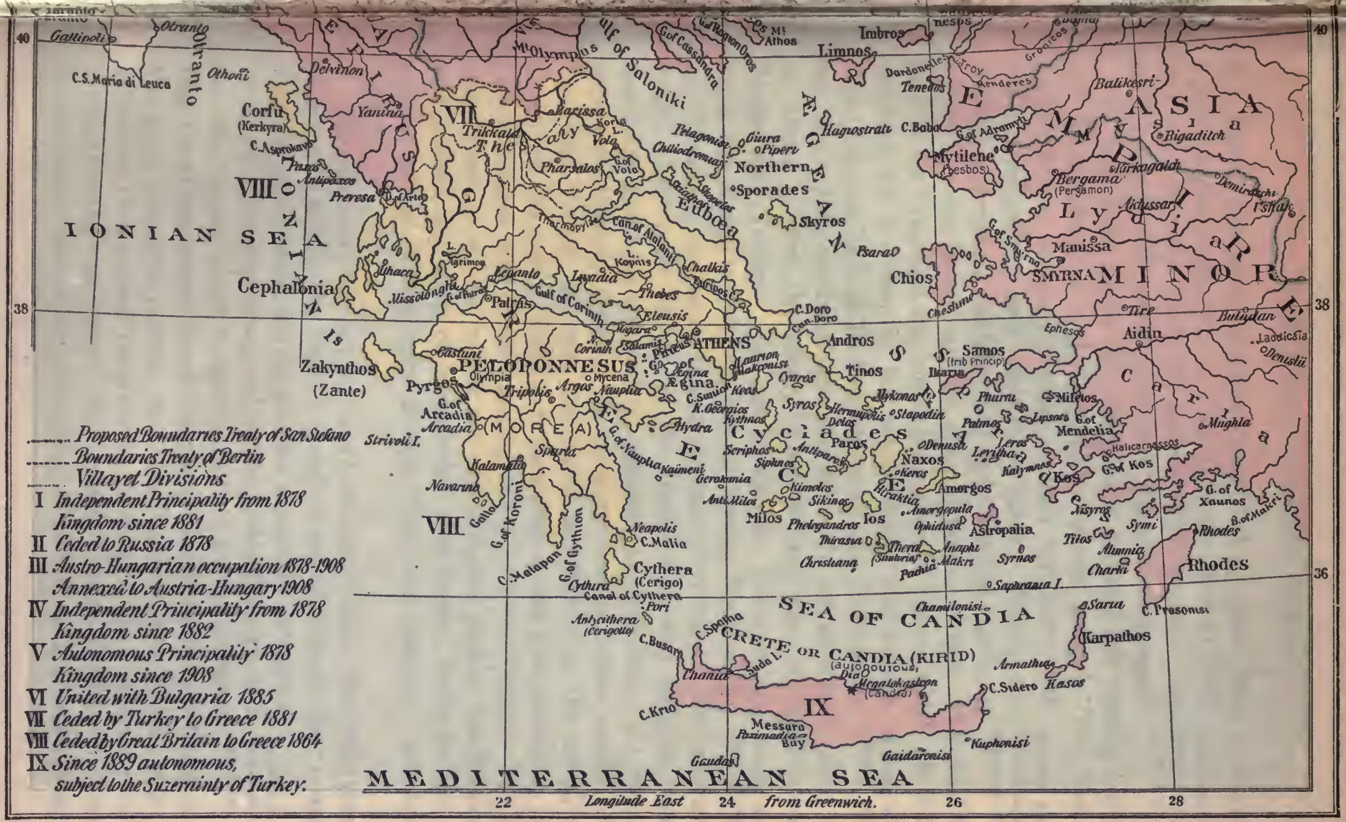


Proposed Boundaries Treaty of San Stefano
Boundaries Treaty of Berlin
Villayet Divisions
I Independent Principality from 1878 Kingdom since 1881
II Ceded to Russia 1878
III Austro-Hungarian occupation 1878-1908 Annexed to Austria-Hungary 1908
IV Independent Principality from 1878 Kingdom since 1882
V Autonomous Principality 1878 Kingdom since 1908
VI United with Bulgaria 1885
VII Ceded by Turkey to Greece 1881
VIII Ceded by Great Britain to Greece 1864
IX Since 1889 autonomous, subject to the Suzerainty of Turkey.
IONIAN SEA
ÆGEAN SEA
SEA OF CANDIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ASIA MINOR
EMPIRE
Mysia
Lydia
Caria
Epirus
Thessaly
Greece
PELOPONNESUS
MOREA
Cyclades
Northern Sporades
Eubœa
CRETE OR CANDIA (KIRID) (autonomous)
ATHENS
SMYRNA
Gulf of Salonika
Gulf of Corinth
Corfu (Kerkyra)
Cephalonia
Zakynthos (Zante)
Cythera (Cerigo)
Mytilene (Lesbos)
Chios
Samos
Rhodes
Karpathos
Naxos
Paros
Milos
Andros
Tinos
Skyros
Limnos
Imbros
Tenedos
Megalokastron (Candia)
Chania
Otranto
Larissa
Trikkala
Patras
Corinth
Argos
Nauplia
Tripolis
Sparta
Kalamata
Navarino
Olympia
Pyrgos
Thebes
Eleusis
Megara
Chalkis
Volo
Yanina
Delvinon
Missolonghi
Lepanto
Bergama (Pergamon)
Manissa
Aidin
Ephesos
Miletos
Halicarnassos
Kos
Troy
Mt Olympus
Mt Athos
38
36
40
22
24
26
28
Longitude East from Greenwich.

in a flaming pamphlet. He demanded that England cease to support a government which was an affront to the laws of God, and urged that the Turks be expelled from Europe "bag and baggage." The public opinion of Europe was aroused.

Gladstone's denunciation of the Turks

In July, 1876 Servia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey, and the insurrection of the Bulgarians became general. The Russian people became intensely excited in their sympathy with their co-religionists and their fellow-Slavs. Finally the Russian government declared war upon Turkey, April 24, 1877. The war lasted until the close of January, 1878. The chief feature of the campaign was the famous siege of Plevna which the Turks defended for five months but which finally surrendered. This broke the back of Turkish resistance and the Russians marched rapidly toward Constantinople. The Sultan sought peace, and on March 3, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was concluded between Russia and Turkey. By this treaty the Porte recognized the complete independence of Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania, and made certain cessions of territory to the two former states. The main feature of the treaty concerned Bulgaria, which was made a self-governing state, tributary to the Sultan. Its frontiers were very liberally drawn. Its territory was to include nearly all of European Turkey, between Roumania and Servia to the north, and Greece to the south. Only a broken strip across the peninsula, from Constantinople west to the Adriatic, was to be left to Turkey. The new state therefore was to include not only Bulgaria proper, but Roumelia to the south and most of Macedonia. Gladstone's desire for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe "bag and baggage" was nearly realized.

Servia and Montenegro declare war

Russia declares war

Treaty of San Stefano

But this treaty was not destined to be carried out. The other powers objected to having the Eastern Question solved without their consent. England particularly, fearing Russian expansion southward toward the Mediterranean, and believing that Bulgaria and the other states would be merely tools of Russia, declared that the arrangements concerning the peninsula must be determined by the great European powers, that the Treaty of San Stefano must be submitted to a general congress on the ground that, according to the international law of Europe, the Eastern Question could not be settled by one nation but only by the concert of powers, as it affected them all.

England demands its revision

Austria joined the protest, wishing a part of the spoils of Turkey for herself. Russia naturally objected to allowing those who had not fought to determine the outcome of her victory. But as the powers were insistent, particularly England, then under the Beaconsfield administration, and as she was in no position for futher hostilities, she yielded. The Congress of Berlin was held under the presidency of Bismarck, Beaconsfield himself representing England. It drew up the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed July 13, 1878. By this treaty Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania were rendered completely independent of Turkey. But Bulgaria was divided into three parts, one of which, called Macedonia, was handed back to Turkey, and another, called Eastern Roumelia, was to be still subject to the Sultan but to have a Christian governor appointed by him. The third part, Bulgaria, was still to be nominally a part of Turkey but was to elect its own prince and was to be self-governing. The powers in making these arrangements were thinking neither of Turkey, nor of the happiness of the people who had long been oppressed by Turkey. The Congress of Berlin, like the Congress of Vienna of 1815, was indifferent or hostile to the legitimate national aspirations of oppressed peoples, and therefore its work has had the same fate, it has been undone in one particular and another and the process is continuing at the present moment, not yet quite completed. As far as humanitarian considerations were concerned the disposition of Macedonia was a colossal blunder. Its people would have been far happier had they formed a part of Bulgaria. Owing to the rival ambitions of the great powers Macedonia's Christians were destined long to suffer an odious oppression from which more fortunate Balkan Christians were free.

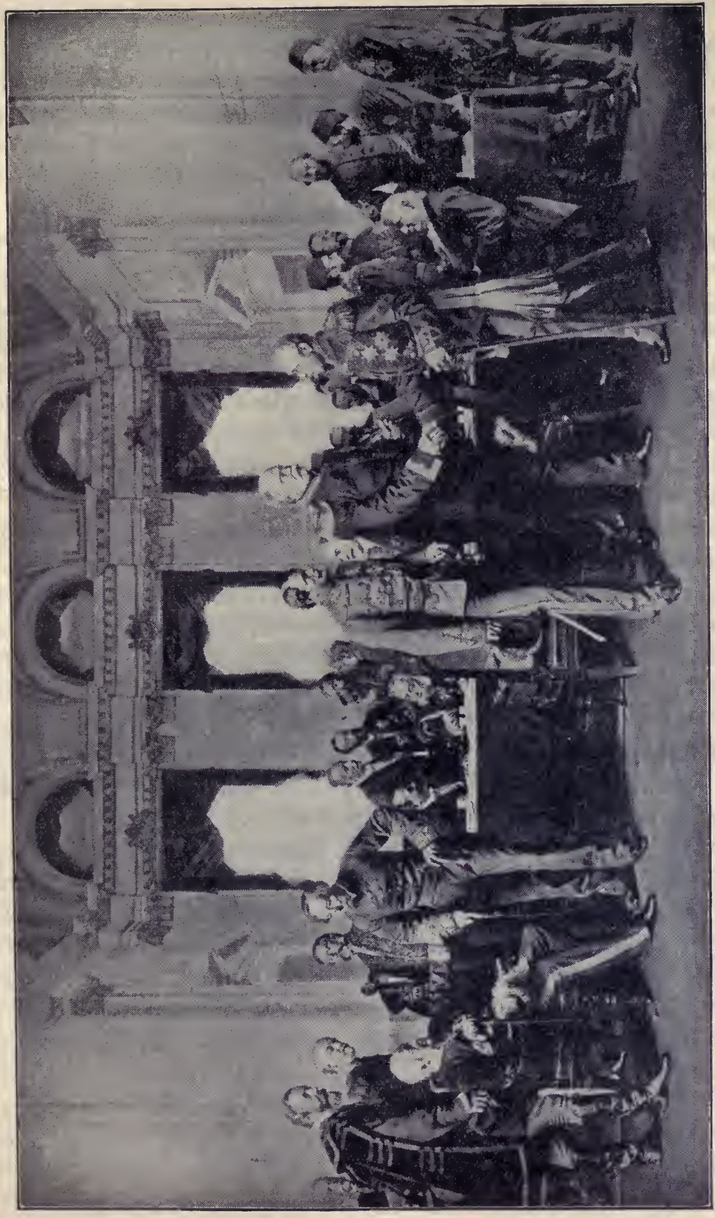
The Congress of Berlin

Macedonia

The same powers found the occasion convenient for taking various Turkish possessions for themselves. Austria was invited to "occupy" and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. England was to "occupy" Cyprus. All these territories were nominally still a part of the Turkish Empire. Their position was anomalous, unclear, and destined to create trouble in the future.

Advantages of the Treaty of Berlin

On the other hand, the benefits assured by the Treaty of Berlin were considerable and they were due solely to Russia's intervention, though Russia herself drew little direct profit from her war. Three Balkan states, long in process of formation, Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania, were declared entirely independent,



THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN
From the painting by Anton von Werner.

and a new state, Bulgaria, had been called into existence, though still slightly subject to the Porte. As a result of the treaty, European Turkey was greatly reduced, its population having shrunk from seventeen millions to six millions. In other words eleven million people or more had been emancipated from Turkish control.

BULGARIA AFTER 1878

Unsatisfied ambitions

The Treaty of Berlin, while it brought substantial advantages, did not bring peace to the Balkan peninsula. Though diminishing the possessions of the Sultan, it did not satisfy the ambitions of the various peoples, it did not expel the Turk from Europe and thus cut out the root of the evil. Abundant sources of trouble remained, as the next forty years were to show. The history of the various states since 1878, both in internal affairs and in their foreign relations, has been agitated, yet, despite disturbances, considerable progress has been made.

Alexander of Battenberg

Bulgaria, of which Europe knew hardly anything in 1876, was, in 1878, made an autonomous state, but it did not attain complete independence, as it was nominally a part of the Turkish Empire, to which it was to pay tribute. The new principality owed its existence to Russia, and for several years Russian influence predominated in it. It was started on its career by Russian officials. A constitution was drawn up establishing an assembly called the Sobranje. This assembly chose as Prince of Bulgaria, Alexander of Battenberg, a young German of twenty-two, a relative of the Russian Imperial House, supposedly acceptable to the Czar (April, 1879).

Friction between the Bulgarians and the Russians

The Bulgarians were grateful to the Russians for their aid. They recognized those who remained after the war was over as having all the rights of Bulgarian citizens, among others the right to hold office. Russians held important positions in the Bulgarian ministry. They organized the military forces and became officers. Before long, however, friction developed, and gratitude gave way to indignation at the high-handed conduct of the Russians, who plainly regarded Bulgaria as a sort of province or outpost of Russia, to be administered according to Russian ideas and interests. The Russian ministers were arrogant, and made it evident that they regarded the Czar, not Prince Alexander, as their superior, whose wishes they were bound to execute. The Prince, the native army officers, and the people found their position increasingly humiliating. Finally, in 1883, the Russian ministers were virtually forced to resign, and the Prince now relied upon Bulgarian leaders. This caused an open breach with Russia which was further widened by the action of the people of Eastern Roumelia in 1885 in expressing their desire to be united with Bulgaria. Prince Alexander agreed to this and assumed the title of "Prince of the Two Bulgarias." The powers protested against this unification, and would not recognize the change, but they refrained from doing anything further.

Abdication of Prince Alexander

Russia, however, incensed at the growing independence of the new state, which she looked upon as a mere satellite, resolved to read her a lesson in humility by organizing a conspiracy. The conspirators seized Prince Alexander in his bedroom in the dead of night, forced him to sign his abdication, and then carried him off to Russian soil. Alexander was detained in Russia a short time, until it was supposed that the Russian party was thoroughly established in power in Bulgaria, when he was permitted to go to Austria. He was immediately recalled to Bulgaria, returned to receive an immense ovation, and then, at the height of his popularity, in a moment of weakness, abdicated, apparently overwhelmed by the continued opposition of Russia (September 7, 1886). The situation was most critical. Two parties advocating opposite policies confronted each other; one pro-Russian, believing that Bulgaria should accept in place of Alexander any prince whom the Czar should choose for her; the other national and independent, rallying to the cry of "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians." The latter speedily secured control, fortunate in that it had a remarkable leader in the person of Stambuloff, a native, a son of an innkeeper, a man of extraordinary firmness, suppleness, and courage, vigorous and intelligent. Through him Russian efforts to regain control of the principality were foiled and a new ruler was secured, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, twenty-six years of age, who was elected unanimously by the Sobranje, July 7, 1887. Russia protested against this action, and none of the great powers recognized Ferdinand.

Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg

Dictatorship of Stambuloff

Stambuloff was the most forceful statesman developed in the history of the Balkan states. He succeeded in keeping Bulgaria self-dependent. During the earlier years of his rule Ferdinand relied upon him, and, indeed, owed to him his continuance on the throne. He won the pretentious title of "the Bulgarian Bismarck." His methods resembled those of his Teutonic prototype in more than one respect. For seven years he was practically dictator of Bulgaria. Russian plots continued. He repressed them pitilessly. His one fundamental principle was Bulgaria for the Bulgarians. His rule was one of terror, of suppression of liberties, of unscrupulousness, directed to patriotic ends. His object was to rid Bulgaria of Russian, as of Turkish, control. Bulgaria under him increased in wealth and population. The army received a modern equipment, universal military service was instituted, commerce was encouraged, railroads were built, popular education begun, and the capital, Sofia, a dirty, wretched Turkish village, made over into one of the attractive capitals of Europe. But Stambuloff made a multitude of enemies, and as a result he fell from power in 1894. In the following year he was foully murdered in the streets of Sofia. But he had done his work thoroughly, and it remains the basis of the life of Bulgaria to-day. The Turkish sovereignty was merely nominal, and even that was not destined to endure long. In March, 1896 the election of Ferdinand as prince was finally recognized by the great powers. The preceding years had been immensely significant. They had thoroughly consolidated the unity of Bulgaria, had permitted her institutions to strike root, had accustomed her to independence of action, to self-reliance. Those years, too, had been used for the enrichment of the national life with the agencies of the modern world, schools, railways, an army. Bulgaria had a population of about four million, a capital in Sofia, an area of about 38,000 square miles. She aspired to annex Macedonia, where, however, she was to encounter many rivals. She only awaited a favorable opportunity to renounce her nominal connection with Turkey. The opportunity came in 1908. On October 5th of that year Bulgaria declared her independence, and her Prince assumed the title of Czar. The later history of Bulgaria may best be described in connection with the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913.

Murder of Stambuloff

ROUMANIA AND SERVIA AFTER 1878

At the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877, Roumania declared herself entirely independent of Turkey. This independence was recognized by the Sultan and the powers at the Congress of Berlin on condition that all citizens should enjoy legal equality, whatever their religion, a condition designed to protect the Jews, who were numerous, but who had previously been without political rights.

Roumania proclaimed a kingdom

In 1881 Roumania proclaimed herself a kingdom, and her prince henceforth styled himself King Charles I. The royal crown was made of steel from a Turkish gun captured at Plevna, a perpetual reminder of what was her war of independence. Roumania has created an army on Prussian models of about 500,000 men, has built railroads and highways, and has, by agrarian legislation, improved the condition of the peasantry. The population has steadily increased, and now numbers over seven millions. The area of Roumania is about 53,000 square miles. While mainly an agricultural country, in recent years her industrial development has been notable, and her commerce is more important than that of any other Balkan state. Her government is a constitutional monarchy, with legislative chambers. The most important political question in recent years has been a demand for the reform of the electoral system, which resembles the Prussian three-class system, and which gives the direct vote to only a small fraction of the population. In 1907 the peasantry rose in insurrection, demanding agrarian reforms. As more than four-fifths of the population live upon the land; and as the population has steadily increased, the holding of each peasant has correspondingly decreased. A military force of 140,000 men was needed to quell the revolt. After having restored order, the ministry introduced and carried various measures intended to bring relief to the peasants from their severest burdens.

Agrarian disturbances

Servia

Servia, also, was recognized as independent by the Berlin Treaty in 1878. She proclaimed herself a kingdom in 1882. She has had a turbulent history in recent years. In 1885 she declared war against Bulgaria, only to be unexpectedly and badly defeated. The financial policy was deplorable. In seven years the debt increased from seven million to three hundred and twelve million francs. The scandals of the private life of King Milan utterly discredited the monarchy. He was forced to abdicate in 1889, and was succeeded by his twelve-year-old son, Alexander I, who was brutally murdered in 1903 with his wife, Queen Draga, in a midnight palace revolution. The new king, Peter I, found his position for several years most unstable. A new and important chapter in the history of Servia began with the Balkan War of 1912.

GREECE AFTER 1833

In January, 1833, Otto, second son of Louis I, the King of Bavaria, became King of Greece, a country of great poverty, with a population of about 750,000, unaccustomed to the reign of law and order usual in western Europe. The kingdom was small, with unsatisfactory boundaries, lacking Thessaly, which was peopled entirely by Greeks. The country had been devastated by a long and unusually sanguinary war. Internal conditions were anarchic. Brigandage was rife; the debt was large. The problem was, how to make out of such unpromising materials a prosperous and progressive state.

Reign of Otto I

King Otto reigned from 1833 to 1862. He was aided in his government by many Bavarians, who filled important positions in the army and the civil service. This German influence was a primary cause of the unpopularity of the new régime. The beginnings were made, however, in the construction of a healthy national life. Athens was made the capital, and a university was established there. A police system was organized; a national bank created. In 1844 Otto was forced to consent to the conversion of his absolute monarchy into a constitutional one. A parliament with two chambers, the Deputies being chosen by universal suffrage, was instituted. The political education of the Greeks then began.

Overthrow of Otto

From the reopening of the Eastern Question by the Crimean war Greece hoped to profit by the enlargement of her boundaries. The great powers, however, thought otherwise, and forced her to remain quiet. Because the Government did not defy Europe and insist upon her rights, which would have been an insane proceeding, it became very unpopular. For this reason, as well as for despotic tendencies, Otto was driven from power in 1862 by an insurrection, and left Greece, never to return.

The Ionian Islands

A new king was secured in the person of a Danish prince, second son of the then King of Denmark. The new king, George I, ruled from 1863 to 1913. That his popularity might be strengthened at the very outset, England in 1864 ceded to the kingdom the Ionian Islands, which she had held since 1815. This was the first enlargement of the kingdom since its foundation. A new constitution was established (1864) which abolished the Senate and left all parliamentary power in the hands of a single assembly, the Boulé, elected by universal suffrage, and consisting of 192 members, with a four-year term. In 1881, mainly through the exertions of England, the Sultan was induced to cede Thessaly to Greece, and thus a second enlargement of territory occurred. This was in accordance with the promise of the Congress of Berlin that the Greek frontier should be "rectified."

Annexation of Thessaly

In 1897 Greece declared war against Turkey, aiming at the annexation of Crete, which had risen in insurrection against Turkey. Greece was easily defeated, and was forced to cede certain parts of Thessaly to Turkey and give up the project of the annexation of Crete. After long negotiations among the powers, the latter island was made autonomous under the suzerainty of the Sultan, and under the direct administration of Prince George, a son of the King of Greece, who remained in power until 1906. A new problem, the Cretan, was thus pushed into the foreground of Greek politics.

The financial condition of Greece is not sound. Her debt has grown enormously owing to armaments, the building of railroads, and the digging of canals. She has, however, increased in population and much has been accomplished in the direction of popular education. Several millions of Greeks live outside the Greek kingdom. Those inside are ambitious to have them included.

The Greeks outside of Greece

Servian, Bulgarian, and Greek rivalries met in the plains of Macedonia, which each country coveted and which was inhabited by representatives of all these peoples, inextricably intermingled. The problem of Macedonia was further complicated by the rivalry of the great powers and by the revolution which broke out in Turkey itself in 1908.

REVOLUTION IN TURKEY

The Eastern Question entered upon a new and startling phase in the summer of 1908. In July a swift, sweeping, and pacific revolution occurred in Turkey. The Young Turks, a revolutionary, constitutional party, dominated by the political principles of western Europe, seized control of the government, to the complete surprise of the diplomatists and public of Europe. This party consisted of those who had been driven from Turkey by the despotism of the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, and were resident abroad, chiefly in Paris, and of those who, still living in Turkey, dissembled their opinions and were able to escape expulsion. Its members desired the overthrow of the

The Young Turks

despotic, corrupt, and inefficient government, and the creation in its place of a modern liberal system, capable, by varied and thoroughgoing reforms, of ranging Turkey among progressive nations. Weaving their conspiracy in silence and with remarkable adroitness, they succeeded in drawing into it the Turkish army, hitherto the solid bulwark of the Sultan's power. Then, at the ripe moment, the army refused to obey the Sultan's orders, and the conspirators demanded peremptorily by telegraph that the Sultan restore the Constitution of 1876, a constitution which had been granted by the Sultan in that year merely to enable him to weather a crisis, and which, having quickly served the purpose, had been immediately suspended and had remained suspended ever since. The Sultan, seeing the ominous defection of the army, complied at once with the demands of the Young Turks, "restored" on July 24 the Constitution of 1876, and ordered elections for a parliament, which should meet in November. Thus an odious tyranny was instantly swept away. It was a veritable coup d'état, this time effected, not by some would-be autocrat, but by the army, usually the chief support of despotism or of the authority of the monarch, now, apparently, the main instrument for the achievement of freedom for the democracy. This military revolution, completely successful and almost bloodless, was received with incredible enthusiasm throughout the entire breadth of the Sultan's dominions. Insurgents and soldiers, Mohammedans and Christians, Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Armenians, Turks, all joined in jubilant celebrations of the release from intolerable conditions. The most astonishing

Revolution of July, 1908

Restoration of the Constitution

Apparent unanimity of this movement

Abdul Hamid II
From a photograph by W. and D. Downey.

feature was the complete subsidence of the racial and religious hatreds which had hitherto torn and ravaged the Empire from end to end. The revolution proved to be the most fraternal movement in modern history. Picturesque and memorable were the scenes of universal reconciliation. The ease and suddenness with which this astounding change was effected proved the universality of the detestation of the reign and methods of Abdul Hamid II throughout all his provinces and among all his peoples.

Was this the beginning of a new era or was it the beginning of the end of the Turkish Empire? It will be more convenient to examine this question a little later.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

RUSSIA TO THE WAR WITH JAPAN

THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER I

Russia at the fall of Napoleon was the largest state in Europe, and was a still larger Asiatic empire. It extended in unbroken stretch from the German Confederation to the Pacific Ocean. Its population was about 45,000,000. Its European territory covered about 2,000,000 square miles. It was inhabited by a variety of races, but the principal one was the Slavic. Though there were many religions, the religion of the court and of more than two-thirds of the population was the so-called Greek Orthodox form of Christianity. Though various languages were spoken, Russian was the chief one. The Russians had conquered many peoples in various directions. A considerable part of the former Kingdom of Poland had been acquired in the three partitions at the close of the eighteenth century, and more in 1815. Here the people spoke a different language, the Polish, and adhered to a different religion, the Roman Catholic. In the Baltic provinces, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, the upper class was of German origin and spoke the German language, while the mass of peasants were Finns and Lithuanians, speaking different tongues. All the inhabitants were Lutherans. Finland had recently been conquered from Sweden. The languages spoken there were Swedish and Finnish, and the religion was Lutheran. To the east and south were peoples of Asiatic origin, many of them Mohammedans in religion. There were in certain sections considerable bodies of Jews.

Russian conquests

All these dissimilar elements were bound together by their allegiance to the sovereign, the Czar, a monarch of absolute, unlimited power.

The nobility

There were two classes of society in Russia — the nobility and the peasantry. The large majority of the latter were serfs of the Czar and the nobility. The nobility numbered about 140,000 families. The nobles secured offices in the army and the civil service. They were exempt from many taxes, and enjoyed certain monopolies. Their power over their serfs was extensive and despotic. They enforced obedience to their orders by the knout and by banishment to Siberia. The middle class of well-to-do and educated people, increasingly important in the other countries of Europe, practically did not exist in Russia. Russia was an agricultural country, whose agriculture, moreover, was very primitive and inefficient. It was a nation of serfs and of peasants little better off than the serfs. This class was wretched, uneducated, indolent, prone to drink excessively. In the "mir," or village community, however, it possessed a rudimentary form of communism and limited self-government.

The peasantry

Over this vast and ill-equipped nation ruled the Autocrat of All the Russias, or Czar, an absolute monarch, whose decisions, expressed in the form of ukases or decrees, were the law of the land. The ruler in 1815 was Alexander I, a man thirty-eight years of age.

Alexander I (1801–1825)

Alexander stood forth as the most enlightened sovereign on any of the great thrones of Europe. In the reorganization of Europe in 1814 and 1815 he was, on the whole, a liberal force. He favored generous terms to the conquered French, he insisted that Louis XVIII should grant a constitution to the French people, he encouraged the aspirations of the German people for a larger political life.

He showed his liberal tendencies even more unmistakably in his Polish policy. He succeeded at the Congress of Vienna in securing most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw which he now transformed into the Kingdom of Poland. This was a state of 3,000,000 inhabitants with an area less than one-sixth the size of the former Polish kingdom, but containing the Polish capital, Warsaw. This was henceforth to be an independent kingdom, not a part of Russia. The only connection between the two was in the person of the ruler. The Czar of Russia was to be King of Poland. Alexander granted a constitution to this state, creating a parliament, and promising liberty of the press and of religion. The Polish language was to be the official language. Poland enjoyed freer institutions at this moment than did either Prussia or Austria. The franchise was wider than that of England or France. Apparently, also, Alexander considered his Polish experiment as preliminary to an introduction of similar reforms in Russia also.

Poland

But Alexander's character was unstable. He was impressionable, changeable, easily discouraged. Metternich made it his especial business to frighten him out of his liberalism, which was the chief obstacle in Europe to his policy of resolute reaction. He ceaselessly played upon Alexander's essentially timid nature and it took him only three years to accomplish this conversion. Alexander then became a vigorous supporter of Metternich's policy of intervention which expressed itself in the various congresses and which made the name of the Holy Alliance a by-word among men. He became disappointed over his Polish experiment and began to infringe upon the liberties he himself had granted. He grew more and more reactionary and when he died, on December 1, 1825, he left an administration dominated by a totally different spirit from that which had prevailed in the earlier years.

Alexander becomes reactionary

THE REIGN OF NICHOLAS I

He was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I, whose reign of thirty years, 1825–1855, was eventful. It was one of uncompromising absolutism, both at home and abroad. Nicholas was the great bulwark of monarchical authority in Europe for thirty years. His system of government was one of remorseless, undeviating repression, through the agencies of a brutal police and an elaborate censorship. Punishments for Liberals of any kind were of great severity. The most harmless word might mean exile to Siberia, without any kind of preliminary trial. In twenty years perhaps 150,000 persons were thus exiled. Tens of thousands languished in the prisons of Russia. Religious persecution was added to political.

Nicholas I (1825–1855)

Systematic repression

Nicholas's foreign policy was marked by the same characteristics, and made him hated throughout Europe as the most brutal autocrat on the Continent. He suppressed the Polish insurrection of 1830–31, abolished the constitution granted by Alexander I, and incorporated Poland in Russia, thus ending the history of that kingdom, a history of only fifteen years. He waged two wars against Turkey, previously described, one in 1828–9, and one in 1853–5. He interfered decisively to suppress the Hungarian revolutionists in 1849. He died in the middle of the Crimean War, though not until it was apparent that the prestige of his country, so overwhelming since Napoleon's flight from Moscow in 1812, had been completely shattered. This war was not only a defeat but a disillusionment. The Govern-

His foreign policy

ment was proved to be as incompetent and as impotent as it was reactionary. It was clear that the state was honeycombed with abuses which must be reformed if it was to prosper.

THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER II

Alexander II (1855–1881)

That the time for changes had come was clearly seen by the next occupant of the throne, Alexander II, who ruled from 1855 to 1881. Of an open mind, and desirous of ameliorating the conditions of Russian life, he for some years followed a policy of reform. He relaxed the censorship of the press and removed most of the restrictions which had been imposed upon the universities and upon travel. Particularly did he address himself to the question of serfdom.

Prevailing system of land tenure

Nearly all, practically nine-tenths, of the arable land of Russia, was owned by the imperial family and by the one hundred and forty thousand families of the nobility. The land was, therefore, generally held in large estates. It was owned by a small minority; it was tilled by the millions of Russia who were serfs. It was easy for the Emperor to free the crown serfs, about 23,000,000, since no one could question the right of the state to do what it would with its own. Consequently the crown serfs were freed by a series of measures covering several years, 1859 to 1866. But the Edict of Emancipation, which was to constitute Alexander II's most legitimate title to fame, concerned the serfs of private landowners, the nobles. There were about 23,000,000 of these, also. These private landlords reserved a part of their land for themselves requiring the serfs to work it without pay, generally three days a week. The rest of the land was turned over to the serfs who cultivated it on their own account, getting therefrom what support they could, hardly enough, as a matter of fact, for sustenance. The serfs were not slaves in the strict sense of the word. They could not be sold separately. But they were attached to the soil, could not leave it without the consent of the owner, and passed, if he sold his estate, to the new owner. The landlord otherwise had practically unlimited authority over his serfs. They possessed no rights which, in practice, he was bound to respect. Such a system, it is needless to say, offended the conscience of the age.

The problem of serfdom

On March 3, 1861, the Edict of Emancipation was issued. It abolished serfdom throughout the Empire, and it won for Alexander the popular title of "the Czar Liberator." This manifesto did not merely declare the serfs free men; but it undertook also to solve the far more difficult problem of the ownership of the soil. The Czar felt that merely to give the serfs freedom, and to leave all the land in the possession of the nobles, would mean the creation of a great proletariat possessing no property, therefore likely to fall at once into a position of economic dependence upon the nobles, which would make the gift of freedom a mere mockery. Moreover, the peasants were firmly convinced that they were the rightful owners of the lands which they and their ancestors for centuries had lived upon and cultivated, and the fact that the landlords were legally the owners did not alter their opinion. To give them freedom without land, leaving that with the nobles, who desired to retain it, would be bitterly resented as making their condition worse than ever. On the other hand, to give them the land with their freedom would mean the ruin of the nobility as a class, considered essential to the state. The consequence of this conflict of interests was a compromise, satisfactory to neither party, but more favorable to the nobility than to the peasants.

The Edict of Emancipation

The land problem

The lands were divided into two parts. The landlords were to keep one; the other was to go to the peasants either individually or collectively as members of the village community or *mir* to which they belonged. But this was not given them outright; the peasant and the village must pay the landlord for the land assigned them. As they were not in a position to do this the state was to advance the money, getting it back from the peasant and the *mir* in easy installments. These installments were to run for forty-nine years, at the end of which time they would cease and the peasant and the *mir* would then own outright the lands they had acquired.

Division of the land

This arrangement was a great disappointment to the peasants. Their newly acquired freedom seemed a doubtful boon in the light of this method of dividing the land. Indeed, they could not see that they were profiting from the change. Personal liberty would not mean much, when the conditions of earning a livelihood became harder rather than lighter. The peasants regarded the land as their own. But the state guaranteed forever a part to the landlords and announced that the peasants must

Disappointment of the peasantry

pay for the part assigned to themselves. To the peasants this seemed sheer robbery. Moreover, as the division worked out, they found that they had less land for their own use than in the preëmancipation days, and that they had to pay the landlords, through the state, more than the lands which they did receive were worth. The Edict of Emancipation did not therefore bring either peace or prosperity to the peasants. The land question became steadily more acute during the next fifty years owing to the vast increase of population and the consequent greater pressure upon the land. The Russian peasant lived necessarily upon the verge of starvation.

The land question not solved

The emancipation of the serfs is seen, therefore, not to have been an unalloyed boon. Yet Russia gained morally in the esteem of other nations by abolishing an indefensible wrong. Theoretically, at least, every man was free. Moreover, the peasants, though faring ill, yet fared better than had the peasants of Prussia and Austria at the time of their liberation.

The abolition of serfdom was the greatest act of Alexander II's reign, but it was only one of several liberal measures enacted at this time of general enthusiasm. A certain amount of local self-government was granted, reforms in the judicial system were carried through, based upon a study of the systems of Europe and the United States, the censorship of the press was relaxed, educational facilities were somewhat developed.

Domestic reforms

This hopeful era of reform was, however, soon over, and a period of reaction began, which characterized the latter half of Alexander's reign and ended in his assassination in 1881. There were several causes for this change: the vacillating character of the monarch himself, taking fright at his own work; the disappointment felt by many who had expected a millennium, but who found it not; the intense dislike of the privileged and conservative classes for the measures just described.

End of the era of reform

Just at this time, when the attitude of the Emperor was changing, when public opinion was in this fluid, uncertain state, occurred an event which immensely strengthened the reactionary forces, a new insurrection of Poland. After the failure of their attempt to achieve independence in 1831 the Poles had remained quiet, the quiet of despair. As long as Nicholas I lived they were ruled with the greatest severity, and they could not but

The Polish insurrection of 1863

see the impracticability of any attempt to throw off their chains. But the accession of Alexander II aroused hopes of better conditions. The spirit of nationalism revived, greatly encouraged by the success of the same spirit elsewhere. The Italians had just realized their aspiration, the creation of an Italian nation — not solely by their own efforts but by the aid of foreign nations. Might not the Poles hope for as much? Alexander would not for a moment entertain the favorite idea of the Poles, that they should be independent. He emphatically told them that such a notion was an idle dream, that they "must abandon all thoughts of independence, now and forever impossible." This uncompromising attitude, coupled with repressive measures, irritated the Poles to the point of desperation. Finally in 1863 an insurrection broke out, aiming at independence. It was put down with vigor and without mercy. The only hope for the Poles lay in foreign intervention but in this they were bitterly disappointed. England, France, and Austria intervened three times in their behalf, but only by diplomatic notes, making no attempt to give emphasis to their notes by a show of force. Russia, seeing this, and supported by Prussia, treated their intervention as an impertinence, and proceeded to wreak her vengeance. It was a fearful punishment she meted out.

A policy of Russification

A process of Russification was now vigorously pursued. The Russian language was prescribed for the correspondence of the officials and the lectures of the university professors, and the use of Polish was forbidden in churches, schools, theatres, newspapers, in business signs, in fact, everywhere.

It was not long before Alexander, always vacillating, gave up all dallying with reforms and relapsed into the traditional repressive ways of Russian monarchs. This reaction aroused intense discontent and engendered a movement which threatened the very existence of the monarchy itself, namely, Nihilism.

Rise of Nihilism

The Nihilists belonged to the intellectual class of Russia. Reading the works of the more radical philosophers and scientists of western Europe, and reflecting upon the foundations of their own national institutions and conditions, they became most destructive critics. They were extreme individualists who tested every human institution and custom by reason. As few Russian institutions could meet such a test, the Nihilists condemned them all. Theirs was an attitude, first of intellectual challenge, then of revolt against the whole established order. Shortly, Socialism was grafted upon this hatred of all established institutions. In the place of the existing society, which must be swept away, a new society was to be erected, based on socialistic principles. Thus the movement entered upon a new phase. It ceased to be merely critical and destructive. It became constructive as well, in short, a political party with a positive programme, a party very small but resolute and reckless, willing to resort to any means to achieve its aims.

Nihilist propaganda

This party now determined to institute an educational campaign in Russia, realizing that nothing could be done unless the millions of peasants were shaken out of their stolid acquiescence in the prevalent order which weighed so heavily upon them. This extraordinary movement, called "going in among the people," became very active after 1870. Young men and women, all belonging to the educated class, and frequently to noble families, became day laborers and peasants in order to mingle with the people, to arouse them to action, "to found," as one of their documents said, "on the ruins of the present social organization the empire of the working classes." They showed the self-sacrifice, the heroism of the missionary laboring under the most discouraging conditions. It is estimated that, between 1872 and 1878, between two and three thousand such missionaries were active in this propaganda. Their efforts, however, were not rewarded with success. The peasantry remained stolid, if not contented. Moreover, this campaign of education and persuasion was broken up wherever possible by the ubiquitous and lawless police. Many were imprisoned or exiled to Siberia.

A policy of terrorism

A pacific propaganda being impossible, one of violence seemed to the more energetic spirits the only alternative. As the Government held the people in a subjection unworthy of human beings, as it employed all its engines of power against every one who demanded reform of any kind, as, in short, it ruled by terror, these reformers resolved to fight it with terror as the only method possible. The "Terrorists" were not bloodthirsty or cruel by nature. They simply believed that no progress whatever could be made in raising Russia from her misery except by getting rid of the more unscrupulous officials. They perfected their organization and entered upon a period of violence. Numerous attempts, often successful, were made to assassinate the high officials, chiefs of police and others who had rendered themselves particularly odious. In turn many of the revolutionists were executed.

Finally the terrorists determined to kill the Czar as the only way of overthrowing the whole hated arbitrary and oppressive system. Several attempts were made. In April, 1879, a schoolmaster, Solovief, fired five shots at the Emperor, none of which took effect. In December of the same year a train on which he was supposed to be returning from the Crimea was wrecked, just as it reached Moscow, by a mine placed between the rails. Alexander escaped only because he had reached the capital secretly on an earlier train. The next attempt (February, 1880) was to kill him while at dinner in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. Dynamite was exploded, ten soldiers were killed and fifty-three wounded in the guardroom directly overhead, and the floor of the dining room was torn up. The Czar narrowly escaped because he did not go to dinner at the usual hour.

Attempts upon the Emperor's life

ALEXANDER II

St. Petersburg was by this time thoroughly terrorized. Alexander now appointed Loris Melikoff practically dictator. Melikoff sought to inaugurate a milder régime. He released hundreds of prisoners, and in many cases commuted the death sentence. He urged the Czar to grant the people some share in the government, believing that this would kill the Nihilist movement, which was a violent expression of the discontent of the nation with the abuses of an arbitrary and lawless system of government. He urged that this could be done without weakening the principle of autocracy, and that thus Alexander would win back the popularity he had enjoyed during his early reforming years. After much hesitation and mental perturba-

Alexander II and Loris Melikoff

tion the Czar ordered, March 13, 1881, Melikoff's scheme to be published in the official journal. But on that same afternoon, as he was returning from a drive, escorted by Cossacks, a bomb was thrown at his carriage. The carriage was wrecked, and many of his escorts were injured. Alexander escaped as by a miracle, but a second bomb exploded near him as he was going to aid the injured. He was horribly mangled, and died within an hour. Thus perished the Czar Liberator. At the same time the hopes of the Liberals perished also. This act of supreme violence did not intimidate the successor to the throne, Alexander III, whose entire reign was one of stern repression.

Assassination of Alexander II

THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER III

The man who now ascended the throne of Russia was in the full flush of magnificent manhood. Alexander III, son of Alexander II, was thirty-six years of age, and of powerful physique. His education had been chiefly military. He was a man of firm and resolute rather than large or active mind.

Alexander III (1881-1894)

It shortly became clear that he possessed a strong, inflexible character, that he was a thorough believer in absolutism, and was determined to maintain it undiminished. He assumed an attitude of defiant hostility to innovators and liberals. His reign, which lasted from 1881 to 1894, was one of reversion to the older ideals of government and of unqualified absolutism.

Rigorous policy of reaction

The terrorists were hunted down, and their attempts practically ceased. The press was thoroughly gagged, university professors and students were watched, suspended, exiled, as the case might be. The reforms of Alexander II were in part undone, and the secret police, the terrible Third Section, was greatly augmented. Liberals gave up all hope of any improvement during this reign, and waited for better days. Under Alexander III began the inhuman persecutions of the Jews which have been so dark a feature of recent Russian history. The great Jewish emigration to the United States dates from this time.

The terrorists hunted down

In one sphere only was there any progress in this bleak, stern reign. That sphere was the economic. An industrial revolution began then which has been carried much further under his successor. Russia had been for centuries an agricultural country whose agriculture, moreover, was of the primitive type. Whatever industries existed were mainly of the household kind. Russia was one of the poorest countries in the world, her immense resources being undeveloped. Under the system of protection adopted by Alexander II, and continued and increased by Alexander III, industries of a modern kind began to grow up. A tremendous impetus was given to this development by the appointment in 1892 as Minister of Finance and Commerce of Sergius de Witte. Witte believed that Russia, the largest and most populous country in Europe, a world in itself, ought to be self-sufficient, that as long as it remained chiefly agricultural it would be tributary to the industrial nations for manufactured articles, that it had abundant resources, in raw material and in labor, to enable it to supply its own needs if they were but developed. He believed that this development could be brought about by the adoption of a policy of protection. Was not the astonishing industrial growth of Germany and of the United States convincing proof of the value of such a policy? By adopting it for Russia, by encouraging foreigners to invest heavily in the new protected industries, by showing them that their rewards would inevitably be large, he began and carried far the economic transformation of his country. Immense amounts of foreign capital poured in and Russia advanced industrially in the closing decade of the nineteenth century with great swiftness.

Sergius de Witte, Minister of Finance

Witte's industrial policy

One thing more was necessary. Russia's greatest lack was good means of communication. She now undertook to supply this want by extensive railway building. For some years before Witte assumed office, Russia was building less than 400 miles of railway a year; from that time on for the rest of the decade, she built nearly 1,400 miles a year. The most stupendous of these undertakings was that of a trunk line connecting Europe with the Pacific Ocean, the great Trans-Siberian railroad. For this Russia borrowed vast sums of money in western Europe, principally in France. Begun in 1891, the road was formally opened in 1902. It has reduced the time and cost of transportation to the East about one-half. In 1909 Russia possessed over 41,000 miles of railway, over 28,000 of which were owned and operated by the Government.

Extensive railway construction

This tremendous change in the economic life of the Empire was destined to have momentous consequences, some of which were quickly apparent. Cities grew rapidly, a large laboring class developed, and labor problems of the kind familiar to Western

Rise of labor problems

countries, socialistic theories, spread among the working people; also a new middle class of capitalists and manufacturers was created which might some day demand a share in the government. These new forces would, in time, threaten the old, illiberal, unprogressive régime which had so long kept Russia stagnant and profoundly unhappy. That the old system was being undermined was not, however, apparent, and might not have been for many years had not Russia, ten years after Alexander's death, become involved in a disastrous and humiliating war with Japan.

Nicholas II

THE REIGN OF NICHOLAS II

Accession of Nicholas II

Alexander III died in 1894, and was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II, then twenty-six years of age. The hope was general that a milder régime might now be introduced. This, however, was not to be. For ten years the young Czar pursued the policy of his father with scarcely a variation save in the direction of greater severity. A suggestion that representative institutions might be granted was declared "a senseless dream." The government was not one of law but of arbitrary power. Its instruments were a numerous and corrupt body of state officials and a ruthless, active police. No one was secure against arrest, imprisonment, exile. The most elementary personal rights were lacking.

Persecution of the "intellectuals"

The professional and educated man was in an intolerable position. If a professor in a university, he was watched by the police, and was likely to be removed at any moment as was Professor Milyoukov, an historian of distinguished attainments, for no other reason than "generally noxious tendencies." If an editor, his position was even more precarious, unless he was utterly servile to the authorities. It was a suffocating atmosphere for any man of the slightest intellectual independence, living in the ideas of the present age. The censorship grew more and more rigorous, and included such books as Green's *History of England*, and Bryce's *American Commonwealth.* Arbitrary arrests of all kinds increased from year to year as the difficulty of thoroughly bottling up Russia increased. Students were the objects of special police care, as it was the young and ardent and educated who were most indignant at this senseless despotism. Many of them disappeared, in one year as many as a fifth of those in the University of Moscow, probably sent to Siberia or to prisons in Europe.

A government of this kind was not likely to err from excess of sympathy with the subject nationalities, such as the Poles and the Finns.

Attack upon the Finns

In Finland, indeed, its arbitrary course attained its climax. Finland had been acquired by Russia in 1809, but on liberal terms. It was not incorporated in Russia, but continued a Grand Duchy, with the Emperor of Russia as simply Grand Duke. It had its own Parliament, its Fundamental Laws or constitution, to which the Grand Duke swore fidelity. These Fundamental Laws could not be altered or interpreted or repealed except with the consent of the Diet and the Grand Duke. Finland was a constitutional state, governing itself, connected with Russia in the person of its sovereign. It had its own army, its own currency and postal system. Under this liberal régime it prospered greatly, its population increasing from less than a million to nearly three millions by the close of the century, and was, according to an historian of Russia, at least thirty years in advance of that country in all the appliances of material civilization. The sight of this country enjoying a constitution of its own and a separate organization was an offense to the men controlling Russia. They wished to sweep away all distinctions between the various parts of the Emperor's dominions, to unify, to Russify. The attack upon the liberties of the Finns began under Alexander III. It was carried much further by Nicholas II, who, on February 15, 1899, issued an imperial manifesto which really abrogated the constitution of that country. The Finns began a stubborn but apparently hopeless struggle for their historic rights with the autocrat of one hundred and forty million men.

Abrogation of the Finnish constitution

Under such a system as that just described men could be terrorized into silence; they could not be made contented. Disaffection of all classes, driven into subterranean channels, only increased, awaiting the time for explosion. That time came with the disastrous defeat of

Russia in the war with Japan in 1904–5, a landmark in contemporary history.

Rise of the Far Eastern Question

To understand recent events in Russia it is necessary to trace the course of that war whose consequences have been profound, and to show the significance of that conflict we must interrupt this narrative of Russian history in order to give an account of the recent evolution of Asia, the rise of the so-called Far Eastern Question, and the interaction of Occident and Orient upon each other.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE FAR EAST

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA IN ASIA

England, France, and Russia in Asia

Europe has not only taken possession of Africa, but she has taken possession of large parts of Asia, and presses with increasing force upon the remainder. England and France dominate southern Asia by their control, the former of India and Burma, the latter of a large part of Indo-China. Russia, on the other hand, dominates the north, from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. As far as geographical extent is concerned, she is far more an Asiatic power than a European, which, indeed, is also true of England and of France, and she has been an Asiatic power much longer than they, for she began her expansion into Asia before the Pilgrims came to America. For nearly three centuries Russia has been a great Asiatic state, while England has been a power in India for only half that time.

Russian expansion

Russia seeks access to the sea

It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that Russia began to devote serious attention to Asia as a field for colonial and commercial expansion. Siberia was regarded merely as a convenient prison to which to send her disaffected or criminal citizens. Events in Europe have caused her to concentrate her attention more and more upon her Asiatic development. She has sought there what she had long been seeking in Europe, but without avail, because of the opposition she encountered, namely, contact with the ocean, free outlet to the world. Russia's coast line, either in Europe or Asia, had no harbors free from ice the year round. Blocked decisively and repeatedly from obtaining such in Europe at the expense of Turkey, she has sought them in Eastern Asia. This ambition explains her Asiatic policies. In 1858 she acquired from China the whole northern bank of the Amur and two years later more territory farther south, the Maritime Province, at the southern point of which she founded as a naval base Vladivostok, which means the Dominator of the East. But Vladivostok was not ice-free in winter. Russia still lacked her longed-for outlet.

CHINA

The civilization of China

Between Russian Asia on the north, and British and French Asia on the south, lies the oldest empire of the world, China, and one more extensive than Europe and probably more populous, with more than 400,000,000 inhabitants. It is a land of great navigable rivers, of vast agricultural areas, and of mines rich in coal and metals, as yet largely undeveloped. The Chinese were a highly civilized people long before the Europeans were. They preceded the latter by centuries in the use of the compass, powder, porcelain, paper. As early as the sixth century of our era they knew the art of printing from movable wooden blocks. They have long been famous for their work in bronze, in wood, in lacquer, for the marvels of their silk manufacture. As a people laborious and intelligent, they have always been devoted to the peaceful pursuits of industry, and have despised the arts of war.

The isolation of China

China had always lived a life of isolation, despising the outside world. She had no diplomatic representatives in any foreign country, nor were any foreign ambassadors resident in Peking. Foreigners were permitted to trade in only one Chinese port, Canton, and even there only under vexatious and humiliating conditions.

The Opium War

It was not likely that a policy of such isolation could be permanently maintained in the modern age, and as the nineteenth century progressed it was gradually shattered. The Chinese desired nothing better than to be left alone. But this was not to be. By a long series of aggressions extending to our own day various European powers have forced China to enter into relations with them, to make concessions of territory, of trading privileges, of diplomatic intercourse. In this story of European aggression the Opium War waged by Great Britain against China from 1840 to 1842 was decisive, as showing how easy it was to conquer China. The Chinese had forbidden the importation of opium, as injurious to their people. But the British did not wish to give up a trade in which the profits were enormous. The war, the first between China and a European power, lasted two years and ended in the victory of Great Britain. The consequences, in forcing the doors of China open to European influence, were important.

By the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, she was forced to pay a large indemnity, to open to British trade four ports in addition to Canton, and to cede the island of Hong Kong, near Canton, to England outright. Hong Kong has since become one of the most important naval and commercial stations of the British Empire.

The treaty ports

Other powers now proceeded to take advantage of the British success. The United States sent Caleb Cushing to make a commercial treaty with China in 1844, and before long France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, and Portugal established trade centers at the five treaty ports. The number of such ports has since been increased to over forty. China was obliged to abandon her policy of isolation and to send and receive ambassadors.

A period of critical importance in China's relations with Europe began in the last decade of the nineteenth century as a result of a war with Japan in 1894–5. To appreciate this war it is necessary to give some account of the previous evolution of Japan.

JAPAN

Japan

The rise of Japan as the most forceful state in the Orient is a chapter of very recent history, of absorbing interest, and of great significance to the present age. Accomplished in the last third of the nineteenth century, it has already profoundly altered the conditions of international politics, and seems likely to be a factor of increasing moment in the future evolution of the world.

Description of Japan

Japan is an archipelago consisting of several large islands and about four thousand smaller ones. It covered, in 1894, an area of 147,000 square miles, an area smaller than that of California. The main islands form a crescent, the northern point being opposite Siberia, the southern turning in toward Korea. Between it and Asia is the Sea of Japan. The country is very mountainous, its most famous peak, Fujiyama, rising to a height of 12,000 feet. Of volcanic origin, numerous craters are still active. Earthquakes are not uncommon, and have determined the character of domestic architecture. The coast line is much indented, and there are many good harbors. The Japanese call their country Nippon, or the Land of the Rising Sun. Only about one-sixth of the land is under cultivation, owing to its mountainous character, and owing to the prevalent mode of farming. Yet into this small area is crowded a population of about fifty millions, which is larger than that of Great Britain or France. It is no occasion for surprise that the Japanese have desired territorial expansion.

Japanese civilization

The people of Japan derived the beginnings of their civilization from China, but in many respects they differed greatly from the Chinese. The virtues of the soldier were held in high esteem. Patriotism was a passion, and with it went the spirit of unquestioning self-sacrifice. "Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country," was a command of the Shinto religion, and was universally obeyed. An art-loving and pleasure-loving people, they possessed active minds and a surprising power of assimilation which they were to show on a national and momentous scale.

Japanese policy of isolation

The Japanese had followed the same policy of seclusion as had the Chinese. Japan had for centuries been almost hermetically sealed against the outside world. On the peninsula of Deshima there was a single trading station which carried on a slight commerce with the Dutch. This was Japan's sole point of contact with the outside world for over two centuries.

Commodore Perry

This unnatural seclusion was rudely disturbed by the arrival in Japanese waters of an American fleet under Commodore Perry in 1853, sent out by the government of the United States. American sailors, engaged in the whale fisheries in the Pacific, were now and then wrecked on the coasts of Japan, where they generally received cruel treatment. Perry was instructed to demand of the ruler of Japan protection for American sailors and property thus wrecked, and permission for American ships to put into one or more Japanese ports, in order to obtain necessary supplies and to dispose of their cargoes. He presented these demands to the government. He announced further that if his requests were refused, he would open hostilities. The government granted certain immediate demands, but insisted that the general question of opening relations with a foreign state required careful consideration. Perry consented to allow this discussion and sailed away, stating that he would return the following year for the final answer. The discussion of the general question on the part of the governing classes was very earnest. Some believed in maintaining the old policy of complete exclusion of foreigners. Others, however, believed this impossible, owing to the manifest military superiority of the foreigners. They thought it well to enter into relations with them in order to learn the secret of that

Policy of isolation breaks down

superiority, and then to appropriate it for Japan. They believed this the only way to insure, in the long run, the independence and power of their country. This opinion finally prevailed, and when Perry reappeared a treaty was made with him (1854) by which two ports were opened to American ships. This was a mere beginning, but the important fact was that Japan had, after two centuries of seclusion, entered into relations with a foreign state. Later other and more liberal treaties were concluded with the United States and with other countries.

The reaction of these events upon the internal evolution of Japan was remarkable. They produced a very critical situation, and precipitated a civil war, the outcome of which discussion and conflict was the triumph of the party that believed in change. After 1868 Japan revolutionized her political and social institutions in a few years, adopted with ardor the material and scientific civilization of the West, made herself in these respects a European state, and entered as a result upon an international career, which has already profoundly modified the world, and is likely to be a constant and an increasing factor in the future development of the East. So complete, so rapid, so hearty an appropriation of an alien civilization, a civilization against which every precaution of exclusion had for centuries been taken, is a change unique in the history of the world, and notable for the audacity and the intelligence displayed. The entrance upon this course was a direct result of Perry's expedition. The Japanese revolution will always remain an astounding story. Once begun it proceeded with great rapidity. In place of the former military class arose an army based on European models. Military service was declared universal and obligatory in 1872. The German system, which has revolutionized Europe, began to revolutionize Asia.

Rapid transformation of Japan

Adoption of European institutions

The first railroad was begun in 1870 between Tokio and Yokohama. Thirty years later there were over 3,600 miles in operation. To-day there are 6,000. The educational methods of the West were also introduced. A university was established at Tokio, and later another at Kioto. Professors from abroad were induced to accept important positions in them. Students showed great enthusiasm in pursuing the new learning. Public schools were created rapidly, and by 1883 about 3,300,000 pupils were receiving education. In 1873 the European calendar was adopted. The codes of law were thoroughly

Reform in education

remodeled after an exhaustive study of European systems. Finally a constitution was granted in 1889, after eight years of careful elaboration and study of foreign models. It established a parliament of two chambers, a House of Peers (the so-called "Elder Statesmen") and a House of Representatives. The vote was given to men of twenty-five years or older who paid a certain property tax. The constitution reserves very large powers for the monarch. Parliament met for the first time in 1890. The test of reformed Japan came in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, and proved the solidity of this amazing achievement. During those years she fought and defeated two powers apparently much stronger than herself, China and Russia, and took her place as an equal in the family of nations.

Japan becomes a constitutional state

Wars with China and Russia

CHINO-JAPANESE WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

A war in which the efficiency of the transformed Japan was clearly established broke out with China in 1894. The immediate cause was the relations of the two powers to Korea. Korea was a kingdom, but both China and Japan claimed suzerainty over it. Japan had an interest in extending her claims, as she desired larger markets for her products. Friction was frequent between the two countries concerning their rights in Korea, as a consequence of which Japan began a war in which, with her modern army, she was easily victorious over her giant neighbor, whose armies fought in the old Asiatic style with a traditional Asiatic equipment. The Japanese drove the Chinese out of Korea, invaded Manchuria, where they seized the fortress of Port Arthur, the strongest position in eastern Asia, occupied the Liao-tung peninsula on which that fortress is located, and prepared to advance toward Peking. The Chinese, alarmed for their capital, agreed to make peace, and signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April 17, 1895), by which they ceded Port Arthur, the Liao-tung peninsula, the Island of Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands to Japan, also agreeing to pay a large war indemnity of two hundred million taels (about $175,000,000). China recognized the complete independence of Korea.

Cause of the war with China

Treaty of Shimonoseki

But in the hour of her triumph Japan was thwarted by a European intervention, and deprived of the fruits of her victory. Russia now entered in decisive fashion upon a scene where she was to play a prominent part for the next ten years. She soon showed that she entertained plans directly opposed to those of the Japanese. She induced France and Germany to join her in forcing them to give up the most important rewards of their victory, in ordering them to surrender the Liao-tung peninsula on the ground that the possession of Port Arthur threatened the independence of Peking and would be a perpetual menace "to the peace of the Far East." This was a bitter blow to the Japanese. Recognizing, however, that it would be folly to oppose the three great military powers of Europe, they yielded, restored Port Arthur and the peninsula to China, and withdrew from the mainland, indignant at the action of the powers, and resolved to increase their army and navy and develop their resources, believing that their enemy in Asia was Russia, with whom a day of reckoning must come sooner or later, and confirmed in this belief by events that crowded thick and fast in the next few years.

Intervention of Russia, France, and Germany

Japan relinquishes Port Arthur

The insincerity of the powers in talking about the integrity of China and the peace of the East was not long in manifesting itself.

In 1897 two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung. The German Emperor immediately sent a fleet to demand redress. As a result Germany secured (March 5, 1898) from China a ninety-nine year lease of the fine harbor of Kiauchau, with a considerable area round about, and extensive commercial and financial privileges in the whole province of Shantung. Indeed, that province became a German "sphere of influence."

German aggression

This action encouraged Russia to make further demands. She acquired from China (March 27, 1898) a lease for twenty-five years of Port Arthur, the strongest position in eastern Asia, which, as she had stated to Japan in 1895, enabled the possessor to threaten Peking and to disturb the peace of the Orient. France and England also each acquired a port on similar terms of lease. The powers also forced China to open a dozen new ports to the trade of the world, and to grant extensive rights to establish factories and build railways and develop mines.

Russia secures Port Arthur

It seemed, in the summer of 1898, that China was about to undergo the fate of Africa, that it was to be carved up among the various powers. This tendency was checked by the rise of a bitterly anti-foreign party, occasioned by these acts of aggression, and culminating in the Boxer insurrections of 1900. These grew rapidly, and spread over northern China. Their aim was to drive the "foreign devils into the sea." Scores of missionaries and their families were killed, and hundreds of Chinese converts murdered in cold blood. Finally, the Legations of the various powers in Peking were besieged, and for weeks Europe and America feared that all the foreigners there would be massacred. In the presence of this common danger the powers were obliged to drop their jealousies and rivalries, and send a relief expedition, consisting of troops from Japan, Russia, Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States. The Legations were rescued, just as their resources were exhausted by the siege of two months (June 13–August 14, 1900). The international army suppressed the Boxer movement after a short campaign, forced the Chinese to pay a large indemnity, and to punish the ringleaders. In forming this international army, the powers had agreed not to acquire territory, and at the close of the war they guaranteed the integrity of China. Whether this would mean anything remained to be seen.

The "Boxer" movement

Rescue of the Legations

The integrity of China had been invoked in 1895 and ignored in the years following. Russia, France, and Germany had appealed to it as a reason for demanding the evacuation of Port Arthur by the Japanese in 1895. Soon afterward Germany had virtually annexed a port and a province of China, and France had also acquired a port in the south. Then came the most decisive act, the securing of Port Arthur by Russia. This caused a wave of indignation to sweep over Japan, and the people of that country were with difficulty kept in check by the prudence of their statesmen. The acquisition of Port Arthur by Russia meant that now she had a harbor ice-free the year round. That Russia did not look upon her possession as merely a short lease, but as a permanent one, was unmistakably shown by her conduct. She constructed a railroad south from Harbin, connecting with the Trans-Siberian. She threw thousands of troops into Manchuria; she set about immensely strengthening Port Arthur as a fortress, and a considerable fleet was stationed there. To the Japanese all this seemed to prove that she purposed ultimately to annex the immense province of Manchuria, and later probably Korea, which would give her a larger number of ice-free harbors and place her in a dominant position on the Pacific, men-

Japan indignant and apprehensive

Russian activity in Manchuria

acing, the Japanese felt, the very existence of Japan. Moreover, this would absolutely cut off all chance of possible Japanese expansion in these directions, and of the acquisition of their markets for Japanese industries. The ambitions of the two powers to dominate the East clashed, and, in addition, to Japan the matter seemed to involve her permanent safety, even in her island empire.

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902

Japan's prestige at this time was greatly increased by a treaty concluded with England in 1902 establishing a defensive alliance, each power promising the other aid in certain contingencies. In case either should become involved in war the other would remain neutral but would abandon its neutrality and come to the assistance of its ally if another power should join the enemy. This meant that if France or Germany should aid Russia in a war with Japan, then England would aid Japan. In a war between Russia and Japan alone England would be neutral. The treaty was therefore of great practical importance to Japan, and it also increased her prestige. For the first time in history, an Asiatic power had entered into an alliance with a European power on a plane of entire equality. Japan had entered the family of nations and it was remarkable evidence of her importance that Great Britain saw advantage in an alliance with her. Meanwhile Russia had a large army in Manchuria and a leasehold of the strong fortress and naval base of Port Arthur. She had definitely promised to withdraw from Manchuria when order should be restored, but she declined to make the statement more explicit. Her military preparations increasing all the while, the Japanese demanded of her the date at which she intended to withdraw her troops from Manchuria, order having apparently been restored. Negotiations between the two powers dragged on from August, 1903 to February, 1904. Japan, believing that Russia was merely trying to gain time to tighten her grip on Manchuria by elaborate and intentional delay and evasion, and to prolong the discussion until she had sufficient troops in the province to be able to throw aside the mask, suddenly broke off diplomatic relations and commenced hostilities. On the night of the 8th–9th of February, 1904, the Japanese torpedoed a part of the Russian fleet before Port Arthur and threw their armies into Korea.

Japan makes war upon Russia

Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905

Siege of Port Arthur

Mukden captured by the Japanese

The Russo-Japanese War, thus begun, lasted from February, 1904 to September, 1905. It was fought on both land and sea. Russia had two fleets in Asiatic waters, one at Port Arthur and one at Vladivostok. Her land connection with eastern Asia was by the long single track of the Trans-Siberian railway. Japan succeeded in bottling the Port Arthur fleet at the very outset of the war. Controlling the Asiatic waters she was able to transport armies and munitions to the scene of the land warfare with only slight losses at the hands of the Vladivostok fleet. One army drove the Russians out of Korea, back from the Yalu. Another under General Oku landed on the Liaotung peninsula and cut off the connections of Port Arthur with Russia. It attempted to take Port Arthur by assault, but was unable to carry it, and finally began a siege. This siege was conducted by General Nogi, General Oku being engaged in driving the Russians back upon Mukden. The Russian General Kuropatkin marched south from Mukden to relieve Port Arthur. South of Mukden great battles occurred, that of Liao-yang, engaging probably half a million men and lasting several days, resulting in a victory of the Japanese, who entered Liao-yang September 4, 1904. Their objective now was Mukden. Meanwhile, in August, the Japanese had defeated disastrously both the Port Arthur and Vladivostok fleets, eliminating them from the war. The terrific bombardment of Port Arthur continued until that fortress surrendered after a siege of ten months, costing the Japanese 60,000 in killed and wounded (January 1, 1905). The army which had conducted this siege was now able to march northward to coöperate with General Oku around Mukden. There several battles were fought, the greatest since the Franco-German war of 1870, lasting in each case several days. The last, at Mukden (March 6–10, 1905), cost both armies 120,000 men killed and wounded in four days' fighting. The Russians were defeated and evacuated Mukden, leaving 40,000 prisoners in the hands of the Japanese.

Destruction of the Russian fleet, May 27, 1905

Another incident of the war was the sending out from Russia of a new fleet under Admiral Rodjestvensky, which, after a long voyage around the Cape of Good Hope, was attacked by Admiral Togo as it entered the Sea of Japan and annihilated in the great naval battle of the Straits of Tsushima, May 27, 1905.

The two powers finally consented, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, to send delegates to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to see if the war could be brought to a close. The result was the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, September 5, 1905. The war between Japan and Russia had been fought in lands belonging to neither power, in Korea, and principally in Manchuria, a province of China, yet Korea and China took no part in the war, were passive spectators, powerless to preserve the neutrality of their soil or their independent sovereignty. The war had cost each nation about a billion dollars and about 200,000 in killed and wounded.

The Treaty of Portsmouth

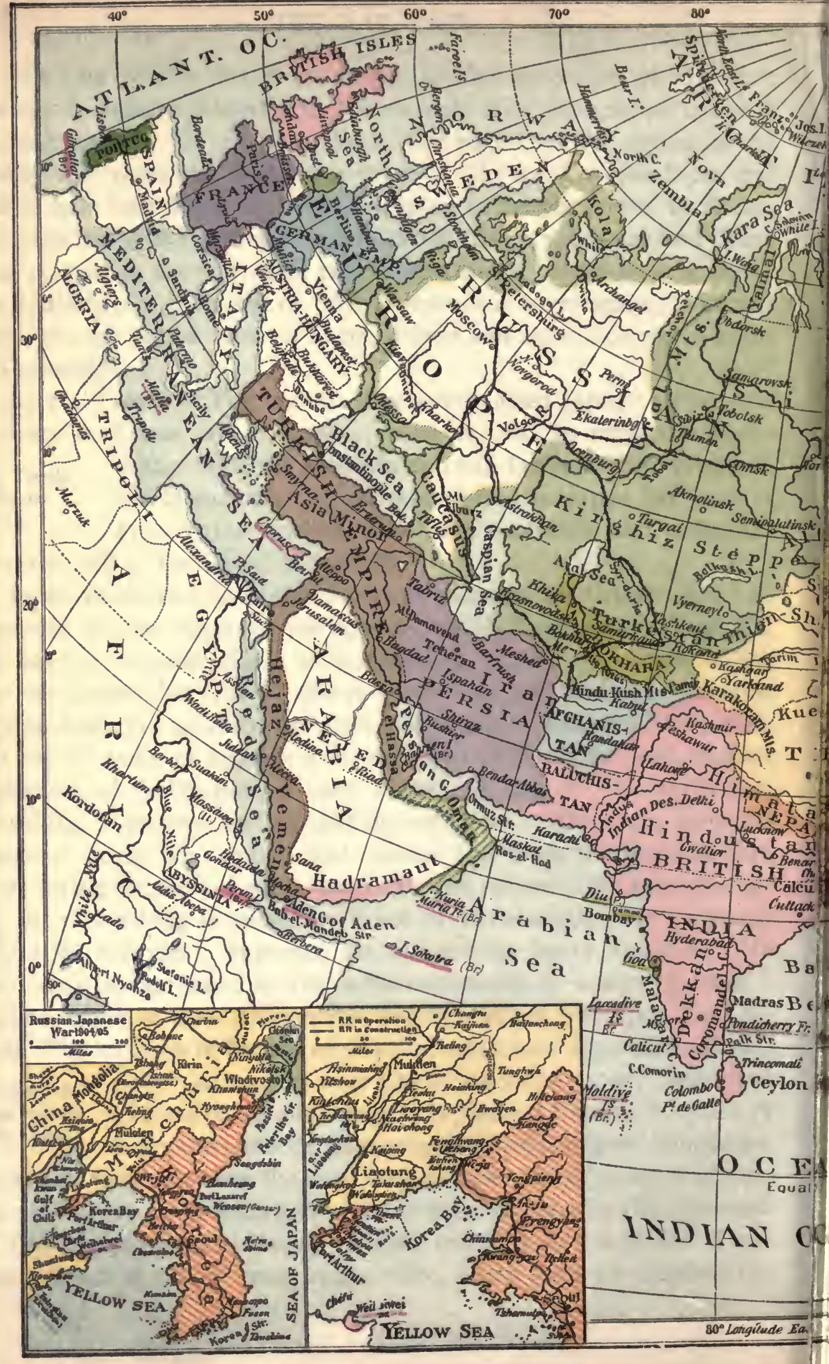
By the Treaty of Portsmouth Russia recognized Japan's paramount interests in Korea, which country, however, was to remain independent. Both the Russians and the Japanese were to evacuate Manchuria. Russia transferred to Japan her lease of Port Arthur and the Liao-tung peninsula, and ceded the southern half of the island of Saghalin.

Japan thus stood forth the dominant power of the Orient. She had expanded in ten years by the annexation of Formosa and Saghalin. She has not regarded Korea as independent, but since the close of the war has annexed her (1910). She possesses Port Arthur, and her position in Manchuria is one which has given rise to much diplomatic discussion. She has an army of 600,000 men, equipped with all the most modern appliances of destruction, a navy about the size of that of France, flourishing industries, and flourishing commerce. The drain upon her resources during the period just passed had been tremendous, and, appreciating the need of many years of quiet recuperation and upbuilding, she was willing to make the Peace of Portsmouth. Her financial difficulties are great, imposing an abnormally heavy taxation. No people has accomplished so vast a transformation in so short a time.

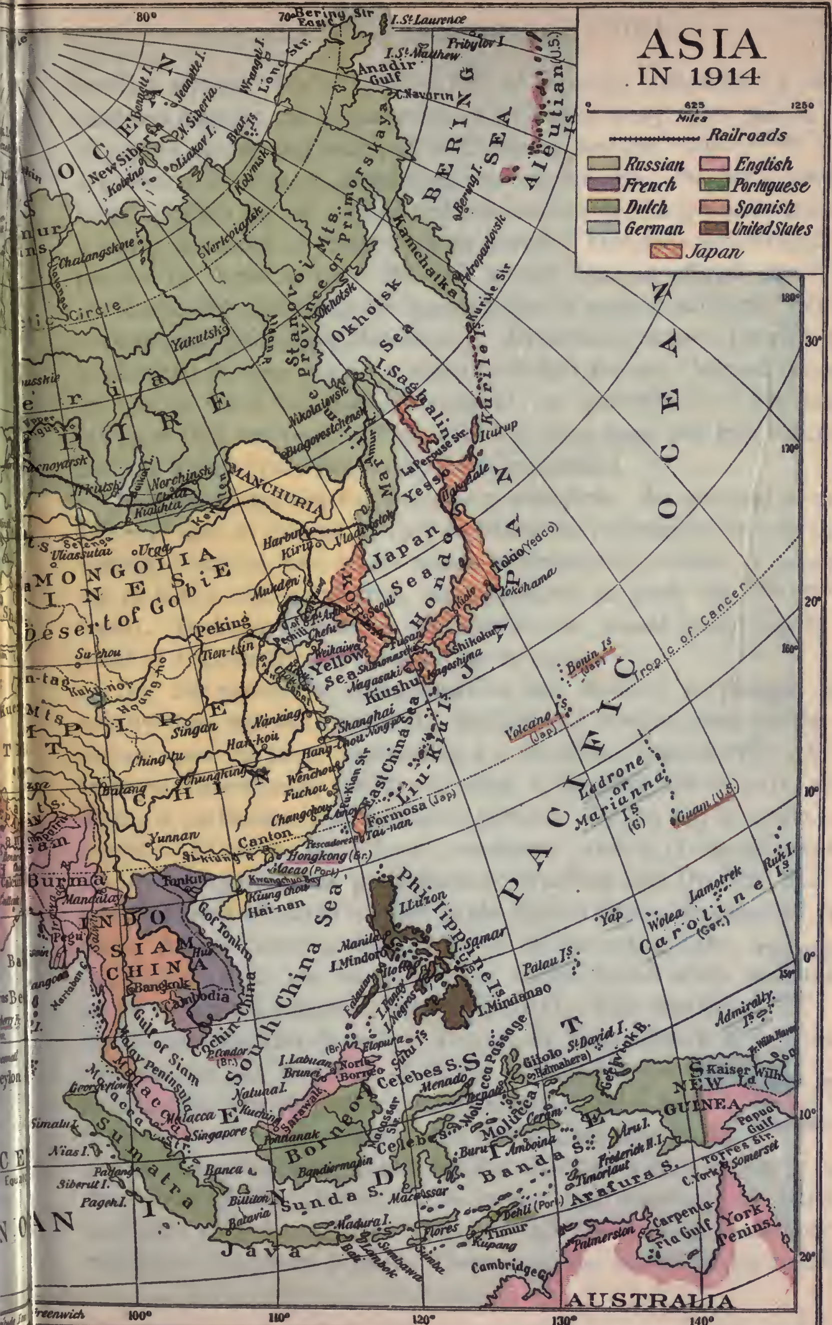
Reaction of these events upon China

The lesson of these tremendous events was not lost upon the Chinese. The victories of Japan, an Oriental state, over a great Occidental power, as well as over China, convinced many influential Chinese of the advantage to be derived from an adoption of European methods, an appropriation of European knowledge. Moreover, they saw that the only way to repel the aggressions of outside powers was to be equipped with the weapons used by the aggressor.

The leaven of reform began to work fruitfully in the Middle Kingdom. A military spirit arose in this state, which formerly despised the



40°
50°
60°
70°
80°
30°
20°
10°
0°
ATLANT. OC.
BRITISH ISLES
Lisbon
Gibraltar (Br.)
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Madrid
Bordeaux
FRANCE
Paris
London
Dublin
Edinburgh
Liverpool
North Sea
Faroe Is.
Bergen
Christiania
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Copenhagen
Berlin
Hamburg
GERMAN EMP.
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Budapest
Bucharest
Belgrade
Danube
Warsaw
Riga
St. Petersburg
Moscow
Kiev
Odessa
Kharkov
Dnieper
N. Novgorod
Perm
Volga
Ekaterinburg
Orenburg
Archangel
White Sea
Kola
Bear I.
Hammerfest
North C.
Nova Zembla
Spitzbergen
Franz Josef L.
Kara Sea
Ural Mts.
Obdorsk
Samarovsk
Tobolsk
Tiumen
Omsk
Akmolinsk
Semipalatinsk
Turgai
Kirghiz Steppe
Balkash L.
Aral Sea
Khiva
Krasnovodsk
Bokhara
BOKHARA
Samarkand
Tashkent
Kokand
Vyernoye
Turkestan
Thian-Shan
Kashgar
Yarkand
Karakoram Mts.
Hindu-Kush Mts.
Pamir
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
Kandahar
BALUCHISTAN
Kashmir
Peshawur
Lahore
Himalaya
NEPAL
Delhi
Indian Des.
Indus
Hindustan
Gwalior
Lucknow
Benares
Calcutta
Cuttack
BRITISH INDIA
Karachi
Hyderabad
Bombay
Diu (Port.)
Goa
Malabar
Dekkan
Coromandel C.
Madras
Pondicherry Fr.
Palk Str.
Trincomali
Ceylon
Colombo
Pt. de Galle
C. Comorin
Calicut
Mysore
Laccadive Is. (Br.)
Maldive Is. (Br.)
Arabian Sea
INDIAN OCEAN
Equator
80° Longitude East
EUROPE
RUSSIA
ASIA
Corsica
Sardinia
Rome
ITALY
Naples
Palermo
Sicily
Malta (Br.)
Tunis
Algiers
ALGERIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tripoli
TRIPOLI
Ghadames
Murzuk
Athens
TURKEY
Constantinople
Black Sea
Smyrna
Asia Minor
TURKISH EMPIRE
Erzerum
Batum
Tiflis
Caucasus
Mt. Elburz
Astrakhan
Caspian Sea
Cyprus
Beirut
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Pt. Said
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
EGYPT
Assuan
Wadi Halfa
Red Sea
Hejaz
Medina
Mecca
Jiddah
NEJED
Riad
el Hassa
Basra
Bagdad
Tabriz
Mt. Damavend
Teheran
Barfrush
Meshed
Ispahan
Iran
PERSIA
Shiraz
Bushire
Persian G.
Bahrein I. (Br.)
Bendar Abbas
Ormuz Str.
Oman
Maskat
Ras-el-Had
Yemen
Sana
Hodeida
Mocha
Hadramaut
Aden
G. of Aden
Bab-el-Mandeb Str.
Perim I. (Br.)
Kuria Muria Is. (Br.)
I. Sokotra (Br.)
Berbera
ARABIA
AFRICA
Berber
Suakin
Massaua (It.)
Khartum
Kordofan
Blue Nile
White Nile
Gondar
ABYSSINIA
Addis Abeba
Lado
Albert Nyanza
Stefanie L.
Rudolf L.
Russian-Japanese War 1904/05
0 100 200 Miles
Charbin
Bodune
Kirin
Manchuria
Ninguta
Nikolsk
Wladivostok
Khuntchun
Sea of Japan
Possiet B.
Peter the Gr. Bay
China
Mongolia
Changtu
Tieling
Mukden
Liao-yang
Niuchwang
Shanhaikwan
Liaotung
Gulf of Chili
Port Arthur
Korea Bay
Chefu
Weihaiwei
Shantung
Kiautschou
Wi-ju
Korea
Gensan
Port Lazaref
Wonsan (Gensan)
Seoul
Chemulpo
Fusan
Masampo
Korea Str.
Tsushima
YELLOW SEA
SEA OF JAPAN
RR in Operation
RR in Construction
0 50 100 Miles
Changtu
Kaijuen
Hailunchong
Tieling
Mukden
Hsinminting
Yitshou
Kintchou
Liao-yang
Haicheng
Tunghwa
Hwaiyen
Fenghwang
Kaiping
Liaotung
Takushan
Wafangtien
Dalny
Port Arthur
Korea Bay
Chinnampo
Pyengyang
An-ju
Wi-ju
Yalu
Chefu
Wei hai wei
Seoul
Tshemulpo
YELLOW SEA



ASIA IN 1914

0
625
1250
Miles
Railroads
Russian
English
French
Portuguese
Dutch
Spanish
German
United States
Japan
80°
70°
Bering Str
East C.
I. St. Laurence
Pribylov I.
I. St. Mathew
Anadir Gulf
C. Navarin
BERING SEA
Aleutian Is. (U.S.)
Bering I.
Petropavlovsk
Kamchatka
Wrangel I.
Long Str.
Jeannette I.
Bennett I.
New Siberia
N. Siberia
Liakov I.
Kotelno
Bear Is.
Kolymsk
Verkoiansk
Chatangskoie
Arctic Circle
Yakutsk
Stanovoi Mts.
Maritime Province or Primorskaya
Okhotsk
Okhotsk Sea
I. Sachalin
Nikolaievsk
Blagoveschensk
Amur
Kurile Is.
Kurile Str.
Iturup
La Perouse Str.
Yesso
Hakodate
Irkutsk
Krasnoyarsk
Nerchinsk
Chita
Kiakhta
MANCHURIA
Kerulen
Harbin
Kirin
Vladivostok
Uliassutai
Urga
MONGOLIA
CHINESE
Desert of Gobi
Mukden
Peking
Tien-tsin
Pt. Arthur
Chefu
G. of Pechili
Weihaiwei
Seoul
Korea
Fusan
Japan Sea
Hondo
Tokio (Yedo)
Yokohama
Kioto
Shikoku
Shimonoseki
Nagasaki
Kiushu
Kagoshima
Yellow Sea
Su-chou
Hoang-ho
Singan
Nanking
Han-koi
Shanghai
Hang-chou
Ningpo
Grand Canal
CHINESE EMPIRE
Ching-tu
Chungking
Batang
Yunnan
Wenchou
Fuchou
Changchou
Amoy
Canton
Si-kiang R.
Hongkong (Br.)
Macao (Port.)
Kwangchou Bay
Kiung Chou
Hai-nan
Fu-Kian Str.
East China Sea
Liu-Kiu Is.
Formosa (Jap)
Tai-nan
Pescadores Is.
Bonin Is. (Jap.)
Volcano Is. (Jap)
Tropic of Cancer
Ladrone or Marianna Is. (G)
Guam (U.S.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
JAPAN
Ruk I. Is.
Lamotrek
Wolea
Caroline (Ger.)
Yap
Palau Is.
Admiralty Is.
Fr. Wilh. Haven
Kaiser Wilh. Ld.
NEW GUINEA
Papua Gulf
Burma
Mandalay
Pegu
Irawadi
Salwin
Rangoon
Martaban G.
Andaman Is.
Tonkin
G. of Tonkin
INDO-CHINA
SIAM
Bangkok
Hue
Cambodia
Cochin China
P. Condor (Br.)
Gulf of Siam
Malay Peninsula
Malacca Str.
Georgetown
Malacca
Singapore
Sumatra
Simalu I.
Nias I.
Padang
Siberut I.
Pageh I.
Banca
Billiton
Batavia
Java
Madura I.
Bali
Lombok
Sumbawa
Flores
Sumba
Timur
Kupang
Dehli (Port.)
Sunda S.
Borneo
North Borneo
Brunei
I. Labuan
Sarawak
Kuching
Natuna I.
Pontianak
Bandjermasin
Celebes
Celebes S.
Menado
Macassar
Macassar Str.
Philippine Is. (U.S.)
I. Luzon
Manila
I. Mindoro
Iloilo
I. Panay
I. Negros
I. Samar
I. Mindanao
Palawan
Sulu Is.
Elopura
Molucca Passage
Ternate
Gilolo (Halmahera)
St. David I.
Geelvink B.
Moluccas
Ceram
Buru
Amboina
Banda S.
Timorlaut
Aru I.
Frederich H. I.
Arafura S.
EAST INDIES
Torres Str.
C. York
Somerset
York Peninsula
Carpentaria Gulf
Palmerston
Cambridge G.
AUSTRALIA
Greenwich
100°
110°
120°
130°
140°
180°
170°
160°
150°
30°
20°
10°
0°
10°
20°
Equator
Ceylon
Calcutta
OCEAN
INDIAN

martial virtues. Under the direction of Japanese instructors a beginning was made in the construction of a Chinese army after European models and equipped in European fashion. The acquisition of western knowledge was encouraged. Students went in large numbers to the schools and universities of Europe and America. Twenty thousand of them went to Japan. The state encouraged the process by throwing open the civil service, that is, official careers, to those who obtained honors in examinations in western subjects. Schools were opened throughout the country. Even public schools for girls were established in some places, a remarkable fact for any Oriental country. In 1906 an edict was issued aiming at the prohibition of the use of opium within ten years. This edict has since been put into execution and the opium trade has finally been suppressed.

Reform in China

Political reorganization was also undertaken. An imperial commission was sent to Europe in 1905 to study the representative systems of various countries, and on its return a committee, consisting of many high dignitaries, was appointed to study its report. In August, 1908 an official edict was issued promising, in the name of the Emperor, a constitution in 1917.

A constitution promised

But the process of transformation was destined to proceed more rapidly than was contemplated. Radical and revolutionary parties appeared upon the scene, demanding a constitution immediately. As the Imperial Government could not resist, it granted one in 1911, establishing a parliament with extensive powers. To cap all, in central and southern China a republican movement arose and spread rapidly. Finally a republic was proclaimed at Nanking and Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who had been educated in part in the United States, was elected president. A clash between this republican movement and the imperial party in the north resulted in the forced abdication of the boy Emperor (February, 1912). This was the end of the Manchu dynasty. Thereupon Yuan Shih K'ai was chosen President of the Republic of China. The situation confronting the new Republic was extremely grave. Would it prove possible to establish the new régime upon solid and enduring bases, or would the Republic fall a prey to the internal dissensions of the Chinese, or to foreign aggression at the hands of European powers, or, more likely, at the hands of an ambitious and militaristic neighbor, Japan? These were the secrets of the future.

The Manchu dynasty overthrown

China proclaimed a Republic

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CHAPTER XXXVI

RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR WITH JAPAN

We are now in a position to follow with some understanding the very recent history of Russia, a history at once crowded, intricate, and turbulent. That history is the record of the reaction of the Japanese War upon Russia herself.

Unpopularity in Russia of the war with Japan

That war was from the beginning unpopular with the Russians. Consisting of a series of defeats, its unpopularity only increased, and the indignation and wrath of the people were shown during its course in many ways. The Government was justly held responsible, and was discredited by its failure. As it added greatly to the already existing discontent, the plight in which the Government found itself rendered it powerless to repress the popular expression of that discontent in the usual summary fashion. There was for many months extraordinary freedom of discussion, of the press, of speech, cut short now and then by the officials, only to break out later. The war with Japan had for the Government most unexpected and unwelcome consequences. The very winds were let loose.

Open expression of the popular discontent

Plehve's iron régime

The Minister of the Interior, in whose hands lay the maintenance of public order, was at this time Plehve, one of the most bitterly hated men in recent Russian history. Plehve had been in power since 1902, and had revealed a character of unusual harshness. He had incessantly and pitilessly prosecuted liberals everywhere, had filled the prisons with his victims, had been the center of the movement against the Finns, previously described, and seems to have secretly favored the horrible massacres of Jews which occurred at this time. He was detested as few men have been. He attempted to suppress in the usual manner the rising volume of criticism occasioned by the war by applying the same ruthless methods of breaking up meetings, and exiling to Siberia students, professional men, laborers. He was killed July, 1904 by a bomb thrown under his carriage by a former student. Russia breathed more easily.

Assassination of Plehve

The various liberal and advanced elements of the population uttered their desires with a freedom such as they had never known before. They demanded that the reign of law be established in Russia, that the era of bureaucratic and police control, recognizing no limits of inquisition and of cruelty, should cease. They demanded the individual rights usual in western Europe, freedom of conscience, of speech, of publication, of public meetings and associations, of justice administered by independent judges. They also demanded a constitution, to be framed by the people, and a national parliament.

A Russian defense of assassination

The Czar showing no inclination to accede to these demands, disorder continued and became more widespread, particularly when the shameful facts became known that officials were enriching themselves at the expense of the national honor, selling for private gain supplies intended for the army, even seizing the funds of the Red Cross Society. The war continued to be a series of humiliating and sanguinary defeats, and on January 1, 1905, came the surrender of Port Arthur after a fearful siege. The horror of the civilized world was aroused by an event which occurred a few weeks later, the slaughter of "Bloody Sunday" (January 22, 1905). Workmen in immense numbers, under the leadership of a radical priest, Father Gapon, tried to approach the Imperial Palace in St. Petersburg, hoping to be able to lay their grievances directly before the Emperor, as they had no faith in any of the officials. Instead of that they were attacked by the Cossacks and the regular troops and the result was a fearful loss of life, how large cannot be accurately stated.

Popular dissatisfaction

"Bloody Sunday"

All through the year 1905 tumults and disturbances occurred. Peasants burned the houses of the nobles. Mutinies in the army and navy were frequent. The uncle of the Czar, the Grand Duke Sergius, one of the most pronounced reactionaries in the Empire, who had said "the people want the stick," was assassinated. Russia was in a state bordering on anarchy. Finally the Czar sought to reduce the ever-mounting spirit of opposition by issuing a manifesto concerning the representative assembly which was so vehemently demanded (August 19, 1905). The manifesto proved a bitter disappointment, as it spoke of the necessity of preserving autocratic government and promised a representative assembly which should only have the power to give advice, not to see that its advice was followed. The agitation therefore continued unabated, or rather increased, as-

The Manifesto of August 19, 1905

suming new and alarming aspects, which exerted in the end a terrific pressure upon the Government. Finally the Czar on October 30, 1905, issued a new manifesto which promised freedom of conscience, speech, meeting, and association, also a representative assembly or Duma, to be elected on a wide franchise, establishing "as an immutable rule that no law can come into force without the approval of the Duma," and giving to the Duma also effective control over the acts of public officials.

The Emperor promises a representative assembly or Duma

The Czar thus promised the Duma, which was to be a law-making body and was to have a supervision over state officials. But before it met he proceeded to clip its wings. He issued a decree constituting the Council of the Empire, that is, a body consisting largely of official appointees from the bureaucracy, or of persons associated with the old order of things, as a kind of Upper Chamber of the legislature, of which the Duma should be the Lower. Laws must have the consent of both Council and Duma before being submitted to the Czar for approval.

The Council of the Empire

The elections to the Duma were held in March and April, 1906, and resulted in a large majority for the Constitutional Democrats, popularly called the "Cadets." In the name of the Czar certain "organic laws" were now issued, laws that could not be touched by the Duma. Thus the powers of that body were again restricted, before it had even met.

The "organic laws"

The Duma was opened by Nicholas II in person with elaborate ceremony, May 10, 1906. It was destined to have a short and stormy life. It showed from the beginning that it desired a comprehensive reform of Russia along the well-known lines of Western liberalism. It was combated by the court and bureaucratic parties, which had not been able to prevent its meeting, but which were bent upon rendering it powerless, and were only waiting for a favorable time to secure its abolition. It demanded that the Council of the Empire, the second chamber, should be reformed, as it was under the complete control of the Emperor, and was thus able to nullify the work of the people's chamber. It demanded that the ministers be made responsible to the Duma as the only way of giving the people control over the officials. It demanded the abolition of martial law throughout the Empire, under cover of which all kinds of crimes were

Opening of the Duma, May 10, 1906

Demands of the Duma

being perpetrated by the governing classes. It passed a bill abolishing capital punishment. As the needs of the peasants were most pressing, it demanded that the lands belonging to the state, the crown, and the monasteries be given to them on long lease.

The impotence of the Duma

The Duma lasted a little over two months. Its debates were marked by a high degree of intelligence and by frequent displays of eloquence, in which several peasants distinguished themselves. It criticised the abuses of the Government freely and scathingly. Its sessions were often stormy, the attitude of the ministers frequently contemptuous. It was foiled in all its attempts at reform by the Council of the Empire, and by the Czar.

The crucial contest was over the responsibility of ministers. The Duma demanded this as the only way of giving the people an effective participation in the government. The Czar steadily refused. A deadlock ensued. The Czar cut the whole matter short by dissolving the Duma, on July 22, 1906, expressing himself as "cruelly disappointed" by its actions, and ordering elections for a new Duma.

The second Duma

The second Duma was opened by the Czar March 5, 1907. It did not work to the satisfaction of the Government. Friction between it and the ministry developed early and steadily increased. Finally the Government arrested sixteen of the members and indicted many others for carrying on an alleged revolutionary propaganda. This was, of course, a vital assault upon the integrity of the assembly, a gross infringement upon even the most moderate constitutional liberties. Preparing to contest this high-handed action, the Duma was desolved on June 16, 1907, and a new one ordered to be elected in September, and to meet in November. An imperial manifesto was issued at the same time altering the electoral law in most sweeping fashion, and practically bestowing the right of choosing the large majority of the members upon about 130,000 landowners. This also was a grave infringement upon the constitutional liberties hitherto granted, which had, among other things, promised that the electoral law should not be changed without the consent of the Duma.

The Czar alters the electoral system

The third Duma

The Government declared by word and by act that the autocracy of the ruler was undiminished. Illegalities of the old, familiar kind were committed freely by officials. Reaction ruled unchecked. The third Duma, elected on a very limited and plutocratic suffrage, was opened on November 14, 1907. It was composed in large measure of reactionaries, of large landowners. It proved a docile assembly.

The triumph of reaction

The Government has not yet dared to abolish the Duma outright, as urged by the reactionaries. The Duma still exists, but is rather a consultative than a legislative body. With the mere passage of time it takes on more and more the character of a permanent institution, exerting a feeble influence on the national life. However, the government of Russia is practically what it was before the war with Japan, what it was all through the nineteenth century. The tremendous struggle for liberty has thus far failed. The former governing classes have recovered control of the state, after the stormy years from 1904 to 1907, and have applied the former principles. Among these have been renewed attacks upon the Finns, increasingly severe measures against the Poles, and savage treatment of the Jews. Russia is still wedded to her idols, or at least her idols have not been overthrown. Her mediaeval past is still the strongest force in the state, to which it still gives a thoroughly mediaeval tone. Whether the war of 1914 will result in accomplishing what the war with Japan began but did not achieve, a sweeping reformation of the institutions and policies, ambitions and mental outlook of the nation, will be known later. At present it is certainly unknown.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912 AND 1913

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

The contemporary world, to a degree altogether unprecedented in history, has been dominated by the thought of war, by extraordinary preparations for war, and by zealous and concerted efforts to prevent war. Finally a conflict, which staggers the imagination and beggars description and whose issues are incalculable, has come and is clamping the entire world in its iron grip. It is a ghastly outcome of a century of development rich beyond compare in many lines. It is, however, not inexplicable and it is important for us to see how so melancholy, so sinister a turn has been given to the destinies of the race.

Spread of militarism

The rise and development of the militaristic spirit have been shown in the preceding pages. The Prussian military system, marked by scientific thoroughness and efficiency, has been adopted by most of the countries of the Continent. Europe became in the last quarter of the nineteenth century what she had never been before, literally an armed continent. The rivalry of the nations to have the most perfect instruments of destruction, the strongest army, and the strongest navy, became one of the most conspicuous features of the modern world. Ships of war were made so strong that they could resist attack. New projectiles of terrific force were consequently required and the torpedo was invented. A new agency would be useful to discharge this missile and thus the torpedo boat was developed. To neutralize it was therefore the immediate necessity and the torpedo-boat destroyer was the result. Boats that could navigate beneath the waters would have an obvious advantage over those that could be seen, and the submarine was provided for this need. And now we are taking possession of the air with dirigible balloons and aeroplanes, as aerial auxiliaries of war. Thus man's immemorial occupation, war, gains from the advance of science and contributes to that advance. The wars of the past were fought on the surface of the globe. Those of the present are fought in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth.

Cost of modern instruments of war

But all this is tremendously expensive. It costs more than a hundred thousand dollars to construct the largest coast defense gun, which carries over twenty miles, and its single discharge costs a thousand dollars. Fifteen millions are necessary to build a dreadnought, and now we have super-dreadnoughts, more costly still and more destructive. The debts of European countries were nearly doubled during the last thirty years, largely because of military expenditures. The military budgets of European states in a time of "armed peace" amounted to not far from a billion and a half dollars a year, half as much again as the indemnity exacted by Germany from France in 1871. The burden became so heavy, the rivalry so keen that it gave rise to a movement which aimed to end it. The very aggravation of the evil prompted a desire for its cure.

Nicholas II and the limitation of armaments

In the summer of 1898 the civil and military authorities of Russia were considering how they might escape the necessity of replacing an antiquated kind of artillery with a more modern but very expensive one. Out of this discussion emerged the idea that it would be desirable, if possible, to check the increase of armaments. This could not be achieved by one nation alone but must be done by all, if done at all. The outcome of these discussions was the issuance by the Czar, Nicholas II, on August 24, 1898, of a communication to the powers, suggesting that an international conference be held to consider the general problem.

The First Peace Conference at the Hague

The conference, thus suggested by the Czar, was held at the Hague in 1899. Twenty-six of the fifty-nine sovereign governments of the world were represented by one hundred members. Twenty of these states were European, four were Asiatic — China, Japan, Persia, and Siam, — and two were American — the United States and Mexico. The Conference was opened on May 18 and closed on July 29.

Criticism of militarism

The official utterances of most of the delegates emphasized the frightful burden and waste of this vast expenditure upon the equipment for war, when all nations, big and little, needed all their resources for the works of peace, for education, for social improvement in many directions. Most of the delegates emphasized also the loss entailed by compulsory military service, removing millions and millions of young men from their careers, from productive activity for several precious years. A German delegate, on the other hand, denied all this, denied that the necessary weight of charges and taxes portended approaching ruin and exhaustion, declared that the general welfare was increasing all the while, and that compulsory military service was not regarded in his country as a heavy burden but as a sacred and patriotic duty to which his country owed its existence, its prosperity, and its future.

With such differences of opinion the Conference was unable to reach any agreement upon the fundamental question which had given rise to its convocation. It could only adopt a resolution expressing the belief that "a limitation of the military expenses which now burden the world is greatly to be desired in the interests of the material and moral well-being of mankind" and the desire that the governments "shall take up the study of the possibility of an agreement concerning the limitation of armed forces on land and sea, and of military budgets."

Establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration

With regard to arbitration the Conference was more successful. It established a Permanent Court of Arbitration for the purpose of facilitating arbitration in the case of international disputes which it is found impossible to settle by the ordinary means of diplomacy. The Court does not consist of a group of judges holding sessions at stated times to try such cases as may be brought before it. But it is provided that each power "shall select not more than four persons of recognized competence in questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators," and that their appointment shall run for six years and may be renewed. Out of this long list the powers at variance may choose, in a manner indicated, the judges who shall decide any given case.

Recourse to this Court is optional, but the Court is always ready to be invoked. Arbitration is entirely voluntary with the parties to a quarrel, but if they wish to arbitrate, the machinery is at hand, a fact which is, perhaps, an encouragement to its use.

The work of the First Peace Conference was very limited and modest, yet encouraging. But that the new century was to bring not peace but a sword, that force still ruled the world, was shortly apparent. Those who were optimistic about the rapid spread of arbitration as a principle destined to regulate the international relations of the future were sadly disappointed by the meager results of the Conference, and were still more depressed by subsequent events. For almost on the very heels of this Conference, which it was hoped would further the interests of peace, came the devastating war in South Africa, followed quickly by the war between Russia and Japan. Also the expenditures of European states upon armies and navies continued to increase, and at an even faster rate than ever. During the eight years, from 1898 to 1906, they augmented nearly £70,000,000, the sum total mounting from £250,000,000 to £320,000,000.

The twentieth century opens with wars

Such was the disappointing sequel of the Hague Conference. But despite discouragements the friends of peace were active, and finally brought about the Second Conference at the Hague in 1907. This also was called by Nicholas II, though President Roosevelt had first taken the initiative. The Second Conference was in session from June 15 to October 18. It was attended by representatives from forty-four of the world's fifty-seven states claiming sovereignty in 1907. The number of countries represented in this Conference, therefore, was nearly double that represented in the first, and the number of members was more than double, mounting from one hundred to two hundred and fifty-six. The chief additions came from the republics of Central and South America. The number of American governments represented rose, indeed, from two to nineteen. Twenty-one European, nineteen American, and four Asiatic states sent delegates to this Second Conference. Its membership illustrated excellently certain features of our day, among others the indubitable fact that we live in an age of world politics, that isolation no longer exists, either of nation or of hemispheres. The Conference was not European but international, — the majority of the states were non-European.

The Second Peace Conference at the Hague

The Second Conference accomplished much useful work in the adoption of conventions regulating the actual conduct of war in more humane fashion, and in defining certain aspects of international law with greater precision than heretofore. But, concerning compulsory arbitration, and concerning disarmament or the limitation of armaments, nothing was achieved. It passed this resolution: "The Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Conference of 1899 in regard to the restriction of military expenditures; and, since military expenditures have increased considerably in nearly

Work of the Conference

every country since the said year, the Conference declares that it is highly desirable to see the governments take up the serious study of the question."

This platonic resolution was adopted unanimously. A grim commentary on its importance in the eyes of the governments was contained in the history of the succeeding years with their ever-increasing military and naval appropriations, their tenser rivalry, their deepening determination to be ready for whatever the future might have in store.

That future had in store for 1912 and 1913 two desperate wars in the Balkan peninsula and for 1914 an appalling cataclysm.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Turkish Revolution of 1908

We have seen with what enthusiasm the bloodless revolution of July 24, 1908, was hailed by all the races of Turkey. It seemed the brilliant dawn of a new era. It has however proved to be the beginning of the end of the Turkish Empire in Europe, if not in Asia as well. From that day to the outbreak of the European war six years later the Balkan peninsula was the storm center of the world. Event succeeded event, swift, startling, and sensational, throwing a lengthening and deepening shadow before. No adequate description of these crowded years can be attempted here. Only an outline can be given indicating the successive stages of a portentous and absorbing drama.

Apparent unanimity of the movement

The ease with which the Young Turks overthrew in those July days of 1908 the loathsome régime of Abdul Hamid, and the principles of freedom and fair play which they proclaimed, aroused the happiest anticipations, and enlisted the liveliest sympathy among multitudes within and without the Empire. The very atmosphere was charged with the hope and the expectation that the reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity was about to begin for this sorely visited land where unreason in all its varied forms had hitherto held sway. Would not Turkey, rejuvenated, modernized, and liberalized, strong in the loyalty and well-being of its citizens, freed from the blighting inheritance of its gloomy past, take an honorable place at last in the family of humane and progressive nations? Might not the old racial and religious feuds disappear under a new régime, where each locality would have a certain autonomy, large enough to insure essential freedom in religion and in language? Might not a strong national patriotism be developed out of the polyglot conditions by freedom, a thing which despotism had never been able to evoke? Might not Turkey become a stronger nation by adopting the principles of true toleration toward all her various races and religions? Had not the time come for the elimination of these primitive but hardy prejudices and animosities? Might not races and creeds be subordinated to a large and essential unity? Might not this be the final, though unexpected, solution of the famous Eastern Question?

Even in those golden days some doubted, not seeing any authentic signs of an impending millenium for that distracted corner of the world. At least the problem of so vast a transformation would be very difficult. The unanimity shown in the joyous destruction of the old system might not be shown in the construction of the new, as many precedents in European history suggested. If Turkey were left alone to concentrate her entire energy upon the impending work of reform, she might perhaps succeed. But she was not to be left alone now any more than she had been for centuries. The Eastern Question has long perplexed the powers of Europe, and has at the same time lured them on to seek their own advantage in its labyrinthine mazes. It is conspicuously an international problem. But the internal reform of Turkey might profoundly alter her international position by increasing the power of the Empire.

Attitude of foreign powers

Thus it came about that the July Revolution of 1908 instantly riveted the attention of European powers and precipitated a series of startling events. Might not a reformed Turkey, animated with a new national spirit, with her army and finances reorganized and placed upon a solid basis, attempt to recover complete control of some of the possessions which, as we have seen, had been really, though not nominally and technically, torn from her — Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Crete, possibly Cyprus, possibly Egypt? There was very little evidence to show that the Young Turks had any such intention or dreamed of entering upon so hazardous an adventure. Indeed, it was quite apparent that they asked nothing better than to be left alone, fully recognizing the intricacy of their immediate problem, the need of quiet for its solution. But the extremity of one is the opportunity of another.

On October 3, 1908 Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary announced, through autograph letters to various rulers, his decision to incorporate Bosnia and Herzegovina definitively within his empire. These were Turkish provinces, handed over by the Congress of Berlin in 1878 to Austria-Hungary for "occupation" and administration, though they still remained officially under the suzerainty of the Porte. On October 5 Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria proclaimed, amid great ceremony, the complete independence of Bulgaria from Turkish suzerainty, and assumed the title of Czar. Two days later the Greek population of the island of Crete repudiated all connection with Turkey and declared for union with Greece. On the same day, October 7, Francis Joseph issued a proclamation to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina announcing the annexation of those provinces. Against this action Servia protested vigorously to the powers, her parliament was immediately convoked, and the war spirit flamed up and threatened to get beyond control. Ferdinand was prepared to defend the independence of Bulgaria by going to war with Turkey, if necessary.

Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bulgaria declares her independence

Francis Joseph
From a photograph taken in 1915.

These startling events immediately aroused intense excitement throughout Europe. They constituted violent breaches of the Treaty of Berlin. The crisis precipitated by the actions of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria brought all the great powers, signatories of that treaty, upon the scene. It became quickly apparent that they did not agree. Germany made it clear that she would support Austria, and Italy seemed likely to do the same. The Triple Alliance, therefore, remained firm. In another group were Great Britain, France, and Russia, their precise position not clear, but plainly irritated at the defiance of the Treaty of Berlin. A tremendous interchange of diplomatic notes ensued. The British

The powers do not prevent these breaches of the Treaty of Berlin

Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, announced that Great Britain could not admit "the right of any power to alter an international treaty without the consent of the other parties to it," and demanded that, as the public law of the Balkans rested upon the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, and that as that treaty was made by all the great powers, it could only be revised by the great powers, meeting again in Congress. But neither Austria nor Germany would listen to this suggestion. They knew that Russia could not intervene, lamed, as she was, by the disastrous war with Japan, with her army disorganized and her finances in bad condition. And they had no fear of Great Britain and France. Thus the Treaty of Berlin was flouted, although later the signatories of that treaty formally recognized the accomplished fact.

Servia

Of all the states the most aggrieved by these occurrences was Servia, and the most helpless. For years the Servians had entertained the ambition of uniting Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, peopled by members of the same Servian race, thus restoring the Servian empire of the Middle Ages, and gaining access to the sea. This plan was blocked, apparently forever. Servia could not expand to the west, as Austria barred the way with Bosnia and Herzegovina. She could not reach the sea. Thus she could get her products to market only with the consent of other nations. She alone of all the states in Europe, with the exception of Switzerland, was in this predicament. Feeling that she must thus become a vassal state, probably to her enemy, Austria-Hungary, seeing all possibility of expansion ended, all hopes of combining the Serbs of the Balkans under her banner frustrated, the feeling was strong that war, even against desperate odds, was preferable to strangulation. However she did not fly to arms. But the feeling of anger and alarm remained, an element in the general situation that could not be ignored, auguring ill for the future.

But trouble for the Young Turks came not only from the outside. It also came from inside and, as was shortly seen, it lay in large measure in their own unwisdom. Difficulties manifold encompassed them about.

Opening of the Turkish Parliament

The new Turkish Parliament met in December, 1908 amid general enthusiasm. It consisted of two chambers, a Senate, appointed by the Sultan, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected by the people. Four months later events occurred which threatened the abrupt termination of this experiment in constitutional and parliamentary government. On April 13, 1909, without warning, thousands of troops in Constantinople broke into mutiny, killed some of their officers, denounced the Young Turks, and demanded the abolition of the constitution. The city was terrorized. At the same time sickening massacres occurred in Asia Minor, particularly at Adana, showing that the religious and racial animosities of former times had lost none of their force. It seemed that the new régime was about to founder utterly. A counter-revolution was to undo the work of July. But this counter-revolution was energetically suppressed by troops sent up from Salonica and Adrianople and the Young Turks were soon in power again. Holding that the mutiny had been inspired and organized by the Sultan, who had corrupted the troops so that he might restore the old régime, they resolved to terminate his rule. On April 27, 1909, Abdul Hamid II was deposed, and was immediately taken as a prisoner of state to Salonica. He was succeeded by his brother, whom he had kept imprisoned many years. The new Sultan, Mohammed V, was in his sixty-fourth year. He at once expressed his entire sympathy with the armies of the Young Turks, his intention to be a constitutional monarch. The Young Turks were in power once more.

The counter-revolution of April, 1909

The Young Turks regain control

Deposition of Abdul Hamid II

From the very beginning they failed. They did not rise to the height of their opportunity, they did not meet the expectations that had been aroused, they did not loyally live up to the principles they professed. They made no attempt to introduce the spirit of justice, of fair play toward the various elements of their highly composite empire. Instead of seeking to apply the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, they resorted to autocratic government, to domination by a single race, to the ruthless suppression of the rights of the people. They did just what the Germans have done in Alsace-Lorraine and Posen, what the Russians have done in Finland and in Poland, what the Austrians and Hungarians have done with the Slavic peoples within their borders. The policy of oppression of subject races, the attempt at amalgamation by force and craft, have strewn Europe with combustible material and the combustion has finally come. The government of the Young Turks was just as despotic as that of Abdul Hamid and its outcome was the same, a further and decisive disruption of the Empire.

The Young Turks become reactionary and despotic

Oppression of subject races

From the very first they showed their purpose. They, the Turks, that is the Mohammedan ruling race, determined to keep power absolutely in their own hands by hook or crook. In the very first elections to Parliament they arranged affairs so that they would have a majority over all other races combined. They did not intend to divide power with the Christian Greeks and Armenians or the Mohammedan Arabs. Their policy was one of Turkification, just as the Russian policy was one of Russification, the German of Germanization. They made no attempt to punish the perpetrators of the Adana massacres in which over thirty thousand Armenian Christians were slaughtered. The Armenian population was thus alienated from them. They tried to suppress the liberties which under all previous régimes the Orthodox Greek Church had enjoyed. As they intended to subject all the races of the Empire to their own race, so they intended to suppress by force all religious privileges. They thus offended and infuriated the Greeks, whom they also alarmed and embittered by a commercial boycott because the Greeks would not agree to their repressive policy in regard to the Cretans. Their treatment of Macedonia was the acme of folly. They sought to reinforce the Moslem elements of the population by bringing in Moslems from other regions. This aroused the Christian elements, Greek, Bulgarian, and Servian. Large numbers of these Christians fled from Macedonia to Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia, carrying with them their grievances, urging the governments of those countries to hostility against the Turks.

A policy of Turkification

Gross misrule of Macedonia

The Turks went a step farther. In the west were the Albanians, a Moslem people who had hitherto combined local independence with loyal and appreciated services to the Turkish authorities, in both the army and the government. The Turks decided to suppress this independence and to make the Albanians submit in all matters to the authorities at Constantinople. But the Albanians had been for centuries remarkable fighters. They now flew to arms. Year after year the Albanian rebellion broke out, only temporarily subdued or smothered by the Turks, who thus exhausted their strength and squandered their resources in fruitless but costly efforts to "pacify" these hardy war-loving mountaineers.

Their treatment of Albania

Thus only a few years of Young Turk rule were necessary to create a highly critical situation, so numerous were the disaffected elements.

There had been no serious attempt to regenerate Turkey, to bring together the various races on the basis of liberty for all. Turkey lost hundreds of thousands of its Christian subjects who fled to surrounding countries rather than endure the odious oppression. These exiles did what they could to hit back at their oppressors.

Widespread disaffection

The Young Turks from the very beginning failed as reformers because they were untrue to their promises. Their failure led to war in the Balkans and the war in the Balkans led to the European War. They spent their time in endeavoring to assert themselves as a race of masters. They sowed the wind and they quickly reaped the whirlwind.

The Young Turks false to their promises

THE TURKO-ITALIAN WAR OF 1911

While the Turkish Empire was in this highly perturbed condition and while the Balkan states were aglow with indignation at the treatment being meted out to the members of their races resident in Macedonia and were trembling with the desire to act, trouble flared up for the Young Turks in another quarter. Italy had for years been casting longing eyes on the territories which fringe the southern shores of the Mediterranean. She had once hoped to acquire Tunis but had unexpectedly found herself forestalled by France, which seized that country in 1881. At the same time England began her occupation of Egypt. All that remained therefore was Tripoli, like Egypt a part of the Turkish Empire. For many years the thought that this territory ought to belong to Italy had been accepted as axiomatic in influential quarters in the Italian government and diplomatic circles. Schemes had been worked out and partly put into force for a "pacific penetration" of an economic character of this land. Now, however the time seemed to have arrived to seize it outright. Austria-Hungary had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria had declared her independence in 1908, and there had been no successful opposition on the part of Turkey or of any of the Great Powers. Was not this the ripe moment for Italy's project?

Italian colonial aspirations

She evidently thought so, for, in September, 1911, she sent her warships to Tripoli and began the conquest of that country. It proved a more difficult undertaking than had been imagined. While she seized the coast towns, her hold on them was pre-

Italy invades Tripoli (1911)

carious and her progress into the interior was slow and costly, owing to the fact that the Turks aroused and directed the natives against the invaders. Italy had given her ally Austria-Hungary to understand that she would not attack Turkey directly in Europe, as European Turkey was a veritable tinder-box which, if it once caught fire, might blaze up into a devastating and incalculable conflagration. But as month after month went by and Italy was producing only an uncertain effect in Tripoli, she resolved on more decisive action nearer Constantinople, hoping to bring the Turks to terms. She attacked and seized Rhodes and eleven other Turkish islands in the Ægean, the Dodecanese. This, and the fact that an Albanian revolution against the Turks was at the same time attaining alarming proportions, made the latter ready to conclude peace with Italy so that they might be free to put down the Albanians. On October 15, 1912, was signed at Ouchy, or Lausanne, a treaty whereby Turkey relinquished Tripoli. It was also provided that Italy should withdraw her troops from the Dodecanese as soon as the Turkish troops were withdrawn from Tripoli, a phrase about which it was easy to quibble later.

Seizes Turkish islands in the Ægean

Treaty of Lausanne

The great significance of this war did not lie in the fact that Italy acquired a new colony. It lay in the fact that it began again the process, arrested since 1878, of the violent dismemberment of the Turkish Empire; that it revealed the military weakness of that empire, powerless to preserve its integrity; and, what is most important, that it contributed directly and greatly to a far more serious attack upon Turkey by the Balkan states, which, in turn, led to the European War. The tinder-box was lighted and a general European conflagration resulted. The Italian attack upon Tripoli was momentous in its consequences.

Momentous character of the Italo-Turkish War

THE BALKAN WARS

During the war the Balkan states were negotiating with each other with a view to united action against Turkey. This union was not easy to bring about as Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece disliked each other intensely, for historical, racial, sentimental reasons, too numerous and too complex to be described here. However, they disliked the Turks more and they were suffering constantly from the Turks. Terrible persecutions, even mas-

The Balkan states unite against the Turks

sacres, of the Christians in Macedonia in which large numbers of Greeks, Bulgarians, and Servians lost their lives, inflamed the people of those states with the desire to liberate their brothers in Macedonia. By doing this they would also increase their own territories and diminish or end an odious tyranny. These nations found it possible to unite for the purpose of overwhelming the Turks; they might not find it possible to agree as to the partition among themselves of any territories they might acquire, since here their old, established ambitions and antipathies might conflict. It was because of the strength of these rivalries and hatreds that neither the Turks nor the outside powers considered an alliance of the Balkan states as at all among the possibilities. But the statesmen of the Balkans had learned something from the troubled history of the peninsula, and saw the folly of continuing their dissensions. They also realized that now was their chance, that they might never again find their common enemy so weak and demoralized, the general European situation so favorable.

The Balkan War of 1912

Thus it came about that in October, 1912 the four Balkan states, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece made war on Turkey. The war was brief and an overwhelming success for the allies. Fighting began on October 15, the very day of the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne between Italy and Turkey, although technically the declarations of war were not issued until October 18. The Greeks pushed northward into Macedonia, gained several victories over the enemy, and on November 8, only three weeks after the beginning of the campaign, they entered the important city and port of Salonica, with Crown Prince Constantine, the present king, who had revealed conspicuous military ability, at their head. Farther west the Servians and Montenegrins were also successful. The Servians won a great victory at Kumanovo where they avenged the defeat of their ancestors at Kossova which they had not forgotten for five hundred years. They then captured Monastir.

The Greeks enter Salonica

The Servians victorious

The brilliant campaign of the Bulgarians

Meanwhile the Bulgarians, who had the larger armies, had gone from victory to victory, defeating the Turks brilliantly in the battles of Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas. The latter was one of the great battles of modern times, three hundred and fifty thousand troops being involved in fierce, tenacious struggle for three days. The result was the destruction of the military power of the Turks. By the middle of November the Bulgarians had reached the Chataldja line of fortifications which extend from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea. Only twenty-five miles beyond them lay Constantinople.

Collapse of the Turkish power

The collapse of the Turkish power in Europe was nearly complete. Only the very important fortresses of Adrianople in the east, and Janina and Scutari in the west, had not fallen. In a six weeks' campaign Turkish possessions in Europe had shrunk to Constantinople and the twenty-five mile stretch west to the Chataldja fortifications. This overthrow and collapse came as a staggering surprise to the Turks, the Balkan Allies themselves, and the Great Powers. The Ottoman Empire in Europe had ceased to exist, with the exception of Constantinople, Adrianople, Janina, and Scutari. The military prestige of Turkey was gone.

The London Peace Conference

In December delegates from the various states met in London to make peace. They were unsuccessful because Bulgaria demanded the surrender of Adrianople, which the Turks flatly refused. In March, 1913, therefore, the war was resumed. One after another the fortresses fell, Janina on March 6, Adrianople on March 26, Scutari on April 23. Turkey was now compelled to accept terms of peace. On May 30, the Treaty of London was signed. It provided that a line should be drawn from Enos on the Ægean Sea to Midia on the Black Sea and that all Turkey west of that line should be ceded to the Allies, except a region of undefined dimensions on the Adriatic, Albania, whose boundaries and status should be determined by the Great Powers. Crete was ceded to the Great Powers and the decision as to the islands in the Ægean which Greece had seized was also left to them. In December, 1913, Crete was incorporated in the kingdom of Greece. The Sultan's dominions in Europe had shrunk nearly to the vanishing point. After five centuries of proud possession he found himself almost expelled from Europe, retaining still Constantinople and only enough territory round about to protect it. This great achievement was the work of the four Balkan states, united for once in the common work of liberation. The Great Powers had done nothing. Europe felt relieved, however, that so great a change as this in the map of the Balkan peninsula had been effected without involving the Great Powers in war.

The Treaty of London (May 30, 1913)

The Treaty of London, however, had not long to live. No sooner had the Balkan states conquered Turkey than they fell to fighting among themselves over the division of the spoils. The responsibility for this calamity does not rest solely with them. It rests in part with the Great Powers, particularly with Austria and Italy. It was the intervention of these powers and their insistence upon the creation of a new independent state, Albania, out of a part of the territory now relinquished by the Turks, that precipitated a crisis whose very probable issue would be war. For the creation of this artificial state on the Adriatic coast absolutely prevented Servia from realizing one of her most passionate and legitimate ambitions, an outlet to the sea, an escape from her land-locked condition which placed her at the mercy of her neighbors.

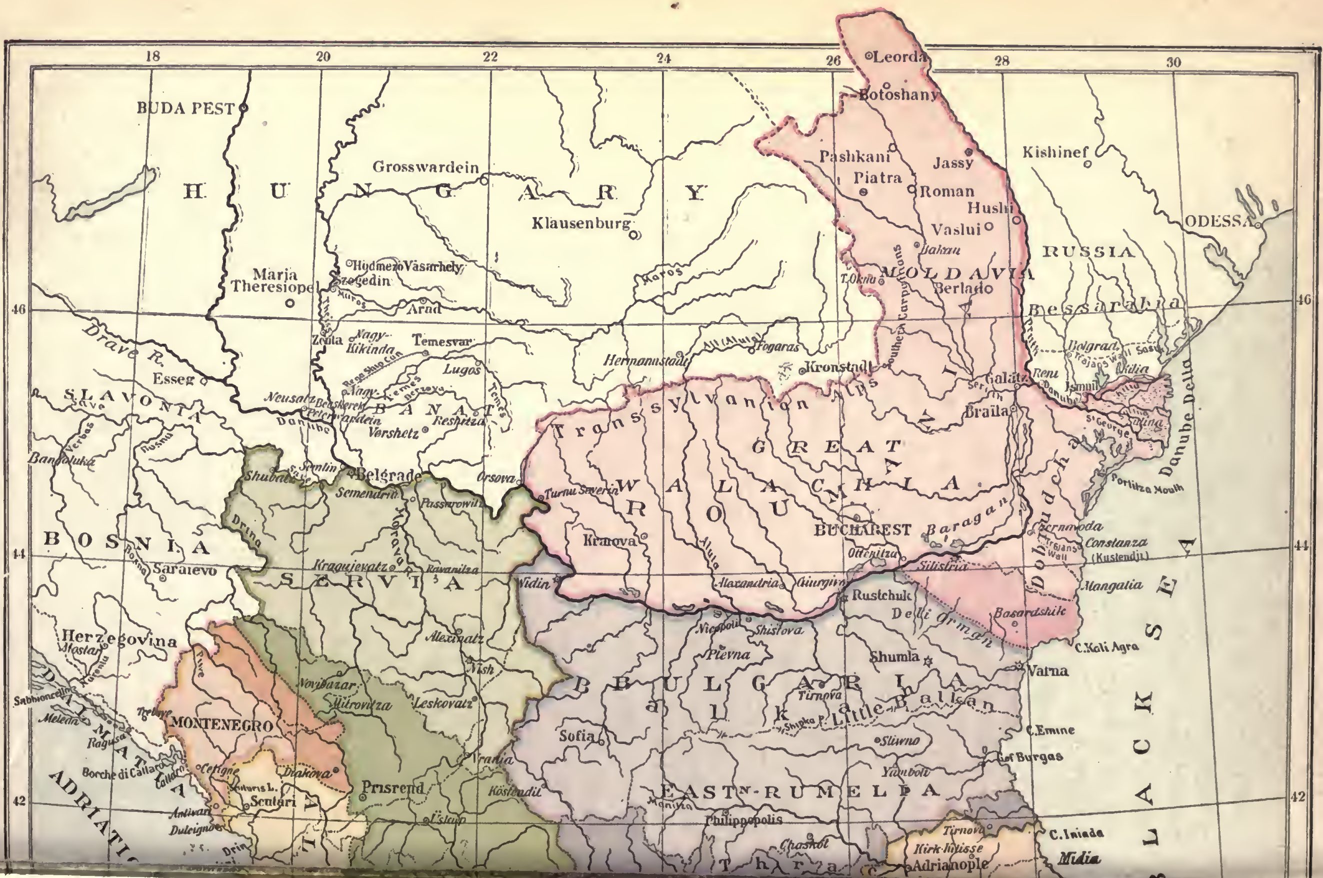
A short-lived peace

Servia still land-locked

Before beginning the war with the Turks, Servia and Bulgaria had defined their future spheres of influence in upper Macedonia, should the war result in their favor. The larger part of Macedonia should go to Bulgaria, and Servia's gains should be chiefly in the west, including the longed-for Adriatic sea coast. But now Albania was planted there and Servia was as land-locked as ever. Austria was resolved that Servia should under no conditions become an Adriatic state. She has always been opposed to the aggrandizement of Servia, because she has millions of Serbs under her own rule who might be attracted to an independent Servia, enlarged and with prestige heightened. Moreover she believed that Servia would be the pawn of Russia, and she would not tolerate Russia's influence on her southern borders and along the Adriatic, if she could help it. She did not propose to be less important in those waters than she had been in the past. Therefore Servia must be excluded from the Adriatic. It was the blocking of Servia's outlet to the sea that caused the second Balkan war between the allies. Intense was the indignation of the Servians, but they could do nothing. They therefore sought as partial compensation larger territories in Macedonia than their treaty with Bulgaria had assigned them, arguing, correctly enough, that the conditions had greatly changed from those contemplated when that agreement was made and that the new conditions justified and necessitated a new arrangement. But here they encountered the stubborn opposition of Bulgaria which refused any concessions along this line and insisted upon the strict observance of the treaty. Instantly the old, bitter hatred of these two countries for each other flamed up again.

Austrian opposition to Servia

Claims of Servia and Bulgaria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Pashkani
Piatra
Jassy
Roman
Hushi
Vaslui
Bakau
T. Okna
Southern Carpathians
MOLDAVIA
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ODESSA
Pruth
Bolgrad
Trajans Wall
Sasyk
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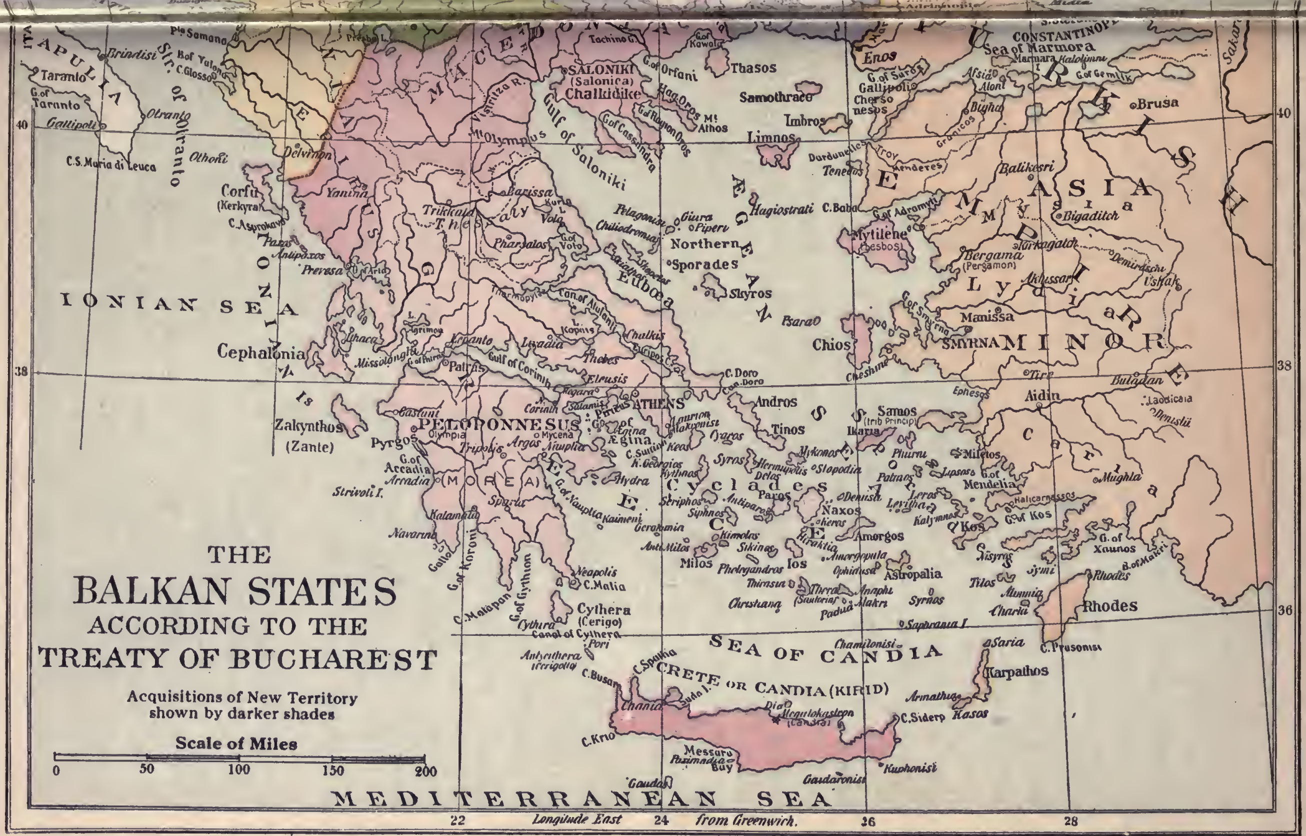
Kilia
Sereth
Galatz
Braila
Danube
Sulina
St George
Danube Delta
Portitza Mouth
GREAT WALACHIA
ROUMANIA
Turnu Severin
Krajova
Aluta
BUCHAREST
Baragan
Oltenitza
Alexandria
Giurgevo
Widin
Silistria
Tchernavoda
Trajans Wall
Constanza (Kustendji)
Dobrudcha
Mangalia
Basardshik
Rustchuk
Delli Orman
C. Kali Agra
Nicopoli
Shistova
Plevna
Shumla
Varna
BULGARIA
Tirnova
Shipka P.
Balkan
Little Balkan
C. Emine
G. of Burgas
Sofia
Sliwno
Yamboli
EASTN-RUMELIA
Hanikia
Philippopolis
Chaskoi
Thracia
Tirnova
Kirk-Kilisse
Adrianople
C. Iniada
Midia
BLACK SEA



MACEDONIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
ASIA MINOR
Mysia
Lydia
Caria
EPIRUS
GREECE
Thessaly
PELOPONNESUS
(MOREA)
APULIA
ALBANIA
IONIAN SEA
ÆGEAN SEA
SEA OF CANDIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE OR CANDIA (KIRID)
Cyclades
Northern Sporades
Sea of Marmora
CONSTANTINOPLE
SALONIKI (Salonica)
Chalkidike
Gulf of Saloniki
ATHENS
SMYRNA
Brusa
Gallipoli
Enos
Thasos
Samothrace
Imbros
Limnos
Tenedos
Mytilene (Lesbos)
Chios
Samos
Rhodes
Karpathos
Euboea
Corfu (Kerkyra)
Cephalonia
Zakynthos (Zante)
Cythera (Cerigo)
Andros
Tinos
Naxos
Paros
Milos
Amorgos
Astropalia
Str. of Otranto
Brindisi
Taranto
Otranto
Yanina
Larissa
Patras
Corinth
Sparta
Kalamata
Bergama (Pergamon)
Manissa
Aidin
Balikesri
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Athos
40
38
36
22
24
26
28
Longitude East from Greenwich.

THE BALKAN STATES ACCORDING TO THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST

Acquisitions of New Territory
shown by darker shades

Scale of Miles

0
50
100
150
200

The Servians insisted that the expulsion of the Turks had been the work of all the allies and that there should be a fair division of the territories acquired in the name of all. On the other hand the Bulgarians argued that it had been they who had done the heavy fighting in the war, which was true, that they had furnished by far the larger number of troops, that it was their victories at Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas that had annihilated the power of the Turks in Europe, that they were entitled to annex territories in Macedonia which they declared were peopled by Bulgarians. Other considerations also entered into the situation.

Bulgaria uncompromising

Suffice it to say that Bulgaria intended to have her way. Her army was elated by the recent astounding successes, was rather contemptuous of the Servians and Greeks, emphatically minimized the services rendered by these to the common cause, thought that it could easily conquer both if necessary, and could take what territories it chose. It was Bulgaria, whose war party had lost all sense of proportion, all sense of the rights of her former allies, that began the new struggle. She treacherously attacked Greece and Servia at the end of June, 1913. Fierce fighting ensued for several days, marked by savage atrocities on both sides.

Bulgaria attacks Greece and Servia (June, 1913)

Bulgaria's action in plunging into this avoidable conflict was all the more foolhardy as her relations with her northern neighbor, Roumania, were also unsettled and precarious. Roumania had demanded that Bulgaria cede her a strip of territory in the northeast of Bulgaria, in order that the balance of power among the Balkan states might remain practically what it had been. Bulgaria had refused this so-called compensation. The result was that Roumania also went to war with Bulgaria. The Turks, too, seeing a chance to recover some of the land they had recently lost, joined the war.

Roumania enters the war against Bulgaria; the Turks also

Thus Bulgaria was confronted on all sides by enemies. She was at war with five states, not three, for Montenegro was also involved. By the middle of July she saw that the case was hopeless and consented to make peace, by the Treaty of Bucharest, signed August 10, 1913, by which Servia and Greece secured larger possessions than they had ever anticipated, and by which Roumania was given the territory she desired. Turkey also recovered a large area which she had lost the year before,

Bulgaria defeated

Treaty of Bucharest

including the important city and fortress of Adrianople. All this was at the expense of Bulgaria, who paid for her arrogance and unconciliatory temper by losing much territory which she would otherwise have secured, by seeing her former and hated allies victorious over her in the field and in annexations of territory which she regarded as rightfully hers. Bulgaria was deeply embittered by all this and has since only been waiting to tear up the Treaty of Bucharest which she has refused to consider as morally binding, as in any sense a permanent settlement of the Balkans. The year 1913 will remain of bitter memory in the minds of all Bulgarians.

Cost of the Balkan wars

The two Balkan wars cost heavily in human life and in treasure. Turkey and Bulgaria each lost over 150,000 in killed and wounded, Servia over 70,000, Greece nearly as many, little Montenegro over 10,000. The losses among non-combatants were heavy in those who died from starvation, or disease, or massacre, for the second war was one of indisputable atrocity. On the other hand Montenegro, Greece, and Servia had nearly doubled in size. Bulgaria and Roumania had grown. The Turkish Empire in Europe was limited to a comparatively small area.

Changes in the map

Reaction of the Balkan wars upon Europe

We must now examine the reaction of all these profound and astonishing changes in the Balkans upon Europe in general. In other words we must study the causes of the war of 1914. For the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 were a prelude to the European War of 1914. The sequence of events from the Turkish Revolution of July, 1908 to the Austrian declaration of war upon Servia in July, 1914, is direct, unmistakable, disastrous. Each year added a link to the lengthening chain of iron. The map of Europe was thrown into the flames. What the new map will be is the secret of the future.

The Albanian fiasco

It may be said in passing that the new Albanian state proved a fiasco from the start and that it disappeared completely when the war began in August, 1914, the powers that had created it withdrawing their support and its German prince, William of Wied, leaving for Germany where he joined the army that was fighting France. He had meanwhile announced his abdication in a high-flown manifesto.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE EUROPEAN WAR

Dissatisfaction of Austria-Hungary and Germany over the Balkan settlement

Austria resolves to attack Servia

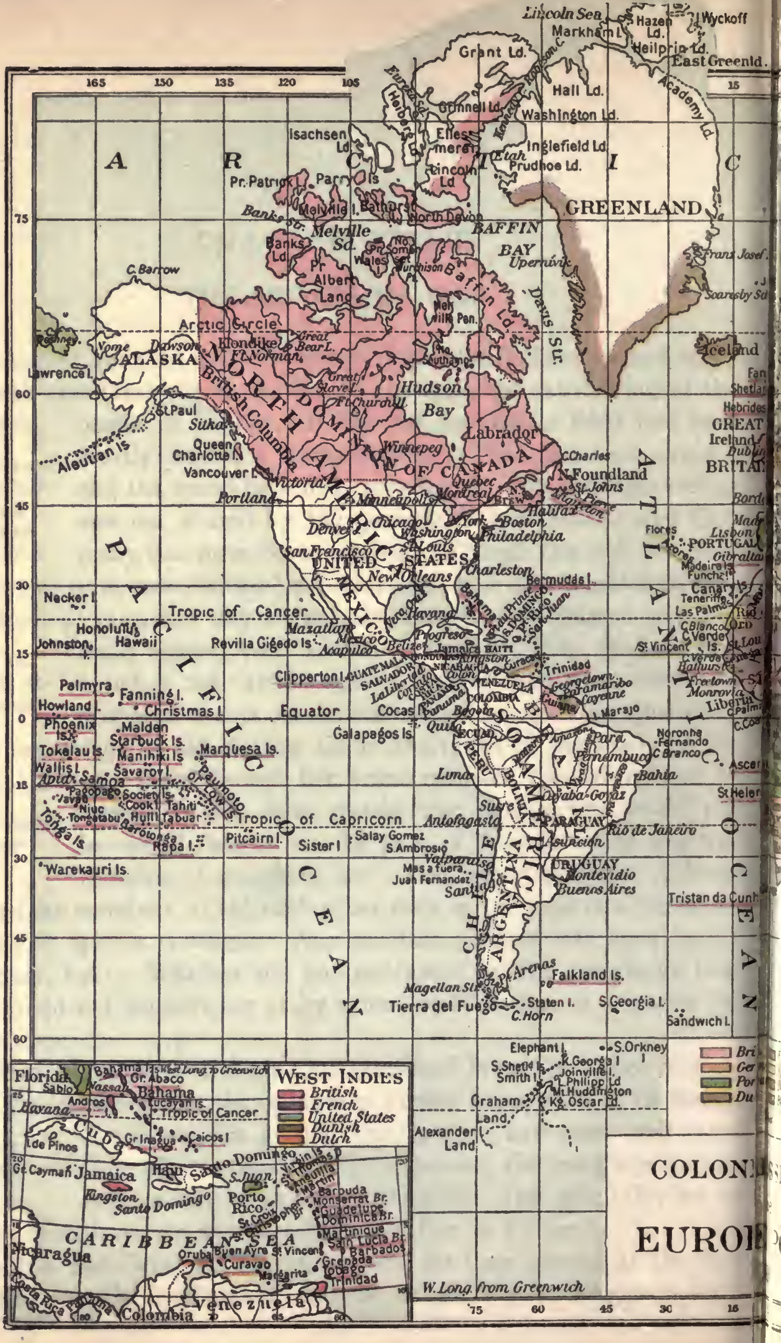
Italy declines to coöperate

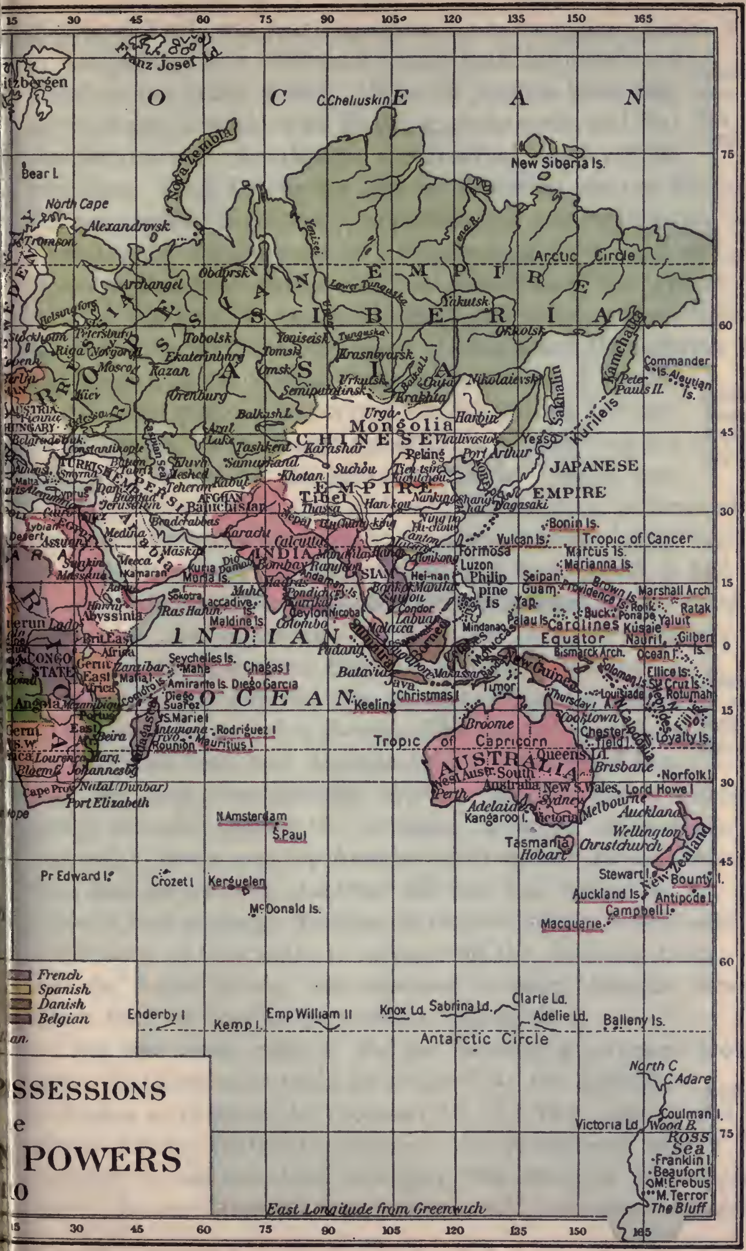
In August, 1913 the long-drawn-out crisis in the Balkans seemed safely over with the Treaty of Bucharest, to the apparent satisfaction of the people of Europe. It had not resulted in what had been greatly feared, a European war. That had been avoided and the world breathed more freely. But that this feeling was not shared by the governments of Austria and Germany has since been revealed. Though this was not publicly known until more than a year afterward, it is now established that on August 9, 1913, the day before the Treaty of Bucharest was formally signed, Austria informed her ally, Italy, that she proposed to take action against Servia. She represented this proposed action as defensive and as therefore justifying her in expecting the aid of Italy under the terms of the treaty of the Triple Alliance. Italy through her prime minister, Giolitti, refused to accede to this view, stating that such a war would not be one of defense on the part of Austria as no one was thinking of attacking her. The treaty of Triple Alliance required its members to aid each other only in the case of a defensive war forced upon a colleague. Austria, then, planned war upon Servia in August, 1913. Whether she was restrained by the knowledge that Italy would not support her or by other considerations is a matter for conjecture.

Germany increases her army

Prince von Bülow, who for nine years had been Chancellor of Germany, has declared that the collapse of Turkey was a blow to Germany. It was on this ground that in 1913 new army and taxation bills, extraordinarily increasing Germany's preparedness for war, were carried through. This inevitably led to similar, though not to as sweeping, legislation in France.

Austria and Germany, therefore, were far from pleased at the outcome of events in the Balkans, and the former, a great European state


ARCTIC
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
NORTH AMERICA
DOMINION OF CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
SOUTH AMERICA
ALASKA
Baffin Ld.
Hudson Bay
Labrador
BAFFIN BAY
Davis Str.
Lincoln Sea
Grant Ld.
Ellesmere Ld.
Melville Sd.
Banks Ld.
Pr. Albert Land
Arctic Circle
Klondike
British Columbia
Queen Charlotte I.
Vancouver I.
Victoria
Portland
Winnipeg
Quebec
Montreal
N.Foundland
St. Johns
Halifax
Boston
N. York
Philadelphia
Washington
Chicago
St. Louis
Denver
San Francisco
New Orleans
Charleston
Bermudas I.
Havana
Mazatlan
Mexico
Acapulco
Belize
Jamaica
HAITI
Trinidad
Georgetown
Paramaribo
Cayenne
Guiana
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
Bogota
Quito
ECUADOR
PERU
Lima
BOLIVIA
Sucre
PARAGUAY
Asuncion
URUGUAY
Montevideo
Buenos Aires
ARGENTINA
CHILE
Valparaiso
Santiago
Antofagasta
Rio de Janeiro
Bahia
Pernambuco
Para
Amazon
Falkland Is.
Tierra del Fuego
C. Horn
Staten I.
S. Georgia I.
Sandwich I.
Tristan da Cunha
Iceland
Aleutian Is.
Hawaii
Honolulu
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
Galapagos Is.
Clipperton I.
Revilla Gigedo Is.
Marquesa Is.
Samoa
Society Is.
Tahiti
Tonga Is.
Pitcairn I.
Warekauri Is.
Falkland Is.
S. Orkney
Graham Land
Alexander Land
WEST INDIES
British
French
United States
Danish
Dutch
CARIBBEAN SEA
Cuba
Bahama
Santo Domingo
Porto Rico
Barbados
Trinidad
Venezuela
W. Long. from Greenwich
COLON
EUROP



15
30
45
60
75
90
105
120
135
150
165
Franz Josef Ld.
Spitzbergen
O C E A N
C.Cheliuskin
New Siberia Is.
Bear I.
Nova Zembla
North Cape
Alexandrovsk
Tromsö
SWEDEN
Archangel
Obdorsk
Yenisei
Lower Tunguska
Lena R.
Arctic Circle
R U S S I A N E M P I R E
S I B E R I A
A S I A
Yakutsk
Okhotsk
Kamchatka
Helsingfors
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
Riga
Novgorod
Tobolsk
Yeniseisk
Tunguska
Krasnoyarsk
Ekaterinburg
Tomsk
Omsk
Moscow
Kazan
Irkutsk
Chita
Nikolaievsk
Sakhalin
Commander Is.
Aleutian Is.
Peter Pauls H.
Kiev
Orenburg
Semipalatinsk
Baikal L.
Khabarovsk
Harbin
Kurile Is.
Berlin
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Vienna
Odessa
Balkash L.
Urga
Mongolia
Belgrade
Aral L.
Constantinople
Tashkent
Karashar
C H I N E S E E M P I R E
Vladivostok
Yesso
Port Arthur
Peking
Tien-tsin
Kiauchou
Korea
JAPANESE EMPIRE
Batum
Tabriz
Khiva
Meshed
Samarkand
Khotan
Suchow
Caspian Sea
Athens
Smyrna
TURKISH EMPIRE
Teheran
Kabul
Tibet
Nanking
Shanghai
Nagasaki
Malta
Cyprus
Damascus
Bagdad
PERSIA
AFGHAN
Baluchistan
Lhasa
Nepal
Han-kow
Chung-king
Ningpo
Fu-chow
Jerusalem
Bender Abbas
Karachi
Calcutta
Canton
Bonin Is.
Cairo
EGYPT
Medina
Libyan Desert
Assuan
A R A B I A
Maskat
Diu
Daman
INDIA
Mandalay
Hanoi
Hongkong
Macao
Vulcan Is.
Formosa
Tropic of Cancer
Marcus Is.
Mecca
Bombay
Rangoon
Luzon
Marianna Is.
Suakin
Kamaran
Kuria Muria Is.
SIAM
Hei-nan
Philippine Is.
Seipan
Massaua
Aden
Goa
Madras
Andaman Is.
Bangkok
Manila
Saigon
Guam
Providence Is.
Brown Is.
Marshall Arch.
Sokotra
Mahé
Pondicherry
Karikal
Condor
Yap
Rolik
Ratak
Harrar
Abyssinia
Ras Hafun
Laccadive Is.
Ceylon
Nicobar
Labuan
Mindanao
Palau Is.
Buck.
Ponape
Carolines
Yaluit
Maldive Is.
Colombo
Malacca
Borneo
Kusaie
Lado
I N D I A N
Sumatra
Celebes
Moluccas
Equator
Nauru
Gilbert Is.
Bri. East Africa
Padang
Bismarck Arch.
Ocean I.
CONGO STATE
Germ. East Africa
Zanzibar
Seychelles Is.
Mahe
Chagas I.
Batavia
Java
Makassar
New Guinea
Solomon Is.
Ellice Is.
Mafia I.
Amirante Is.
Diego Garcia
Banda
Santa Cruz Is.
Angola
Mozambique
Comoro Is.
Diego Suarez
O C E A N
Keeling
Christmas I.
Timor
Thursday I.
Louisiade A.
Rotumah
Portug. East Af.
S.Marie I.
Cooktown
New Hebrides
Fiji Is.
Germ. S.W. Africa
Beira
Madagascar
Tamatave
Tananarivo
Réunion
Rodriguez I.
Mauritius I.
Broome
New Caledonia
Chesterfield I.
Loyalty Is.
Tropic of Capricorn
Queensland
Lourenço Marq.
Bloemf.
Johannesburg
AUSTRALIA
Brisbane
West Austr.
South Australia
Norfolk I.
Cape Prov.
Natal (Durban)
Perth
New S. Wales
Lord Howe I.
Port Elizabeth
Sydney
Melbourne
Auckland
Adelaide
Kangaroo I.
Victoria
Wellington
N. Amsterdam
S. Paul
Tasmania
Hobart
Christchurch
New Zealand
Pr Edward I.
Crozet I.
Kerguelen
Stewart I.
Bounty I.
Mc Donald Is.
Auckland Is.
Antipode I.
Campbell I.
Macquarie
French
Spanish
Danish
Belgian
Enderby I.
Kemp I.
Emp William II
Knox Ld.
Sabrina Ld.
Clarie Ld.
Adelie Ld.
Balleny Is.
Antarctic Circle
North C.
C. Adare
Coulman I.
Victoria Ld.
Wood B.
Ross Sea
Franklin I.
Beaufort I.
Mt. Erebus
M. Terror
The Bluff
East Longitude from Greenwich

SSESSIONS

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POWERS

0

of fifty millions, was planning action by arms against Servia, a nation of now perhaps four millions, a nation both exhausted and elated by two years of war. Of course Austria knew that any such action would bring Russia upon the scene, and that was the reason for her desiring the eventual support of her two allies. While for reasons that are somewhat obscure Austria finally did not consider the moment opportune for making war on Servia in August, 1913, she did consider it opportune in July, 1914, and from her action at that time came swiftly and dramatically the present conflict.

Dissatisfaction of Austria and Germany

The relations of Austria-Hungary and Servia have already been alluded to, the former's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, and her part in the creation of the artificial state of Albania for the same purpose, to prevent Servia's getting any outlet to the sea. Yet, though successful in this, she had not been able to prevent the growth of Servia. Servia had, however, submitted in 1908 and 1909 and in 1913, to demands which emanated from Austria-Hungary and which were deeply humiliating. On both sides there was, as there had long been, plenty of bad blood.

Relations of Austria-Hungary and Servia

Suddenly a horrible crime occurred which set in motion a mighty and lamentable train of events. On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, nephew of the Emperor of Austria, and heir to the throne, was, with his wife, assassinated in the streets of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The men who had done the infamous deed were Austrian subjects, natives of Bosnia. But they were Servians by race. An outburst of intense indignation followed against the Servians, "a nation of assassins," it was declared. Servia was, by Austrian opinion, held responsible, although the crime occurred on Austrian soil and was committed by Austrian subjects, and although Austrian methods of rule in Bosnia were of such a character as sufficiently to account for the dastardly crime. At any rate the desire for war was expressed in many Austrian newspapers, which held the Servian government responsible.

Assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand

But four weeks went by and the Austrian government took no action. No information could be obtained by the diplomats in Vienna as to what she proposed to do. They saw no reason for any particular worry, as the government was evidently so self-contained, and they therefore took their usual vacations. It was intimated that Austria would make some demands upon

Attitude of the Austrian government

Servia but that they would be of a moderate character. There was widespread sympathy with her and a general feeling that she would be justified in demanding certain things of Servia. The representatives of the various European governments were kept in ignorance. A despatch, which was destined to shake the very foundations of the world, was being fashioned, in utter silence and mystery.

The Austrian despatch of July 23

On July 23, Austria delivered this despatch to Servia. It began by accusing the Servian government of not having fulfilled the obligations it had assumed in 1909 toward Austria. It demanded that the Servian government should publish an official statement, the terms of which were dictated in the despatch, expressing its disapproval of the propaganda in Servia against Austria-Hungary and its regret that Servian officials had taken part in this propaganda. In the despatch the murder of the Archduke was ascribed to that propaganda. Then followed ten demands upon the Servian government concerning the suppression of the Pan-Servian propaganda carried on by the newspapers and the secret societies of Servia. The despatch demanded that the Servian government should suppress any publication which fostered hatred of and contempt for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, should take the most comprehensive measures for the suppression and extinction of the secret societies, should eliminate from the schools all teachers and from text-books anything that served or might serve to foster the propaganda against Austria-Hungary, should remove from the army and from government positions all officials involved in the same propaganda, whose names the Austrian government reserved the right to communicate, and that Servia should accept the coöperation of Austrian officials in the work of investigating the conspiracy of June 28. Other clauses in this fateful despatch concerned the arrest of the accomplices in the assassination and the prevention of the trade in arms and explosives across the frontier. Annexed to the despatch was a memorandum asserting that the murder of the Archduke and the Archduchess had been plotted in Servia and had been executed through the complicity of Servian officials.

Demands made upon Servia

This despatch an ultimatum

This despatch, harsh in its language, dictatorial in its demands, was an ultimatum, for it required the acceptance of it in its entirety within forty-eight hours, and it allowed no time for investigation or discussion of the charges made and the problems created by the peremptory demand. No nation would issue such a note to an equal without intending and without desiring war. Issued to a power vastly inferior it could mean only unprecedented humiliation or national extinction, if followed up at the expiration of forty-eight hours.

The despatch creates a dangerous crisis

This Austrian ultimatum created a grave crisis. The ultimatum was not a passionate and unreflecting outburst of the Austrian government, swept away by natural anger at the foul murders. It was a cold-blooded and deliberate document, composed after four weeks of secret preparation. The Russian ambassador had not been told that it was coming and had left Vienna for his vacation. The Italian government had not been informed, although it was an ally and was particularly concerned with anything that affected the Balkan peninsula in any way or part. In this fact Italy was to find her justification for remaining neutral when the war finally broke out, as she regarded that war as an aggressive one begun by Austria. The ultimatum gave Servia the alternative of accepting egregiously humiliating conditions, practically reducing her to the state of a vassal of Austria, or of accepting war.

Peculiar circumstances connected with the despatch

Austria urged to extend the time limit

England, France, and Russia tried to induce Austria to extend her time limit as the only way in which diplomacy might seek to act in the matter, as, moreover, required if the relations of nations were to be governed by a reasonable consideration for each other's rights or wishes. Their efforts were in vain. They then turned to Servia urging her, in the interests of Europe in general, to make her answer as conciliatory as possible. The result was that Servia in her reply yielded to the greater part of what Austria demanded and that she offered, in case Austria was not satisfied with her answer, to refer the question to the Hague Tribunal or to a conference of the Great Powers.

Servia's reply to the ultimatum

Austria rejects Servia's reply

No state ever made a more complete submission under particularly humiliating circumstances. Austria, however, immediately declared the Servian answer unsatisfactory and prepared for war. She well knew that such action would necessarily draw Russia into the controversy. She had every reason a state can have for knowing that, after the defiance of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, another attack upon a small Slavic people would deeply offend the leading Slavic power. Austria could not and did not expect to be able to wreak her vengeance upon Servia without having to take Russia into account. Hers, therefore, is the responsibility for a deliberate and highly dangerous provocation of a great state. Russia, a Slavic power, could not be ignored by Teutonic powers in determining the future of Slavic peoples. If there was a single well-known fact in the whole domain of European politics it was that Russia was greatly interested in the fate of the Slav states of the Balkans. If there was any other well-established commonplace of European politics, it was this, that every Balkan question has always been considered as of general concern, as distinctly international. As a matter of fact, Servia's obligations of 1909, already referred to, were undertaken to the Powers, not to Austria alone.

Austrian ultimatum a deliberate challenge to Russia

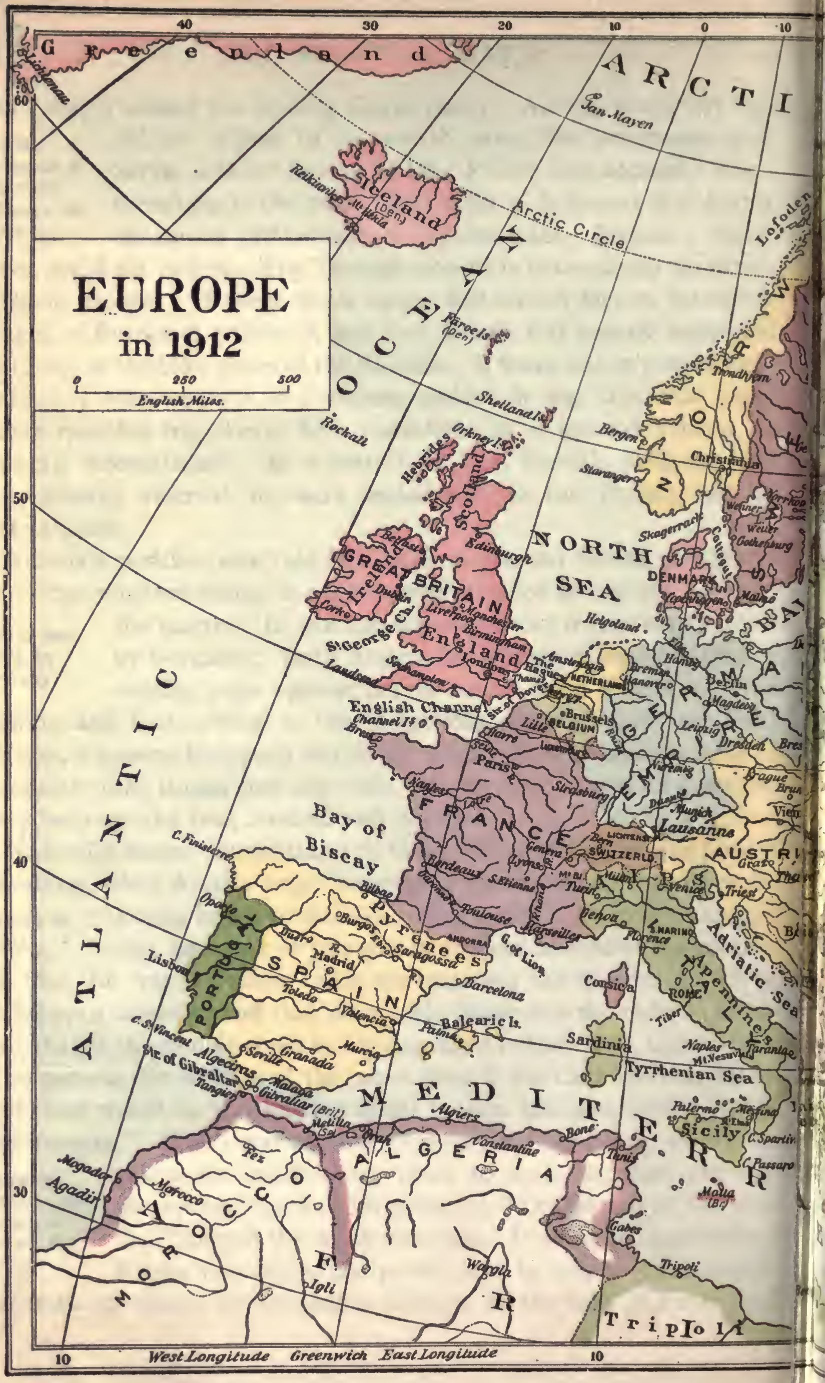
Austria's position was that her action concerned herself and Servia alone; that no other nation or nations were involved or had any rights in the matter. In this she was supported from start to finish by Germany. Both Austria and Germany were aware that warlike steps against Servia would bring Russia into the question and that, owing to the obligations of the Triple and Dual alliances, a general European war might result, yet both steadily refused to consider that Russia had any right to intervene; it was all a matter solely between the two, Austria and Servia.

Austria supported by Germany

Naturally Russia did not take this view. Her warnings having proved unavailing, when Austria began to prepare for the attack upon Servia, Russia began to mobilize. The policy of Germany through that last week of July was to support Austria in her contention that this was her affair. She asserted that the quarrel was solely one between those two and that no outside power had the right to intervene, that, if the trouble could be kept confined to those two, there would be no general disturbance of the peace, that if the Czar however interfered there would be "on account of the various alliances, inconceivable consequences." If this was all that Germany did for peace, which she asserts she made every effort to maintain, then she did simply nothing, for this policy of "localization of the conflict" begged the whole question. It assumed that neither Russia nor any other power was in any way concerned. This was an absolutely untenable position in the light of history, of

Conduct of Russia

Germany demands the "localization of the conflict"


EUROPE
in 1912
0
250
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English Miles.
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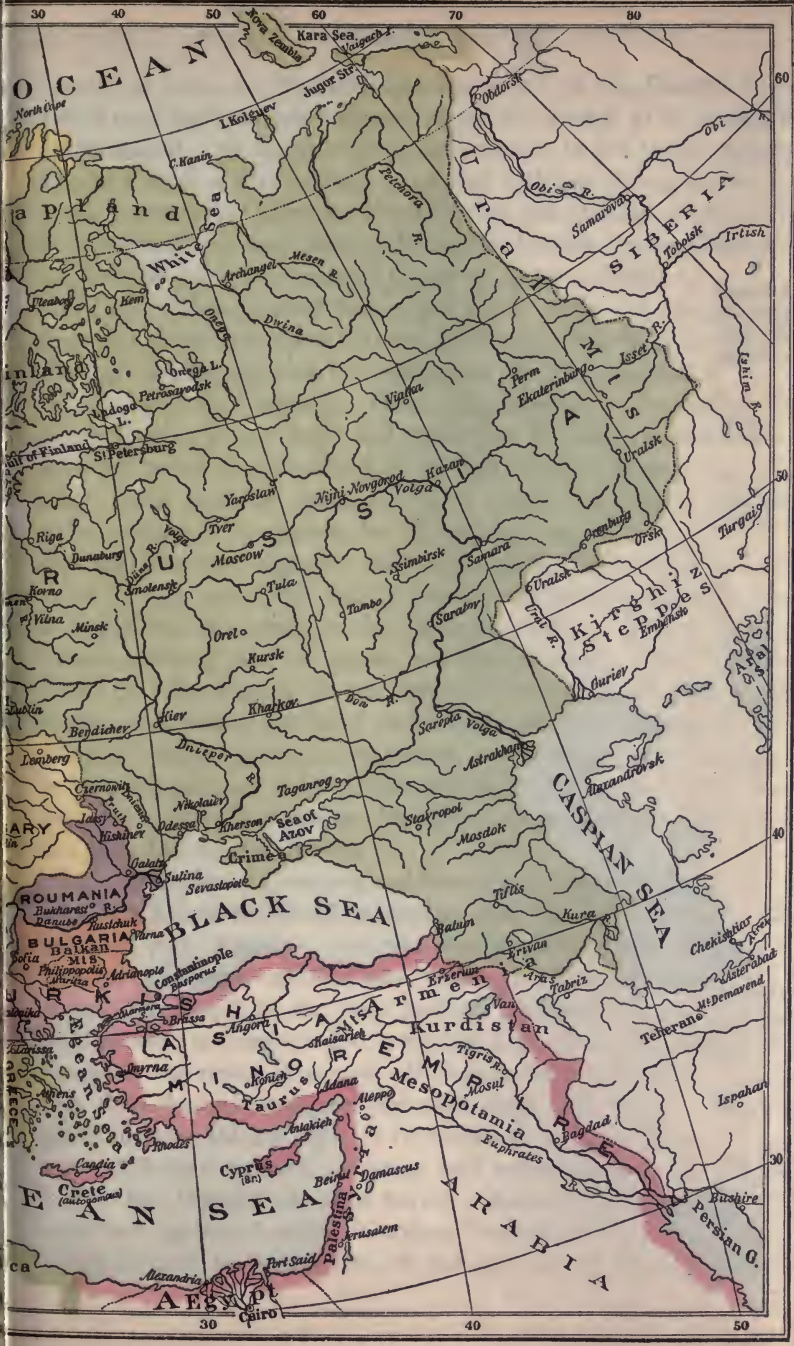
60
50
40
30
10
West Longitude
Greenwich
East Longitude
10
Greenland
Jan Mayen
ARCTI
Arctic Circle
Lofoden
Iceland (Den.)
Reikiavik
Faroe Is. (Den.)
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Hebrides
Rockall
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Scotland
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
Ireland
Belfast
Dublin
Corko
St. George Ch.
Liverpool
Manchester
Birmingham
England
London
Thames
Southampton
Landsend
English Channel
Channel Is.
Str. of Dover
Brest
Bergen
Stavanger
Christiania
Trondhjem
Skagerrack
Cattegat
Wener
Wetter
Gothenburg
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Malmo
Helgoland
Amsterdam
The Hague
NETHERLANDS
Bremen
Hanover
Hamburg
Elbe
Berlin
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Dresden
Bres
GERMANY
Brussels
BELGIUM
Lille
Rhine
Luxemburg
Havre
Seine
Paris
Nantes
Loire
FRANCE
Strasburg
Nürnberg
Danube
Munich
Lausanne
Prague
Brun
Vien
AUSTRI
Graz
Triest
Bay of Biscay
C. Finisterre
Bordeaux
Garonne
Lyons
S. Etienne
Geneva
Bern
SWITZERLD.
LICHTENS.
Mt. Bl.
Turin
Milan
Venice
ALPS
Rhone
Toulouse
Marseilles
Genoa
Florence
S. MARINO
G. of Lion
ANDORRA
Pyrenees
Bilbao
Oporto
Douro
Burgos
Ebro
Saragossa
Madrid
Toledo
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Barcelona
Valencia
Murcia
Balearic Is.
Palma
C. S. Vincent
Seville
Granada
Algeciras
Malaga
Str. of Gibraltar
Gibraltar (Br.)
Tangier
Corsica
Sardinia
Tiber
ROME
Apennines
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
Naples
Mt. Vesuvius
Taranto
Tyrrhenian Sea
Palermo
Messina
Mt. Etna
Sicily
C. Spartiv
C. Passaro
Malta (Br.)
MEDITERR
Algiers
Oran
Melilla (Sp.)
Bone
Constantine
Tunis
Gabes
Tripoli
ALGERIA
Fez
Morocco
MOROCCO
Mogador
Agadir
AFR
Wargla
Igli
Tripoli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OCEAN
North Cape
Nova Zembla
Kara Sea
Vaigach I.
Jugor Str.
I. Kolguev
Obdorsk
C. Kanin
apland
White Sea
Petchora R.
Obi
Obi R.
Samarova
Ural Mts
SIBERIA
Tobolsk
Irtish
Archangel
Mesen R.
Kem
Uleaborg
Onega
Dwina
inland
Onega L.
Petrosavodsk
Ladoga L.
Isset R.
Ishim R.
Perm
Ekaterinburg
Viatka
ulf of Finland
St. Petersburg
Kazan
Uralsk
Nijni Novgorod
Volga
Yaroslaw
RUSSIA
Riga
Tver
Volga
Düna R.
Dunaburg
Moscow
Smolensk
Ssimbirsk
Samara
Orenburg
Orsk
Turgai
Korno
Vilna
Minsk
Tula
Tambo
Uralsk
Ural R.
Kirghiz Steppes
Embensk
Orel
Kursk
Saratov
Guriev
Aral S.
Lublin
Berdichev
Kiev
Kharkov
Don R.
Sarepta
Volga
Lemberg
Dnieper R.
Astrakhan
Czernowitz
Dniester
Pruth
Jassy
Kishinev
Nikolaiev
Odessa
Kherson
Taganrog
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Stavropol
Mosdok
Alexandrovsk
CASPIAN SEA
ARY
Galatz
Sulina
Sevastopol
ROUMANIA
Bukharest
Danube R.
Rustchuk
BULGARIA
Varna
Balkan Mts
Sofia
Philippopolis
Maritza
Adrianople
BLACK SEA
Batum
Tiflis
Kura
Constantinople
Bosporus
Erivan
Aras
Tabriz
Chekishliar
Atrek
Asterabad
Mt Demavend
Teheran
Salonika
Marmora
Brussa
Erzerum
Armenia
Van
Kurdistan
TURKISH EMPIRE
ASIA MINOR
Angora
Kaisarieh
Larissa
GREECE
Smyrna
Konieh
Tigris R.
Mosul
Taurus
Adana
Aleppo
Mesopotamia
Athens
Aegean Sea
Rhodes
Antakieh
Bagdad
Euphrates
Ispahan
Candia
Crete (autonomous)
Cyprus (Br.)
Beirut
Damascus
Syria
Bushire
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Palestina
Jerusalem
ARABIA
Persian G.
ca
Port Said
Alexandria
Aegypt
Cairo
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reason, of interest. The question was a part of the Eastern Question which over and over has been considered and known to be emphatically international. No aspect of that question is to be left to the determination of a state of fifty millions in conflict with one of four or five.

England proposes an international conference

A proposal was made by England that the question at issue should be submitted to a conference to be held in London by the Great Powers not directly concerned, namely Germany, France, England, and Italy. Perhaps these four might bring about the adjustment of the difficulties between Servia and Austria and Russia. Russia signified her willingness but the proposal was declined by Germany. Other suggestions of a somewhat similar nature looking toward delay and diplomatic discussion or mediation likewise fell before the opposition or indifference of Germany. Then when England asked Germany herself to suggest some method of mediation for the preservation of peace, she had nothing to suggest. She simply reaffirmed her position that the whole matter concerned merely Austria and Servia. She was willing to appeal and did appeal to Russia to keep out, to refrain from mobilizing, but her appeal was always based on this thesis that the quarrel did not concern Russia but did concern simply Austria and Servia, a point of view which, naturally, Russia did not and could not share. Germany was ready to coöperate with other powers in bringing pressure to bear upon Russia but not upon her ally Austria, who had begun the whole trouble and to whom she gave a free hand in her procedure toward Servia.

The proposal declined by Germany

Germany's course

Russia mobilizes against Austria-Hungary

The attitudes of Germany and Russia were irreconcilable. Germany held that Russia should allow Austria entire liberty of action. Russia believed that Austria's uncompromising and violent procedure demanded a Russian mobilization "directed solely against Austria-Hungary" as the only method that might cause that country to moderate her procedure and induce her to recognize the rights of others. If Russia remained inactive, then Austria would do what she liked with Servia. Russia emphatically claimed the right to be consulted in the settlement of Balkan matters. Austria had mobilized and on July 28 had begun a war upon Servia. Russia accordingly mobilized against Austria. Germany considered this action a menace to herself, and on July 31 sent an ultimatum to Rus-

Germany sends an ultimatum to Russia

sia demanding that Russia begin to demobilize her army within twelve hours: otherwise Germany would mobilize. As Russia did not reply to this peremptory demand Germany, on August 1, declared that a state of war existed between Russia and Germany. The German declaration of war against Russia necessarily meant war with France as well, because of the Dual Alliance.

Germany declares war on Russia

We have seen that this Dual Alliance was the inevitable outcome of the existence and power of the Triple Alliance, concluded between Germany, Austria, and Italy in 1882. The Dual Alliance grew out of the need which both Russia and France felt, of outside support in the presence of so powerful a combination. If there was to be anything like a balance of power in Europe, Russia and France must combine. Both alliances were defensive. The action of Austria against Servia brought Russia upon the scene. Russia's action brought Germany forward. Germany's action necessitated action on the part of France.

The Dual and Triple Alliances involved

One state was free to act as it saw fit, its conduct not controlled by any entangling alliance, England. The Triple and Dual Alliances rested on definite treaties, neither of which has been made public, and imposed obligations upon the contracting parties. There had in recent years also grown up what was called the Triple Entente. The commercial rivalry of Germany and England, during the past fifteen or twenty years, expressing itself in a struggle for markets, in colonial competitions, in a striking development of naval power, has been an outstanding fact in recent European history. Great Britain, seeing that her policy of isolation was possibly becoming dangerous with so active and successful a rival in the field, sought, in the first decade of the twentieth century, to settle long continued misunderstandings with France and Russia. This she did by a treaty with France in 1904 and with Russia in 1907. These agreements settled certain problems and provided certain measures in common, the former in Africa, the latter in Asia. During succeeding diplomatic crises the three powers worked in substantial harmony. But the Triple Entente was not an alliance: it was simply a diplomatic group that might be found working together when the interests of its members happened to coincide. There was no actual alliance between Great Britain and France and there was no understanding of any kind

The Triple Entente

The Triple Entente not an alliance

between Great Britain and Russia, with regard to any European policy or contingency. When the crisis of 1914 arose Great Britain was free to act as she chose, in the light of what she considered her interests. The diplomatic correspondence shows that this was understood in Berlin and Vienna as it was understood in Paris and St. Petersburg.

Sir Edward Grey

The interests of Great Britain

But while Great Britain had no alliances that necessarily involved her in the present war, yet as a European power, and as a great, imperial, colonial state, she had many and important interests for which she must care. It was for her interest that there should be no European war and it was also for the interest of Europe and the world. The negotiations of that week in July, from the issuance of the ultimatum to Servia to the declarations of war, abundantly demonstrate that she made earnest, repeated, and varied efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of the problems that had been so suddenly thrust forward. She was wedded to no particular scheme or formula and invited Germany to make suggestions that might effect the adjustment, if dissatisfied with hers. But despite her efforts a war had come involving four large states at least, Austria, Russia, Germany, and France, and one small state, Servia. Would the conflagration spread? What would England do?

England strives to maintain peace

It was certainly not for her interest that France should be conquered by Germany, as that would reduce France to the position of a satellite and would immensely augment the power and prestige of Germany. Moreover, England was bound in honor to prevent any attack upon the Atlantic sea coast of France, as, since 1912, she had had a naval agreement with France whereby the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean in order that England might keep larger naval forces in the home waters. It seems probable that England would have been drawn into the war necessarily if France was attacked, which was of course the purpose of Germany. But her participation was rendered inevitable by Germany's attack upon Belgium.

England's relation with France

Three of the small states of Europe, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland, have been by international agreements declared neutral territory forever. By these agreements the countries concerned should never make war, nor should they ever be attacked. The powers that signed the treaties bound themselves to respect and preserve that neutrality. The treaty guaranteeing the neutralization of Belgium was signed by England, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. For over eighty years that obligation had been scrupulously observed. Now, on August 2, Germany sent an ultimatum to Belgium, demanding that she allow the German armies to cross her territory, promising to evacuate it after peace was concluded, and stating that, if she refused, her fate would be determined by the fortunes of war. Belgium replied that she had always been faithful to her international obligations, that the attack upon her independence would constitute a flagrant violation of international law, that she would not sacrifice her honor and the same time be recreant to her duty toward Europe, but that her army would resist the invader to the utmost of its ability.

Belgium a neutralized state

Germany's ultimatum to Belgium

Belgium's reply

As Austria's ultimatum of July 23 meant the annihilation of the independence of one small state, Servia, Germany's ultimatum of August 2 meant the annihilation of the independence of another small state, Belgium. Germany's action was the baser and the more dishonorable, as she had promised to respect the neutrality of the country which she was now about to destroy.

The reason for this action was that the easiest way for German armies to get into France was over Belgian soil. Germany intended to crush France as rapidly as possible, then to turn upon Russia and crush her. The invasion of France direct from Germany would necessarily be slower, if possible at all, as that frontier was strongly fortified.

The statement of the German Chancellor

"Necessity knows no law"

The official statement of the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, made in the Reichstag on August 4, declared that Germany was acting in self-defense: "Necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have perhaps already entered on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, this is a breach of international law. The French government has, it is true, notified Brussels that it would respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as the enemy respected it. But we know that France stood ready for an invasion. France could wait, we could not. A French attack upon our flank in the lower Rhine might have been disastrous. Thus we have been obliged to ignore the just protests of the governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The injustice, I speak frankly, the injustice that we are committing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. Anybody who is threatened as we are threatened and is fighting for his highest possessions can think only of one thing, how he is to attain his end, cost what it may." Thus the official, authoritative spokesman of Germany pronounced her own act unjust, thereby proclaiming the faithfulness of Belgium to all her obligations, admitted that Germany was doing Belgium a wrong, and that the action was in defiance of the law of nations. It was justified by necessity, he said.

Statement of von Jagow

A nation of sixty-five millions attacked a nation of seven millions, whose neutrality it had sworn to maintain, because, as the German Secretary of State, Jagow, said on that same August 4, with frankness, "they had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible. It was a matter of life and death for them."

England enters the war

England could correctly assert that she had worked for peace "up to the last moment, and beyond the last moment." Now she entered the war because she had vital interests in the independence of Belgium, and because of her explicit treaty obligations. For hundreds of years her policy had been to prevent the control of those coasts from being a menace to her own coast across the narrow channel as they would be in the hands of a strong military power. Over this question England had fought or acted repeatedly for centuries against the Spaniards, against the French; now it was to be against the Germans. That in protecting her vital interests she would also be keeping her solemn promises and defending a small and peaceful state against the wanton aggression of a ruthless and mighty military power, engaged, according to its own admission, in a flagrant violation of the law of nations, was to her vast moral advantage in securing the spontaneous sympathy and support of her own people and widespread approval beyond her borders.

On the 23d of July, 1914, there was a dull midsummer peace in Europe. By August 4 seven nations were at war. The responsibility for this tragic, monstrous, unnecessary crime against civilization, against humanity, was lightly assumed. The situation was created by the authorized heads of various states. Any power that in that crisis showed a willingness to delay, to negotiate, to confer, was working in the interest of peace. Any power that declined to do this, that adopted a peremptory attitude, that issued ultimatums with incredibly short time limits, hastened the appalling entanglement and was ready for war, whether it desired or intended it or not.

Victor Emmanuel III
King of Italy

The opinion of the outside world as to where that responsibility lies has been overwhelmingly expressed. That opinion is shared by a state that had for thirty-two years been the ally of Austria and Germany and was an ally in August, 1914. When asked on August 1, by the German ambassador, what were Italy's intentions, the Italian Government replied through its Minister of Foreign Affairs that "as the war undertaken by Austria was aggressive and did not fall within the purely defensive character of the Triple Alliance, particularly in view of the consequences which might result from it according to the declaration of the German Ambassador, Italy would not be able to take part in the war."

Opinion of neutral nations

THE WAR IN 1914

Austria's determination to wreak her wrath upon Servia, to punish, humiliate, and master that small but independent and successful state, had led straight, and with incredible swiftness, to an appalling issue. Five great nations, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, France, and England, and two small nations, Servia and Belgium, had passed, within a space of twelve momentous days, from a state of peace to one of war. From the Ural Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, hundreds of millions of men found themselves caught in the meshes of a gigantic conflict, whose cost in human life and happiness and treasure must inevitably be tremendous. The world was stunned by the criminal levity with which Austria-Hungary and Germany had created this hideous situation.

The sinister and brutal challenge was, however, accepted immediately and with iron resolution by those who had done their utmost during those twelve days to avert the catastrophe, and not only great powers like France and England, but small ones, like Belgium and Servia, never hesitated, but resolved to do or die. That the contest was not merely a material one, but that the most precious moral and spiritual interests were involved, was clearly seen and stated at the very beginning of the war by the responsible statesmen of France and England. In those early days Mr. Asquith, prime minister of Great Britain, expressed the common resolution of the western powers when he declared: "We shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium recovers in full measure all and more than all that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed." A cause dedicated to such aims as these was worthy of the supreme sacrifice it would pitilessly exact.

War aims stated by Asquith

Why these references to Belgium and France? Because, in the military plans of Germany, these two were to be overrun and conquered first, then Russia, and then the dominance of Europe by Germany would be achieved and rendered unassailable. After that let the world look out. It would receive its orders from Berlin and it would know full well the meaning of disobedience.

Germany had demanded free passage for her troops through Belgium. King Albert, one of the unsullied heroes of a war rich in heroes, had at that critical moment embodied the spirit of his people and had added lustre to the name of Belgium forever when, in reply to the arrogant demand, he announced that "the Belgian government is firmly resolved to repel with all the means in its power every attack upon its rights." Then the thunder-cloud broke. The mighty German army burst upon the land, resolved to get to Paris by the shortest route, the valley of the Meuse. The fortress of Liège stood in the way. It was bombarded by powerful artillery and forced to surrender on August 7. Brussels was occupied on August 20. But the fall of Liège did not clear the route to France. Namur stood in the way and here the Belgians were aided by the French, and by the British, hurrying to the scene their "contemptible little army," as the Kaiser is said to have called it. Namur was occupied on August 22. Mons was next attacked and the French and English were compelled to begin a retreat. Withdraw they must or the German armies would envelop them and a disaster like that of Sedan in 1870 might result. The great retreat from Mons southward continued day after day, night after night, rapid, harrowing, critical, incessant, annihilation constantly threatening. City after city in Northern France fell into the hands of the Germans, who advanced to within fifteen miles of Paris. The government of France was removed to Bordeaux. The completion of German victory seemed at hand. August was a month of gloom for the Allies.

The spirit of Belgium

Then General Joffre, commander of the French armies, issued his famous order, stating that the retreat was over. To his generals he sent this message: "The hour has come to hold fast and to let yourselves be killed rather than to yield." And to the army Joffre issued this: "At the moment when we are about to engage in battle it is imperative that everyone should remember that the time has passed for looking backward; every effort must be devoted to attacking and repulsing the enemy. Troops that can no longer advance, must, at all cost, keep the ground they have won and be shot down where they stand rather than retreat. In the present circumstances no weakness can be tolerated."

The decisive moment had arrived. There was no faltering, but the whole French army was nerved to supreme effort. From September 5 to September 10, along a line of more than a hundred miles from Paris to Verdun, raged the famous Battle of the

The Battle of the Marne

Marne, one of the decisive battles of the world's history. The spirit in which these men fought was typified in General Foch, one of Joffre's subordinates, who at a critical moment telegraphed to his chief: "My right is in retreat; my center is yielding. Situation excellent. I shall attack." And attack he did, with great success.

The Germans were defeated. Their terrific, crushing blow, intended to eliminate the French from the war, had failed. They retired as precipitately as they had advanced, the French at their heels. Only when they were across the Aisne and in trenches already prepared for them were they safe. At the Battle of the Marne France had saved herself and Europe and the world.

Conquest of Belgium

After the Battle of the Marne the Allies sought to break through the German lines along the Aisne but were unsuccessful. Thereupon there ensued a race to the sea, an extension of the trenches northward to the English Channel. The Germans overran the western part of Belgium, seized Antwerp (October 10) and Ostend and tried to get to Dunkirk and Calais, but were arrested at the Yser river. By the end of October the opposing sides were entrenched against each other all the way from Nieuport to Switzerland. The "war of positions," which was to last with only minor changes down to March, 1918, had begun.

As the results of all these events the Germans were in possession of a large area of northeastern France and of nearly all of Belgium. The possession of this territory greatly augmented their power to make war, for it carried with it ninety per cent of the iron ore of France, and fifty per cent of the coal of France, and the harbors of the Belgian coast became favorable bases for the submarine warfare adopted later.

Belgian atrocities

The Germans had not only won great and rich territories in a two months campaign: they had also won undying hatred and a moral loathing so general and so intense that it is hard, if not impossible, to find its equal in human history. From the moment they stepped upon Belgian territory they trampled under foot all considerations of humanity, of decency, of honor. No savage ever tortured a helpless victim with a greater display of heartlessness and cruelty than Germany showed in her treatment of Belgium. Not only were conscienceless pillage and systematic looting the order of the day, not only were towns and cities fined and mulcted of enormous sums of money, not only were villages fired, not only were works of art and public monuments destroyed, but great numbers of civilians, men, women, and little children, were murdered in cold blood or subjected to treatment worse than death. The Germans killed prisoners, they poisoned wells, they bombarded undefended towns and hospitals. It is no wonder that Belgium's most distinguished poet and man of letters, Maurice Maeterlinck, called the German "the foulest invader that the world has ever borne." A prosperous and peaceful people was ruined, and threatened with starvation from which it was only saved by the charity of the world. The martyrdom of Belgium is the deep damnation of modern militaristic Germany. The multitudinous seas will not suffice to wash out the abysmal guilt.

Russian invasion of Germany

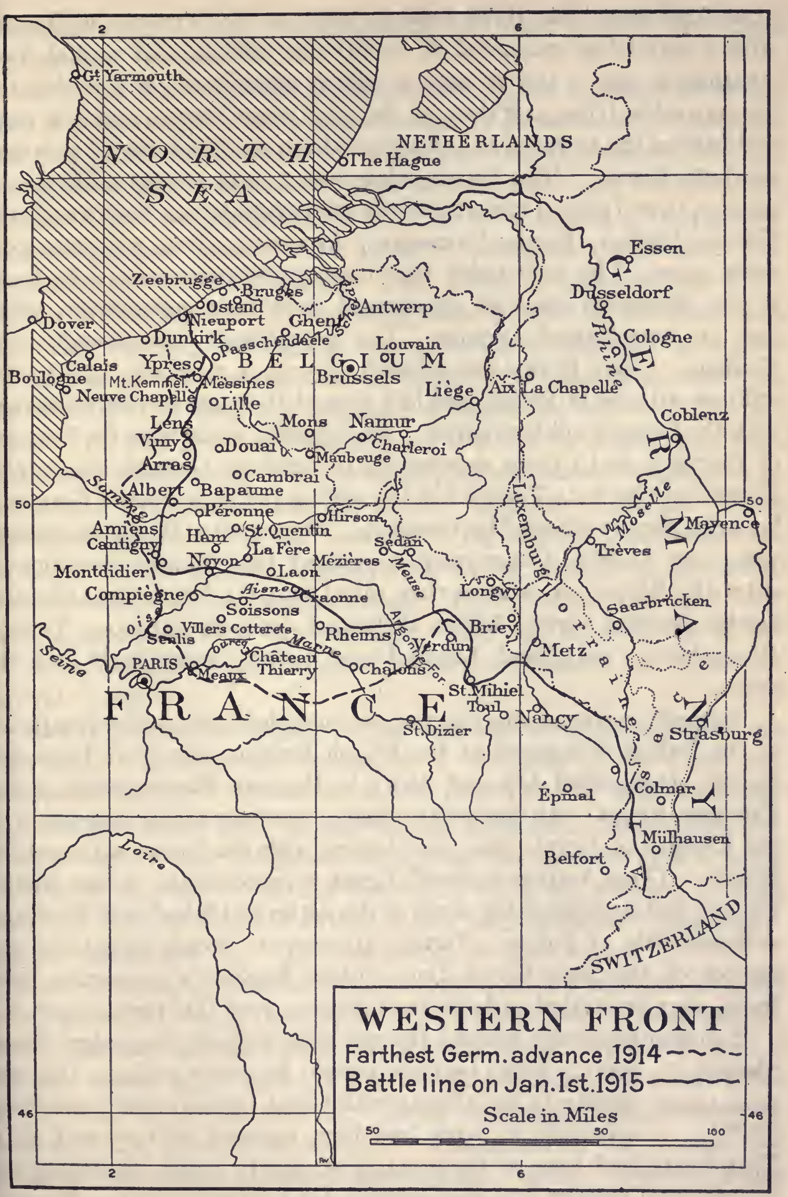
Such was the course of events in western Europe after the fateful August 4, 1914. Meanwhile events were occurring in the east and the southeast. Russia, mobilizing far more rapidly than the Germans had supposed she could, invaded Eastern Prussia about the middle of August, gaining several victories. The Germans were forced to withdraw some of their troops from the western front to meet this unexpected menace, and this contributed to the German defeat at the Marne. The victories of the Russians were short-lived, for under the command of General von Hindenburg the Germans defeated them disastrously in the battle of Tannenberg (August 26–September 1, 1914). Hindenburg was henceforth the idol of Germany.

The Russians were more successful against Austria. Invading the Austrian province of Galicia they captured Tarnopol and Lemberg and Jaroslav and began the siege of Przemysl, which surrendered in March, 1915. An invasion of Hungary was intended as the next step.

As Austria was thus fully occupied with Russia, the Servians were able to expel the Austrian armies which had invaded their country (December, 1914).

Turkey enters the war

Other events of those months of 1914, which must be chronicled, are: the entrance of little Montenegro into the war out of sympathy for Servia, the Montenegrins being Servians by race (August 7); and the entrance of Turkey into the war on the side of the Central Powers (November 3). The latter was an event of considerable importance. Though European Turkey had been greatly reduced as a result of the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman Empire was still extensive, including Asia Minor, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia, in all over seven hundred thousand square miles,


Gt Yarmouth
NORTH SEA
NETHERLANDS
The Hague
Essen
Dusseldorf
Cologne
Rhine
GERMANY
Zeebrugge
Bruges
Ostend
Nieuport
Antwerp
Ghent
Schelde
Dover
Dunkirk
Passchendaele
Louvain
Calais
Ypres
BELGIUM
Brussels
Boulogne
Mt. Kemmel
Messines
Liège
Aix La Chapelle
Neuve Chapelle
Lille
Lens
Mons
Namur
Coblenz
Vimy
Douai
Charleroi
Maubeuge
Arras
Cambrai
Somme
Albert
Bapaume
Moselle
Péronne
Hirson
Mayence
Amiens
Ham
St. Quentin
Cantigny
La Fère
Sedan
Trèves
Montdidier
Noyon
Mézières
Laon
Meuse
Luxemburg
Aisne
Craonne
Longwy
Compiègne
Soissons
Saarbrücken
Oise
Villers Cotterets
Rheims
Argonne For.
Briey
Senlis
Marne
Verdun
Metz
Lorraine
Ourcq
Château Thierry
Seine
PARIS
Meaux
Châlons
St. Mihiel
FRANCE
Toul
Nancy
St. Dizier
Strasburg
Alsace
Épinal
Colmar
Loire
Mülhausen
Belfort
SWITZERLAND
2
6
50
46
Farthest Germ. advance 1914
Battle line on Jan. 1st. 1915
Scale in Miles
50
0
50
100

WESTERN FRONT

or an area more than three times as large as the German Empire, and with a population estimated at twenty-one million. Its capital, Constantinople, was a city of over a million inhabitants, and its location incomparable, lying, as it does, at the point where Europe and Asia meet, and barring the entrance to and the exit from the Black Sea, that is from southern Russia. The Sultan ruled over a most motley collection of peoples, over Turks, a minority of the whole population, and over Arabs, Greeks, Syrians, Kurds, Circassians, Armenians, Jews and numerous other races. The only unity that these races knew was to be found in the oppression they all experienced from their government, which was an unrestrained tyranny. The government was strongly pro-German. Enver Pasha was minister of war, a man who had been a military attaché in Berlin, and had formed the most intimate relations with the German military circles. During most of his reign the Emperor of Germany had striven successfully to build up German influence in Turkey and by 1914 Turkey was the willing and eager tool of Germany, her army largely officered by Germans. The expected therefore occurred when the Turkish Government permitted two German warships to enter the Bosporous, whence they sailed into the Black Sea and bombarded Russian ports. Russia thereupon declared war upon Turkey, November 3, 1914, and England and France immediately did the same.

Turkey's entrance into the war was intended to be and was a threat at the Balkan states and at the British Empire, that is at India and Egypt. It involved Asia and Africa in the war, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt. An immediate consequence was the dethronement of the Khedive of Egypt, who was plotting with the Sultan to expel the British. Great Britain declared Egypt a protectorate of the British Empire and appointed the uncle of the dethroned Khedive in his place, with the title of Sultan. Turkish attempts to invade Egypt and get control of the Suez Canal, thus cutting England's connection with India, were frustrated early in the following year (February, 1915).

Japan enters the war

Still another power entered the war almost at the beginning, Japan (August 23, 1914). Japan had two reasons for participating. One was loyalty to her alliance with Great Britain which, concluded originally in 1902, had been renewed in 1905 and 1911. That treaty had been of the greatest service to Japan, increasing her international prestige and guaranteeing her territorial rights. It was a defensive alliance, each side promising the other support in certain contingencies in case of war.

Such a case having arisen, England now applied to Japan for assistance in protecting her trade in the East, and Japan loyally responded. But that protection could not be secured as long as Germany held her strong naval base at Kiauchau. The Japanese knew how Germany had acquired that base, seventeen years before, after having in conjunction with Russia and France forced Japan to relinquish the fruits of her victory in her war with China.[1] They therefore took pleasure in requiting this injury and in expressing their demand in the same language that Germany had used to them twenty years before. On August 17, 1914, an ultimatum was issued by Japan to Germany demanding that she withdraw her fleet and surrender Kiauchau as necessary "to the peace of the Far East" and requesting an answer by August 23. Germany sent no answer to this ultimatum, but the Kaiser telegraphed to Kiauchau: "It would shame me more to surrender Kiauchau to the Japanese than Berlin to the Russians." On August 23, war was declared by Japan against Germany, and by the middle of November she had conquered the German colony. From that time on until 1918 her participation in the war was slight. She was, however, one of the Allies, having agreed with England, France, and Russia not to make a separate peace.

Control of the seas

Meanwhile another aspect of the war was being played upon the high seas. The immense importance to the Allies of the naval preponderance of Great Britain was shown from the first days of the war and has been made each day increasingly apparent. The British won a naval victory near Helgoland in August, the Germans won a naval victory off the coast of Chili in November, which was avenged by England in a complete defeat of a German fleet off the Falkland Islands (December 8). The total result of these events was the sweeping of German naval vessels from the high seas and the bottling up of the main German fleet in the Kiel Canal; also the sweeping of German merchant shipping from the ocean. Now and then a German raider might still get out and do damage. The submarine danger was as yet not serious. Owing to Great Britain's practical control of the great water routes of communication the transport of troops to the scene of battle from England, Canada, Australia, South

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[1] See above, pp. 577–578.

Africa, and the transport of munitions and merchandise, and the exchanges of commerce, could go on, in the main, unimpeded. The importance of this fact cannot be exaggerated. It enabled the Allies vigorously to prosecute the war, and it kept industrial and commercial life active, a source not only of comfort and convenience, but of wealth, and wealth was necessary to the maintenance in full and increasing vigor of armies and navies and all the various war services.

Thus we see how crowded with decisive events were those months from August to December, 1914. The flame so lightly and joyously ignited by Austria and by Germany was spreading rapidly and portentously. By the end of that year ten nations were at war, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Turkey on the one side, Servia, Russia, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Montenegro and Japan on the other. Two great nations, the United States and Italy, and many small ones, had declared their neutrality. Whether they would be able to maintain it, in a war which, as was already clear, affected every nation, not only in its economic life, but in its intellectual, moral, and spiritual outlook, remained to be seen.

THE WAR IN 1915

Battle of Neuve Chapelle

The year 1914 closed with the Allies holding the Germans on the western front, having defeated them at the Battle of the Marne. But the Germans had conquered all but a small section of Belgium, had conquered northeastern France, and had dug themselves in from the North Sea to Switzerland. Attempts on the part of the Allies to dislodge them and to break through the line were made repeatedly in 1915. At the Battle of Neuve Chapelle the English under Sir John French attacked over a front of a little more than four miles. The attack was preceded by the most terrific artillery engagement ever known in warfare. On that narrow front more than three hundred British cannon opened fire on March 10. After they had prepared the way the infantry pressed forward, gaining a mile. On the two following days the Germans delivered repeated counter-attacks but without success. The British held their new front but the casualties were extremely heavy. A mere local dent had been made in the German line. The battle was important as showing sharply how tremendous must be the effort and the sacrifice if the Germans were to be driven out of France and Belgium. Both England and Germany lost more in killed, wounded and captured than the English and Prussians had lost in the battle of Waterloo.

Battle of Ypres

From April 22 to April 26 occurred a similar battle on a narrow front, this time begun by the Germans. Here gas was used for the first time. The French line collapsed. Those who survived the gas retreated three miles. The battle is famous for this new feature of warfare, and for the remarkable coolness, heroism, and spirit of sacrifice of the Canadians. "On the Canadians the storm broke with its full force and Canadian militia repeated the glories of British regulars from Mons to the Marne. In British imperial history the Second Battle of Ypres will be memorable." But it broke no line and like the battle of Neuve Chapelle it was mere "nibbling," a word that now passed into current use to describe the character of the fighting.

All through the summer of 1915 there was only desultory fighting on the western front, broken by special attempts to break the line which would not break. One incident of importance was the relieving of Sir John French and the appointment of General Haig as commander in chief of the British armies. The issue was to prove that England had at last found her leader.

The eastern front

Other disappointments were reserved for the Allies during that bitter year of 1915. Germany's original plan of campaign had been, as we have seen, first to crush France and to eliminate her from the war, then to turn eastward and eliminate Russia, after which she would dictate whatever peace she chose to Europe. The Battle of the Marne and the solid line of the French and English from Nieuport in Belgium to Switzerland had blocked this plan. France was not easily to be eliminated. Therefore the Germans adopted a new plan, namely, to crush and eliminate Russia, then to turn westward, settle accounts with France and bring England to her knees. Of course while attending to their eastern enemy, they must hold their western front tight, and even attack, if the opportunity offered. There must be no suspension or relaxation of effort anywhere, but the main emphasis must be put upon the eastern campaign, as it was the more inviting and promised the more immediate gains. There was an additional argument in favor of making the main effort in the east. Hindenburg, the new idol of Germany, from long years of study was minutely acquainted with all the natural features of that theater of war. What he had done at Tannenberg he could do again, and again, perhaps.

Therefore eastward the path of empire took its way. The developments there were destined to exceed the wildest imagination of the Germans. After Tannenberg the Russians, recovering, resumed the offensive, and again invaded East Prussia, whereupon Hindenburg fell upon them, administering a crushing defeat in the Battle of the Mazurian Lakes (February 12, 1915). The Russians lost in killed and wounded a hundred and fifty thousand and a hundred thousand of them were taken prisoners.

German invasion of Russia

This was a mere beginning. East Prussia was freed from the presence of the Russians. But they had overrun Galicia, a northern province of Austria. They must be expelled and then no foreign soldiers would stand on the soil of the Central Empires. Moreover the war should be carried straight over into Russia. The tables must be turned, and turned they were in a memorable fashion. All through the summer, from April to August, a mammoth drive of Germans and Austrians combined, under Hindenburg and Mackensen, went on over a wide front. Victory followed victory in rapid succession. The Russians were driven out of Galicia. Przemysl fell on June 2; Lemberg on June 22. Russian Poland was invaded. Warsaw, its capital, was captured on August 5. All of Poland was conquered and Lithuania and Courland were overrun. When the campaign was over the Russian line was still intact, but it had been forced far back and now ran from Riga, in the north, to Czernowitz, in the south, near the northern border of Roumania.

German conquest of Poland

It was a notable summer's work. Mackensen took his place beside Hindenburg, as a national hero. The process of Russian disintegration which two years later was to lead to the shameful Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had begun. Russia had lost 65,000 square miles of territory, a territory larger than New England. The military statistics of this war are uncertain, being subject to no control outside official circles, but it is said that Russian losses in killed and wounded were a million two hundred thousand and nearly a million in prisoners. The Russian commander, Grand Duke Nicholas, was removed from chief command and sent to the Caucasus. So much for the eastern front. As 1914 had seen the Germans seizing Belgium and northern and eastern France, 1915 had seen them seizing a large part of Russia. The Germans were entitled to the elation which they experienced and which they volubly expressed.

The Allies suffered another notable discomfiture during that year 1915, and a serious diminution of prestige, this time in the extreme southeastern point of Europe. They attempted the capture of Constantinople, the capital of the Turkish Empire, an extraordinarily difficult thing to do owing to topographical reasons. Could they accomplish this, then the Balkan States not yet in the war would probably enter it on the side of the Allies, and with that alignment Austria could be attacked and invaded from the south and east; also Turkey might be compelled to sue for peace or at any rate would be put on the defensive. And could the Allies control the Dardanelles and the Bosporous, they could secure a connection with Russia through the Black Sea. They could thus send to Russia the war supplies she so greatly needed and could receive from her the food supplies she produced.

Gallipoli Campaign

In February and March a British and French fleet tried to force the Dardanelles. Penetrating the channel as far as the "Narrows," they could get no farther. The shores were powerfully fortified, and in the battle between the forts and the ships of war, several of the latter were destroyed. The fleet was forced to withdraw. Constantinople could not be reached that way. Next an attempt was made by land. After a costly delay Anglo-French troops, reinforced by troops from Australia and New Zealand, called "Anzacs,"[1] who had been brought up by way of the Red Sea, landed on the peninsula of Gallipoli, Sir Ian Hamilton in command. But the Turks had had their warning and, under the command of a German general, Liman von Sanders, were ready for them. The landing was effected only at a heavy cost and the positions which the Allies confronted proved impregnable. A flanking movement from Suvla Bay likewise proved unsuccessful. The Allies held on all through the year, but they were foiled and in December they abandoned the attempt. Their losses had been enormous and nothing had been accomplished, save that possibly the expedition had kept the Turks from pressing any attack upon the Suez Canal. The reaction of this conspicuous and complete failure upon the hesitating Balkan States, Bulgaria and Greece, was disastrous. They, hitherto neutral, began to think that the Central Powers would ultimately be victorious and that it would be more prudent as well as pleasanter to be on the winning side.

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[1] A composite word made by the initial letters of the words Australian New Zealand Army Corps.

Bulgaria's dislike of Servia, Roumania, and Greece was intense; she resented bitterly the Treaty of Bucharest[1] and only awaited a favorable opportunity to tear it up. With the Russians retreating week after week and month after month before the terrific onslaughts of Hindenburg and Mackensen, with the Turks and Germans blocking the straits of the Dardanelles and holding the British tightly to the coasts of Gallipoli, it seemed evident to Czar Ferdinand and to his minister Radoslavoff that the Germans were the predestined victors in this gigantic war.

Bulgaria enters the war

Therefore, after a disreputable display of double-dealing, they enlisted Bulgaria on the side of the Central Powers (October 4, 1915). This action of Bulgaria had two immediate consequences. It linked the Central Powers with Turkey, completing the "corridor" to the East, to Asia. And it sounded the doom of Servia.

Servia had been the unwilling pretext of a war which had so soon broken all bounds, dragging the world with it toward the abyss. Austria's ultimatum to Servia had been the signal for the general mêlée. Austrian armies had immediately invaded Servia and had seized Belgrade, though only after having encountered a stubborn resistance, during which the Servians had at one moment won a brilliant victory (August 20, 1914, and succeeding days), the first general battle on a European front. The Servians, aided by the Montenegrins, fought desperately against the Austrian invasion, and by the middle of December their victory was complete. Belgrade was reoccupied on December 15. The Austrians retreated precipitately out of the land for which they had had such lordly contempt. Their retirement was a rout. Servia even invaded Austria. A Servian author may be pardoned for writing: "In ten days the Servian victory over five Austrian army corps was complete. Since the days when Scipio saved Rome from Hannibal, or when England destroyed the might of Spain, the world has never seen such a spectacle, and never has victory been more deserved." General Misitch was the hero of the Servian hour.

Such was the first chapter of Servian history in the Great War. The second was very different. The Germans and Austrians, fresh from their successes in Russia and Galicia, invaded Servia in great strength in October, 1915, under General von Mackensen. At the same time the Bulgarians invaded her from the east. For two months the Servians fought single-handed and with unquenchable valor against the overwhelming forces of Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria, left in the lurch, moreover, by their ally Greece, which was by treaty bound to aid them in a contingency like this. Servia was completely conquered and crushed. A remnant only of her armies was able to reach safety on the coast of Albania, whence it was transported in Allied vessels to the island of Corfu. It is difficult to find words adequately to characterize the awful retreat across the barren Albanian Mountains, the unspeakable hardships endured. The war exacted another martyrdom. The Austro-Germans followed up their conquest by overrunning Montenegro (January, 1916).

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[1] See pp. 605–606.

Conquest of Servia

Simultaneously with this conquest and extinction of Servia another train of events was being started, whose full significance was not to be made manifest until two more eventful and discouraging years had passed. In October, 1915, an Anglo-French force landed at Salonica, the leading port of Greece. It had come to aid Servia in response to an invitation from the prime minister of Greece, Venizelos. Constantine, the King of Greece and a brother-in-law of the German Emperor, did not propose to aid Servia, although by treaty bound to do so. He now dismissed Venizelos and began a tortuous pro-German policy which was ultimately to cost him his throne.

The Anglo-French army marched northward to help the Servians, but was unsuccessful and had to withdraw behind the lines of Salonica. But out of the union of this force, subsequently greatly enlarged, with the reorganized and reinvigorated remnant of the Servian army which had found refuge in the island of Corfu, was to emerge in time salvation for the stricken land.

The lines of Salonica

While the situation had, during the year, grown worse for the Allies in the East and in the Balkans, there had been a distinct and a promising gain for them in another quarter. Italy had entered the war on their side. For over thirty years Italy had been a member of the Triple Alliance, concluded in 1882, with Germany and Austria-Hungary. That alliance she had renewed as late as 1912 and that renewal was to run until 1920. But when the war broke out in 1914 and when Italy was asked by her allies to coöperate with them, she declined on the ground that she was obliged to aid them only if they were attacked. Instead of being attacked they had themselves begun the war. Italy therefore adopted a policy of neutrality, which she maintained until

Italy enters the war

May 23, 1915. Then, at the moment when the Russians were in full retreat, she entered the war on the side of the western powers. This was the great gain of the year for the Allies and one that bade fair to redress the balance of power in their favor.

The Italian government, in acting thus, was but responding to a widespread popular demand. Ever since the Kingdom of Italy had been formed in the decade between 1859 and 1870 the Italians had been restless under the thought that their unification had been incomplete, that outside the boundaries of the state as determined at that time there were hundreds of thousands of Italians still subject to Austria, in the Trentino to the north, and in Trieste and the peninsula of Istria to the northeast. This was Italia Irredenta or Unredeemed Italy. This territory the Italian government now endeavored to acquire, at first peacefully through direct negotiations with Austria-Hungary, then, that method failing, through war. Another motive also influenced the government, the insistent popular demand that Italy do her share in the work of the defense of civilization against *Kultur*, of democracy and liberty against autocracy and despotism. The strong instinct of the Italian people was that they belonged with the Allies by reason of the principles they held in common with them. Their action in entering the war was naturally greeted with enthusiasm in France and England, and with deep resentment in Germany and Austria.

The intervention of Italy was followed shortly by that of the little independent republic of San Marino, a state which claims to be the oldest in Europe and which is located on a spur of the Apennines, entirely surrounded by Italy, and which has a population of about twelve thousand. San Marino is the sole survivor of those city-republics which were so numerous in Italy during the Middle Ages. She declared war upon the Central Powers, June 3, 1915.

Conquest of German colonies

Another Allied gain during 1914 and 1915 was the conquest of the German colonies. Japan seized Kiauchau, as we have seen, soon after her entrance into the war. In Africa, British and French troops easily overran Togoland and Kamerun. German Southwest Africa was conquered by South African troops under General Smuts, though the conquest was not completed until early in 1917. A campaign against German East Africa was begun early and resulted in soon freeing that colony of most of the German troops, some of whom, however, remained untracked and undefeated, apparently, until the end of the war. In the main the vast German colonial empire had shrunk to very small proportions by the close of 1915.

In the same year, 1915, occurred an event which shocked the world by its wanton and cowardly barbarity and which was in time to have far-reaching consequences, the sinking, on May 7, of the mammoth Atlantic liner, the *Lusitania*, off the coast of Ireland. This incident may best be described later. It should, however, be included in this untoward list of events which darkened the year 1915.

THE WAR IN 1916

The war map early in 1916

We have seen that Germany's original plan of war was to crush France first and then to turn against Russia and force her to her knees. This plan had been attempted in 1914, but had not succeeded. France had not been crushed but had, in the famous Battle of the Marne, defeated the Germans, driving them precipitately back to the Aisne, had saved her own field army intact, had saved Paris and the most important fortresses of France, Verdun, Belfort, Toul and Epinal. Unconquered and undaunted France was all through 1915 and in 1916 the hope and the mainstay of the world, the flaming and resolute soul of the Allied cause. After a year and a half of war Russia had, however, been badly defeated and had given many signs of that weakness and disintegration that were later to develop so rapidly and appallingly. England was not yet fully conscious of the part she must play; she had not yet brought herself to adopt universal military service although she had accomplished wonders in volunteering. Italy had done little to justify the great hopes with which the Allies had greeted her entrance into the war. Belgium had been virtually wiped off the map; so had Servia, Montenegro and Albania; all had been overrun by the armies of the Central Powers and were securely held. France, however, stood defiant and resolute, tense, straining every nerve, steeled for every contingency.

But France had suffered terribly and the German military authorities believed it was possible to do, in 1916, what they had failed to accomplish in 1914. This is the meaning of Verdun. The German General Staff thought that, by delivering one terrific, irresistible, deadly blow against the French army, they could smash it. Then peace would be in sight, as France would recognize the hopelessness of further struggle, the sheer impossibility of ever recovering Alsace-Lorraine. Verdun was a strong position, but, once taken, no equally stout defense could be made between there and Paris. The capital would fall and the fall of Paris would certainly mean the elimination of France. Incidentally, as the German Crown Prince was in command near Verdun, blinding military glory would irradiate the person of the heir to the Prussian throne. Could anything be more desirable or more appropriate?

Verdun

On February 21, 1916, at 7.15 in the morning the storm broke upon Verdun, a place long famous in the military annals of France, but destined now to win a glory beyond compare. Never had there been so pulverizing an artillery fire as that which inaugurated this attack. The Germans had made enormous preparations, had enormous armies and supplies. It seemed humanly impossible to prevent them from blasting their way through. But the impossible was done. The French disputed every inch of ground, with incredible coolness and inexhaustible bravery. Nevertheless they lost position after position and in four days of frenzied fighting were driven back four miles. Then French reinforcements arrived, hurried thither by thousands of motors. And one of Joffre's most brilliant subordinates, Pétain, reached the scene and infused new energy into the army of defense. Superb and spirit-stirring was Pétain's cry to his soldiers: "Courage, comrades! We'll get them."

"They shall not pass!"

It is impossible to summarize this battle, for it raged for six months, from February to October, and was characterized by a multitude of incidents. The fighting back and forth for critical positions continued week after week and month after month. Douaumont and Vaux are the names of two subsidiary forts which stand forth most conspicuously in the murderous welter of repeated attack and counter-attack, of thrust and counter-thrust. The Germans were resolved to take Verdun, cost what it might. They were ready to pay the price but victory they would have. They paid the price, in irreparable losses, but victory they did not win. The French stiffened, under Pétain and later under Nivelle, and with the electrifying cry: "*Ils ne passeront pas!*" "They shall not pass," they baffled the fury of the enemy and at the end pitched him out of most of the positions he had won. Verdun did not fall. The military reputations of Pétain and Nivelle had grown enormously and the latter soon succeeded Joffre as commander in chief. The Crown Prince did not emerge from this enterprise irradiated with any blinding effulgence of glory. His experiences were however calculated to make him a wiser if not a better man.

Battle of the Somme

The course and outcome of the later phases of the Verdun campaign were affected by another campaign which was being carried on simultaneously on another sector of the long line that ran from Belgium through France to Switzerland. This was the Battle of the Somme. This was an Anglo-French attack, stretching from Arras to some distance south of the Somme river, the English under General Haig, the French under Foch, the Germans under Hindenburg, who had been transferred to the west after his great successes in the east. England was now striking a new pace, which she was to continue and to increase, in participation in the war on land. In 1914 she had had only a small regular army of a hundred thousand men. This was rapidly increased by volunteering which achieved notable proportions but not notable enough. Finally in January, 1916, she had adopted conscription for single men, and, in May, for married men as well. Thus she now had universal service for all between the ages of 18 and 41. She was training the new recruits hastily and was increasing her munition supplies enormously. She had taken over more and more of the line until she was now manning about ninety miles from the sea to the Somme.

The people of the Allied countries expected that their armies, thus enlarged and elaborately equipped, would attempt to break through the German lines. The Battle of the Somme was an endeavor to bring to an end the long deadlock on the western front. After a terrific bombardment, which had by this time become the customary prelude to an offensive, the general assault was begun on July 1. For a few days the Allies made progress, though on the whole very slowly. The railroad centers Bapaume and Peronne were their objectives. The German line stiffened and fiercely counter-attacked. The battle dragged and the rainy season set in, making it almost impossible to move the heavy guns over the muddy roads. While both the English and the French took a number of towns and considerable bodies of prisoners, they were unable to attain their objectives. All through the summer and well into the fall the desperate struggle went on, dying down in October. The total area won by the Allies was small, about 120 square miles. Nowhere had they advanced more than seven miles from their starting point. Nevertheless Haig was right when he

Result of the battle

announced that the campaign had been a success for three reasons, namely, because it had relieved Verdun; because, by holding large masses of Germans on the western front, it had enabled Russia to win a considerable victory on the eastern front; and because it had worn down the German strength. It was in the second phase of this Battle of the Somme that a new and redoubtable engine of war was introduced by the British, powerful armored motor cars, quickly nicknamed "tanks," which could cross trenches, break through barbed-wire entanglements, and at the same time could scatter a murderous fire all about from the guns within. Machine gun fire against them was entirely ineffectual. Only when squarely hit by powerful missiles from big cannon were the tanks disabled.

Italy threatened

There was also serious fighting during 1916 on the Italian and on the Russian fronts. The Austrians, supposing the Russians had learned their lesson in the previous year and that they would think twice before again assuming the offensive, left their eastern front lightly guarded and prepared to punish the Italians, their historic enemy, and now more hated than ever because of their "treachery" in breaking the Triple Alliance. In May the Austrians began an attack from the Tyrol. Controlling the passes of the Alps, they were able to form a large army and to threaten Verona and Vicenza. The Italians resisted desperately but lost a large number of guns and men. They also lost about two hundred and thirty square miles of Italian territory. But the Austrians had weakened their eastern front so seriously that the Russians were winning great victories over them in that theater. This in turn reacted upon the Italian campaign by forcing the Austrians to recall many troops in order to ward off the new danger. Therefore they were obliged to forego for the time being their dream of breaking into the plains of Venetia.

Brusiloff's drive

While the Russians had been forced by Hindenburg and Mackensen to make a great retreat in 1915, they had not been put out of the war and, in June, 1916, they began, under Brusiloff, a new offensive, this time between the Pripet Marshes and the Austrian province of Bukowina. Brusiloff's drive was for a while successful and netted far larger territorial gains than were made on the western front in the Battle of the Somme. Brusiloff was able to push the Austrians back from twenty to fifty miles, to take a large number of prisoners and to capture many towns and cities, including the important ones of Lutsk and Czernowitz. The campaign lasted from June to October, but after the first month no great progress was made and the offensive gradually wore down and stopped. Russia was far from having recovered what she had lost in the previous year. Indeed, she recovered practically nothing in the north from the Pripet marshes to the Baltic Sea.

The interplay of these various campaigns was unmistakable. The Somme helped Verdun, the Russian drive helped Italy by freeing her of the Austrians and by enabling her to begin an offensive along the Isonzo which yielded Gorizia on August 9 and brought her to within thirteen miles of coveted Trieste. But while there was this interplay, this relieving of pressure in one region by bringing pressure to bear in another, the team-work was most imperfect. The desirability of a unified command of all the Allied forces had hardly begun to dawn. It took the experiences of another year and more to drive that idea into the minds of the governing authorities of the various countries concerned.

Roumania enters the war

The unhappy consequences of the lack of proper coördination in a common cause were conspicuously shown in another field in this same year of 1916, namely, in Roumania. Roumania entered the war on the side of the Allies on August 27, 1916. Her chief motive was to assure "the realization of her national unity," by which phrase was meant the liberation from Austria-Hungary of the three million Roumanians who lived in the eastern section of the Dual Monarchy, in Transylvania, and their incorporation in the kingdom of Roumania. The principle of nationality was at the basis of Roumania's action, the principle that kindred peoples desiring to be united should be united. Roumania's declaration of war was naturally warmly applauded by the Allies. It was followed immediately by a Roumanian invasion of Transylvania, which achieved very considerable successes.

Roumania conquered

But the Germans were resolved to prevent this threatened mutilation of their ally and also this threatened cutting of the connection between the Central Powers and Turkey. Roumanian success, if unimpeded, would widen out into the Balkans and imperil the famous "corridor" through Bulgaria and Servia. The German General Staff determined, therefore, to strike with all the force at its command, to deal a blow that should be both swift and memorable. Two large armies composed of Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians, and under the command of Falkenhayn and Mackensen, were sent against Roumania. They conquered the southern part of the kingdom with comparative ease and entered Bucharest, the capital, on December 6. What the provisional seat of Roumanian government. Peace was not concluded until much later, but meanwhile the Central Powers controlled most of the territory of Roumania, and exploited its rich resources in wheat and oil. The corridor to Constantinople was widened rather than cut. From this time forth the German ambition to create a Middle Europe, dominated by Germany, became more and more pronounced and more and more insistent.

The Roumanian disaster was due to the immense superiority of German resources, equipment and generalship; also to the mistakes of Roumania. One of these mistakes was the lateness of her decision to enter the war. None of the Allies was in a position to help her, except Russia. Had Roumania declared war in June at the moment of Brusiloff's great victories, the outcome might have been very different. As it was she declared it when Brusiloff's drive had been brought to a standstill. This was but one more proof of the fact that the Allies must bring about a closer adjustment of their efforts, if they were to win.

Portugal enters the war

One more state entered the European War in 1916, Portugal. On February 23, Portugal seized the German ships in her harbors, claiming that the shortage of tonnage created by Germany's submarine campaign justified the action. Whereupon Germany declared war upon her, March 9. A few days later it was officially announced by the Portuguese minister to the United States that "Portugal is drawn into the war as a result of her long-standing alliance with England, an alliance that has withstood unbroken the strain of five hundred years." This, it is curious to note, is a reference to a treaty signed in London on June 16, 1373, by which each country pledged itself to assist the other in case of war, a treaty quite as legitimate as that of the Triple Alliance, much more venerable, and far less injurious to the welfare of Europe. During all these centuries the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance has continued, frequently reaffirmed, the friendship it was designed to bring about still exists, the treaty concluded in 1373 has been broken by neither party and is still considered in force. Portugal participated in the war by sending an army to France and by aiding England in Africa.

The year 1916 witnessed also a great naval engagement between England and Germany, the Battle of Jutland. England had given since the outbreak of the war remarkable evidence of her might upon the ocean. The mobilization of her fleet in the opening days was quite as noteworthy in its way as the mobilization of the German army, and as the latter entered forthwith upon a career of victory, so also did the former. The pressure of the British navy began at once to be felt where it was intended it should be, in Germany. A blockade of the German coast was established at the very outset, which was destined to be made steadily more effective. Germany's merchant shipping was swept from the ocean, the vast fabric of her sea-borne commerce collapsed. The British fleet prevented Germany from importing such essentials as foodstuffs, petroleum, cotton, coffee, rubber, zinc, tin, so necessary in the work of war. The blockade was not perfect, as now and then a German raider could get through, sure, however, in the end, to be hunted down. But the attention of the world, the attention even of England herself, was not riveted upon this incessant naval war as it was upon the military operations on land. One reason for this was that the naval war was silent and unseen, although its effects were most important. Another was that the war on land was bitterly contested and gave rise to numberless incidents, was a tense, critical and doubtful struggle, while the war on the sea was, generally speaking, devoid of incident. England's command of her element was never in doubt, and was even challenged only infrequently. Submarines could and did do occasional damage, even in one instance sinking three English war vessels, and there had been two or three sea fights between small fractions of the fleets, Germany winning a victory in the early days off Chili, England a far more significant one subsequently off the Falkland Islands. These events were, however, of minor importance. But the main German fleet stuck tightly to its base, the harbor of Kiel, and the unremitting, perpetual stress of the blockade offered no sensations to a world which was surfeited with them as a result of the land warfare.

Services of the British fleet

But on May 31, 1916, the German High Seas fleet, commanded by Admiral von Scheer, steamed forth, and skirted up the western coast of Denmark. Sighted by the British scouts under Admiral Beatty, about 3.30 in the afternoon, an engagement immediately began, the main British squadron, under Admiral Jellicoe, coming up only later. The battle continued for several hours until darkness came on, between eight and nine. It was the greatest naval battle since

Battle of Jutland

Trafalgar and, in the strength and power of the units engaged, undoubtedly the greatest in all history. The result was inconclusive. Both sides lost important ships but both claimed to be victorious. That the real victor, however, was England was proved by the fact that the German fleet was obliged to return to Kiel and did not again emerge from that refuge. Britannia still ruled the wave, and it was extremely fortunate for the safety of democracy in England, France, Italy, and the United States, and for liberty everywhere, that she did.

Had England rendered no other service than this of making the seas safe for freedom and dangerous for despotism, the debt of humanity to her would be incalculable. But she was doing far more than this. The utterances of her statesmen, like those of France, from the first of August, 1914, defined the issues at stake, and set forth adequately the appalling gravity of the crisis. Not only were those utterances profoundly educative but they were veritable trumpet blasts, summoning to action, action, action, in the interest of all that men in Western Europe and in America had long held most precious. In the darkest hours, and there were many such during those first three years, there was no faltering in high places, no talk of compromise of right with wrong, no weakening of resolution, no abatement of demand that this world be made safe for civilized men. It must never be forgotten that the leaders of France and England, and the nations they represented, were constant and valorous defenders of the New World, as of the Old, that it was their heroism and their immeasurable spirit of sacrifice that barred the way of a vulgar and conscienceless tyrant toward universal domination. Never did men die in a holier cause. And they died in enormous numbers, literally by the million.

ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES INTO THE WAR

America and the war

In such a contest as that the United States belonged, body and soul. If she was to preserve a shred of self-respect, if she was to maintain inviolate the honor of the American name, if she was to safeguard the elementary rights of American citizens, if she was bound in any sense to be her brother's helper in the defense of freedom in the world, then she must take her stand shoulder to shoulder with the hosts of freemen in Europe who were giving and had long been giving the last full measure of devotion to that cause.

then she must spend her manhood and her wealth freely and without complaint, as France and England and Belgium and Servia had done.

From very early in the war there were Americans who endeavored to arouse their country to a sense of its danger and its duty, to persuade it to prepare, to fire it with the resolve to keep the nation's 'scutcheon clean. Among those who, by their quick and intelligent appreciation of the situation, by their courage and activity, rendered invaluable service in the campaign of national education were Ex-President Roosevelt and General Leonard Wood.

From August, 1914, to April, 1917, America passed through a painful, humiliating, and dangerous experience. Her declaration of war was the expression of the wisdom she distilled from that experience. Her entrance into the war was the most important event of the year 1917, though not immediately the most important, for the collapse of Russia, occurring also in that year, had a quicker and more direct bearing upon the military situation. But in the end, if America kept the faith, she could tip the scales decisively.

We entered the war, finally, because Germany forced us in, because she rendered it absolutely impossible for us to stay out unless we were the most craven and pigeon-hearted people on the earth. Anyone who counted on that being the case was entertaining a notion for which he could certainly cite no evidence in our previous history.

How did Germany force us into this war? What specific things did she do that could be answered in the end in one way and one way only?

German offenses

The record is a long one, of offenses to the moral, the intellectual, the spiritual, the material interests of America. First, the wanton attack upon Serbia, a small state, by two bullies, Austria and Germany, and the flouting of all suggestions of arbitration or attempts to settle international difficulties peacefully, methods in which America believed, as had been shown by her own repeated use of them, and by her enthusiastic support of the efforts of the two Hague Conferences to perfect those methods and to win general adhesion to them. Second, the invasion of Belgium and the martyrdom of that country, amid nameless indignities and inhumanities. The indignation of America was spontaneous, widespread, and intense, nor has it shown any tendency to abate from that day to this. The sentiment of horror, thus needlessly aroused, coupled with admiration for the brave resistance of the Belgians and sympathy for their sufferings, contributed powerfully to the creation of that state of mind which finally gained expression on April 6, 1917.

But the conquest and the inhuman treatment of Belgium was no direct infringement of our rights. The national indignation was profoundly stirred, the national sympathy aroused, but neither the sovereignty of the government nor the persons or property of the citizens of the United States were affected. These were, however, not long to remain immune from attack. German and Austrian officials, accredited to our government and enjoying the hospitality of our country, proceeded to use their positions here for the purpose of damaging Germany's enemies. They fomented strikes among American munition workers and seamen; they caused bombs to be placed on ships carrying munitions of war; they plotted incendiary fires, and conspired to bring about the destruction of ships and factories. In 1915 the ambassador of Austria-Hungary, Dumba, and the German military and naval attachés, Papen and Boy-Ed, were caught in such activities, and were forced to leave the country. Under the supervision of Papen a regular office was maintained to procure fraudulent passports, by lying and by forgery, for German reservists. American territory was used as a base of supplies, and military enterprises against Canada and against India were hatched by Germans on American soil. These German plots were in gross defiance of our position as a neutral and of our sovereignty as an independent nation. The German Embassy in Washington was a nest of scoundrels, plotting arson, and murder also, since the incendiary fires and explosions cost many innocent lives.

German plots

While the diplomatic representatives of Germany were engaged in plotting criminal enterprises against Americans at home, the German government itself had embarked upon a course of procedure that inevitably ended in the destruction of American lives and property on the high seas. In February, 1915, Germany proclaimed the waters around the British Isles "a war zone" and announced that enemy ships found within that zone would be sunk without warning. Neutrals were expected to keep their ships and citizens out of this area. If they did not, the responsibility for what might happen would be theirs, not Germany's.

German submarine policy

Such was the announcement of Germany's submarine policy, a policy that was to have more momentous consequences than its authors imagined. A submarine is a war vessel and as such has a perfect right to attack an enemy war vessel without warning and sink her if she can. But neither a submarine nor any other war vessel has any right, under international law, to sink a merchantman belonging to the enemy or belonging to a neutral, except under certain conditions, and one of the conditions is that the persons on board, crew and passengers, shall be removed to the ship attacking or their lives otherwise absolutely safeguarded.

President Wilson, six days after the German proclamation, dispatched a note to Germany announcing that the United States would hold the German government to "a strict accountability" should any American ships be sunk or American lives lost, and that the United States would take all steps necessary "to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

To this the German government replied that neutral vessels entering the war zone "will themselves bear the responsibility for any unfortunate accidents that may occur. Germany disclaims all responsibility for such accidents and their consequences." This was a clear announcement that not only did she propose to sink enemy merchantmen, but neutral merchantmen as well, were they found within the prohibited zone, without removing the passengers to safety or even giving them the warning necessary to enable them to take to the lifeboats, which, on the high seas, would themselves not be places of safety but which at least might perhaps give some chance for life.

The *Falaba* case

On March 28, a British steamer, the *Falaba*, was torpedoed and one American was drowned. On May 1, an American ship, the *Gulflight*, was torpedoed without warning. The vessel managed to remain afloat and was later towed into port, but the captain died of heart failure caused by the shock, and two of the crew who jumped overboard were drowned. The government of the United States began at once to investigate the case, as here apparently were all the elements calling for strict accountability. But before the investigation was completed, indeed before a week had passed, the case was overshadowed by another, the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

Germany's ruthless submarine campaign, in force since February, had resulted by the first of May in the sinking of over sixty merchant ships in the war zone, several of them belonging to neutral nations, with a loss of about two hundred and fifty lives, all of them the lives of noncombatants. Germany had deliberately adopted a policy that involved the killing of as many noncombatants, hitherto protected by international law and the usages of warfare among civilized nations, as might be necessary to enable her to achieve her ends. What she had done on land to hundreds and thousands of peaceful, unarmed, non-fighting people in Belgium and France she was now ready and resolved to do on the sea. But while she was torpedoing many vessels, yet England's commerce went on as before, thousands of ships entering and clearing British ports, and Great Britain was transporting an army to France without the loss of a single man. As the German people had been told that the submarines would quickly bring England to her knees and as they were not doing so, something spectacular and sensational must be achieved to justify the promises and expectations, and to silence criticism or discouragement at home. Consequently, the largest trans-Atlantic British liner still in service was selected for destruction. The world, it was believed, would then take notice and people would think twice before entering the war zone. On May 7, the *Lusitania* was torpedoed twice without warning and sank in less than twenty minutes. Nearly twelve hundred men, women, and children were drowned, among them over a hundred Americans. This cold-blooded, deliberate murder of innocent noncombatants was the most brilliant achievement of Germany's submarine campaign and was celebrated with enthusiasm in Germany as a great "victory." The rest of the world regarded it as both barbarous and cowardly. The indignation of Americans at this murder of Americans was universal and intense. When, three years later, American soldiers in France went over the top, in the campaign of 1918, shouting "*Lusitania*" at their foes, they were but expressing the deep-seated indignation of an outraged people, an indignation and resentment which time had done nothing to assuage.

The *Lusitania*

On May 13, President Wilson dispatched a message to Germany denouncing this act as a gross violation of international law, demanding that Germany disavow it and make reparation as "far as reparation is possible," and declaring that the government of the United States would not "omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

Germany replied on May 28, evading the main issues of the American note and making many assertions that were quickly proved to be lies. A correspondence ensued between the two governments, in which the President repeated his demand for disavowal and all possible reparation. In the end Germany offered to pay for the lives lost but refused to admit that the sinking of the ship was illegal. No agreement was reached between the two nations. No action, however, was taken.

All through 1915, torpedoing of vessels continued, and several Americans were drowned. The government steadily asserted our rights, the German government evading the fundamental principles involved, trying to confuse the issue by raising irrelevant points.

The *Sussex* case

On March 24, 1916, occurred another major event in this campaign of indiscriminate murder of innocent noncombatants, namely the torpedoing without warning of an English ship, the *Sussex*, while crossing the English Channel. Two Americans were injured and about seventy others, who were on board, were endangered. President Wilson again protested and declared the United States could "have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether," unless the German government "should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels." Finally, on May 4, Germany agreed that henceforth merchant vessels should not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships should attempt to escape or offer resistance. But she appended a condition, namely that the United States should compel Great Britain to observe international law. If the United States should not succeed, then Germany "must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision."

President Wilson accepted the promise and repudiated the condition on the ground that our plain rights could not be made contingent by Germany upon what any other power should or should not do. To this note Germany sent no reply.

That the promise was entirely insincere, that it was the intention to keep it only as long as it should be convenient, that ruthless submarine warfare was to be resumed whenever it seemed likely to be successful, was admitted later by the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg. Sinkings continued to occur from time to time throughout 1916, and finally, on January 31, 1917, the mask of hypocrisy and duplicity was thrown aside and a policy of unrestricted and ruthless submarine warfare was proclaimed. Germany announced that beginning the next day, February 1, she would prevent "in a zone around Great Britain, France and Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included. . . . All ships met within that zone will be sunk." The insulting concession was made that one American passenger ship per week might go to England, if it were first painted in stripes, the breadth of which was indicated, and if it carefully followed a route laid down by Germany. "Give us two months of this kind of warfare," said the German Foreign Secretary, Zimmermann, to Ambassador Gerard, on January 31, "and we shall end the war and make peace within three months."

Unrestricted submarine warfare

There was only one answer possible to such a note as this, unless the people of the United States were willing to hold their rights and liberties subject to the pleasure and interest of Germany. On February 3 the President severed diplomatic relations with Germany, recalled our ambassador and dismissed von Bernstorff. Toward the end of the month Secretary Lansing made public an intercepted dispatch from the German Foreign Secretary, Zimmermann, to the German Minister to Mexico, instructing him to propose an alliance with Mexico and Japan and war upon the United States, Mexico's reward to be the acquisition of the States of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. In other words the United States was to be dismembered.

When, on April 2, 1917, President Wilson appeared before Congress and in an address, which was a scathing arraignment of Germany before the world, recommended a declaration of war against this "natural foe to liberty" he had a predestined and enthusiastic response, for he was but expressing the wishes of the American people, who did not intend to have war made upon them indefinitely without their hitting back at the aggressor with all the force at their command, and who were resolved to share in the enterprise of saving the world from Prussian domination, or, in the words of the President, "to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world, as against selfish and autocratic power" and "to make the world safe for democracy." On April 6, Congress passed a resolution to the effect "that the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the

War between Germany and the United States

United States is hereby formally declared," and it shortly proceeded to pass a series of important military, financial, and economic measures designed to enable the country to play a worthy part in the great struggle. The United States did not declare war upon Austria-Hungary until December 7, nor did it then or later declare war upon Bulgaria and Turkey. With the two latter diplomatic relations only were broken.

Other states enter the war

Thus a war, begun with incredible lightness of heart by Austria-Hungary and Germany upon the banks of the Danube, had expanded to include not only most of Europe, but Asia and Africa and now all of North America. Canada had been in the war since its beginning and had greatly distinguished herself on many fields. Now came the United States, unprepared, save for her navy, which at once began to prove its mettle and its value to our allies, but potentially an immense addition to the fighting ranks, should its enormous and varied resources be developed and properly applied. The entrance of the United States into the war was followed by the entrance of the republics of Cuba and Panama on the following day (April 7). In June, 1917, King Constantine of Greece was deposed and Greece joined the Allies July 2. Siam declared war on Germany July 22, Liberia on August 4, China on August 14, Brazil on October 26, and in the same year several Central and South American states broke off diplomatic relations with Germany.

Of more immediate and direct influence upon the course of the war than this intervention of the United States, which could only make itself greatly felt after a period of preparation, was a series of far-reaching and startling occurrences in another quarter.

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

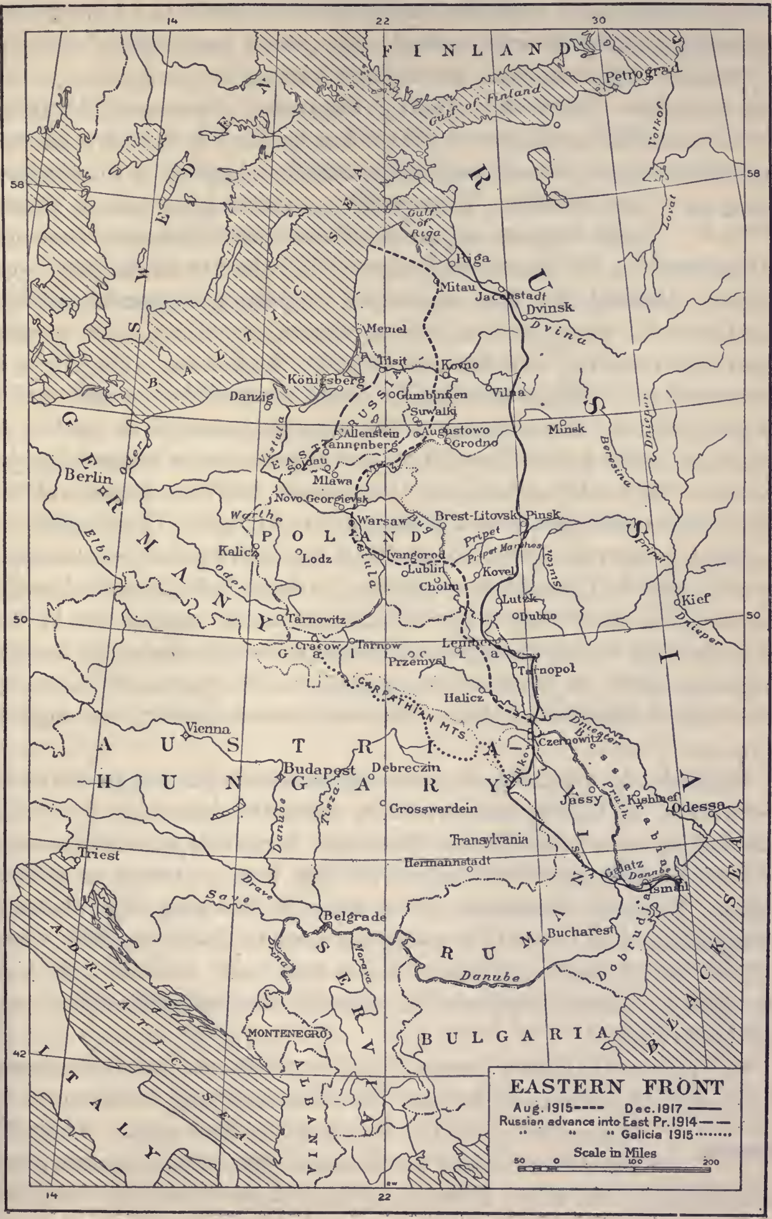
The most important event of 1917 was the collapse of Russia and its withdrawal from the war. This meant an enormous increase of Germany's power and at the same time imposed a new and mighty burden upon the Allies, a burden which threatened to be too great for them to bear.

Overthrow of the Czar

Russia had been badly defeated by Hindenburg in 1915, and Brusiloff's campaign of 1916, after important initial successes, had been brought to a standstill. The result of these events was to arouse criticism of the government. The belief spread that the old familiar "dark forces" were in control once more, that they were using the distresses of the nation for their individual advantage, that the court was pro-German, that the Czar was meditating a separate peace with Germany. Charges of incompetence and dishonesty were made against certain officials. The leading members of the Duma demanded that a responsible ministry be created, a demand supported by the army and the people, and that radical changes be made in the government in the direction of greater efficiency, such as were being made in France and England. In February 100,000 workingmen went on strike in Petrograd, and 25,000 in Moscow. An acute food crisis developed and lawless raids on bakeries occurred. When ordered to fire on the mobs some of the soldiers refused to do so, an ominous sign. On March 11 the Czar dissolved the Duma, wishing to get rid of it. But the Duma refused to dissolve. A revolution was in full swing. There was considerable street fighting, the police being the particular objects of popular wrath. Revolutionary bands captured some important buildings and seized the Prime Minister Golitzin, and a former Prime Minister Stürmer, under suspicion as being involved in pro-German intrigues. The Duma now effected a *coup d'état*, voting to establish a Provisional Government. The Czar was informed of this change and required to abdicate. This he did on March 15. Thus ended the reign of Nicholas II, the last of the Romanoffs, a family which had ruled in Russia for three hundred years and more.

Provisional Government

The Provisional Government was a coalition representing the three different parties which had had most to do with bringing about this surprising change. Prince Lvoff, the head of the ministry, represented the business men and landowners of a liberal type, Paul Milyukoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs, long associated with Russian reform movements, represented the Constitutional Democratic party, and Kerensky represented the third group, namely the soldiers and workingmen. Kerensky was a Revolutionary Socialist, sympathetic with the popular demand for a juster division of the land in the interest of the agricultural masses. The ministry proceeded to give back to Finland her constitution, to promise self-government and unity to Poland, to endow the Jews with equal political, civil and military rights. On March 31 it abolished the death penalty. A general amnesty was proclaimed and exiles in large numbers returned from Siberia and were greeted with frenzied enthusiasm. The public mood was optimistic and excited.


EASTERN FRONT
Aug. 1915 ----
Dec. 1917 ——
Russian advance into East Pr. 1914 — —
" " " Galicia 1915 ·······
Scale in Miles
50 0 100 200
14
22
30
58
50
42
FINLAND
Gulf of Finland
Petrograd
Volkov
Lovat
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Gulf of Riga
RUSSIA
Riga
Mitau
Jacobstadt
Dvinsk
Dvina
Memel
Tilsit
Kovno
Königsberg
Gumbinnen
Vilna
Danzig
EAST PRUSSIA
Suwalki
Minsk
Allenstein
Augustowo
Tannenberg
Grodno
Beresina
Dnieper
Soldau
Mlawa
Berlin
GERMANY
Oder
Vistula
Novo Georgievsk
Warthe
Warsaw
Bug
Brest-Litovsk
Pinsk
Elbe
POLAND
Kalicz
Lodz
Ivangorod
Pripet
Pripet Marshes
Lublin
Kovel
Chelm
Lutsk
Dubno
Styr
Kief
Dnieper
Tarnowitz
Cracow
Tarnow
Przemysl
Lemberg
GALICIA
Tarnopol
Halicz
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Dniester
Czernowitz
Bukowina
Bessarabia
Pruth
Budapest
Debreczin
HUNGARY
Jassy
Kishinef
Odessa
Danube
Tisza
Grosswardein
Transylvania
Hermannstadt
Triest
Sereth
Galatz
Ismail
Drave
Save
Belgrade
Bucharest
RUMANIA
Dobrudja
SERBIA
Morava
Drina
Danube
ADRIATIC SEA
MONTENEGRO
BULGARIA
BLACK SEA
ALBANIA
ITALY

Revolutions once successful are difficult to arrest and have a way of passing rapidly through several stages, each more radical than its predecessor. The Russian Revolution formed no exception to this rule, but rather illustrated it afresh. The period of reasoned liberalism, of rational and ordered reform, did not last long. The Socialists entered aggressively upon the scene, organizing *soviets* or councils of workingmen and soldiers. These *soviets*, particularly the one in Petrograd, began to oppose the Provisional Government as much as they dared and to impose their views. In regard to the war the Lvoff ministry declared that free Russia did not aspire to dominate other countries or to get their territory but that it would not allow its own country to come out of the war weakened or humiliated. On May 2 it announced to the Allies that Russia would continue in the war until a complete victory was achieved. The Petrograd Council or Soviet, on the other hand, was in favor of a general peace to be secured by the workers of all lands, and asserted that the war had been begun and was being carried on in the interest of kings and capitalists. The Council was powerful as representing the capital and was striving hard to dominate the Provisional Government. On May 16 Milyukoff, the able Foreign Minister, was forced out of the Government on the ground that he was an imperialist, he having expressed the hope that Russia would acquire Constantinople. A Socialist was appointed in his place and Kerensky now became Minister of War. This reorganized ministry was against a separate peace.

Rise of the *soviets*

Kerensky soon became the dominant personality in the government. As Minister of War he endeavored to check the demoralization which was making serious inroads into the army. Discipline was disappearing, acts of disobedience, if not actual mutiny, were occurring at various points. Kerensky succeeded for a while in checking this alarming disorganization and even in arousing the army in Galicia to begin a new "drive" which made an advance of ten miles, only to be brought to a standstill by renewed mutinies, so that all that had been gained was lost (July, 1917).

On July 22 Kerensky became head of the Provisional Government and remained such until he and his colleagues were overthrown, on November 7, by the Bolsheviki of Petrograd. Kerensky was a Socialist and was strongly opposed to a separate peace with Germany, but was in favor of a revision of peace terms by the Allies,

Kerensky

in the direction of the formula, "no annexations, no indemnities." The breakdown of discipline in the army continued to increase portentously. During the retreat in Galicia, generals found that they were obliged to discuss their orders with numerous committees of soldiers, and to secure their consent, before those orders could be executed. Officers were in some cases shot by their soldiers. Large numbers of troops retreated without making any resistance, so thoroughly pacifistic had they become as a result of the Socialistic propaganda carried on among them. Kerensky publicly characterized these acts as shameful and labored incessantly and with extraordinary energy to stop the growing anarchy and to restore the army as a fighting force, necessary even for the defense of the country, for the country was again threatened. His efforts were unavailing and conditions steadily grew worse. The Germans took the important city of Riga on September 2, with practically no opposition. The shame and impotence of a great state were being demonstrated every day anew.

The Bolsheviki seize power

That shame and that impotence were illustrated in perfection by the policy and conduct of the new rulers of Russia, the Bolsheviki, who succeeded in overthrowing Kerensky on November 7, and in seizing the government, under the leadership of Lenine and Trotzky. Several of the ministers were arrested, and army headquarters were captured. Kerensky managed to escape, and was not heard of again for several months, when he finally appeared in London. Lenine became Prime Minister and Trotzky Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The new government announced its policy at once; an immediate democratic peace, the confiscation of all landed property, the recognition of the supreme authority of the *soviets* or workingmen's and soldiers' councils, the election of a constitutional convention. The Bolsheviki revealed themselves adequately, though not completely, in these demands. They were extreme Socialists, resolved to effect a Socialistic revolution at once. They were unwilling to fight Germans or Austrians. They were willing to fight their own fellow-citizens for the purpose of robbing them of their property. They cared nothing about national honor. "Honor" was not a word in their vocabulary; it was only a conception of hypocritical capitalists interested solely in feathering their own nests and exploiting the downtrodden. The Bolsheviki cared nothing for the good faith of Russia, for they wished and intended to desert Russia's allies and to make a separate peace with her enemies despite the fact that Russia had signed a treaty promising not to make a separate peace. Their moral standards were not above considering a treaty a scrap of paper, were not, therefore, superior to the standards of the Germans, in whose pay they were accused of being and probably were. As destroyers of a great nation, as artists in anarchy, as ruthless murderers of fellow-Russians, they were a great success.

It was evident that with such men in power Russia's participation in the war was over and that the burden imposed upon the Western Allies would be far greater than ever. The Bolsheviki immediately started peace negotiations with the Germans, concluding with them an armistice at Brest-Litovsk (December 15), where three months later they supinely signed what were probably the most disgraceful and disastrous treaties known in the history of any European nation.

Disintegration of Russia

The Russian Revolution and the rise of the Bolsheviki brought about the rapid disintegration, not only of the Russian people, but of the Russian state as a territorial entity. Finland declared its independence. The Ukraine, an immense region in the south, did the same. Siberia later followed suit. The Germans had control of Poland, Lithuania and the Baltic Provinces and consequently declarations of independence were not in order there. General Kaledin, the leader of the Cossacks, declared war upon the Bolsheviki in the name of the safety of the country. None of Russia's Allies and none of the neutral states recognized the Bolsheviki as the lawful government of Russia. That honor was reserved for the Germans and Austrians and Turks.

In December the Constituent Assembly, called by the Bolsheviki, met in Petrograd. Not proving satisfactory to the latter at its first session they sent a body of sailors into the chamber to disperse it. That ended the Constituent Assembly and gave a further illustration of the meaning of the Bolshevik formula about the self-determination of peoples.

The revolution in Russia in its immediate effects and the intervention of the United States in its possible ultimate effects were the two most outstanding events in the history of 1917. But, also, during that year military events of importance occurred. The eastern front saw comparatively little activity as, after the Russian Revolution, the Germans were content to watch the development of affairs in that country and in the main merely to guard the positions they had gained in Russia and Roumania, probably in the expectation of shortly imposing peace upon those countries and then being able to withdraw their troops from them and throw them with decisive force upon the western front.

THE WAR IN 1917

German retreat and devastation

In the early months of 1917 the effects of the Battle of the Somme of the previous year were shown to be more important than had been supposed, for when the English and the French renewed their campaign in the same region they encountered a weakened resistance, the enemy withdrawing before them. Then ensued, in March and April, a retreat of the Germans to the famous "Hindenburg Line," called by their leaders a "strategical retreat." The Germans retired along a hundred-mile front, from Arras to the neighborhood of Noyon, evacuating more than a thousand square miles of French territory which had formerly contained over three hundred towns and villages. But, compelled to abandon this territory, they committed deeds which added a new hideousness to the name of German. They devastated the country as no country in Europe had ever been devastated before, and they did it with scientific thoroughness and wanton satisfaction. France recovered only a scene of indescribable desolation. Buildings, public and private, schools and churches, works of art, historical monuments and priceless historical records were ruthlessly destroyed; private homes were stripped clean of furniture which was carted away by the Germans, wells were filled with dung, orchards were cut down, roads and bridges and railways were blown up. If they must retire the Germans were resolved to leave a region, hitherto one of the most fertile in France, ruined and blasted for years and even for decades to come. An eye-witness wrote as follows: "With field glasses I could see far on either side of every road for miles and miles; every farm is burned, fields destroyed, every garden and every bush uprooted, every tree sawed off close to the bottom. It was a terrible sight and seemed almost worse than the destruction of men. Those thousands of trees prone upon the earth, their branches waving in the wind, seemed undergoing agonies before our eyes."

Vimy Ridge

Other events on the western front in 1917 were: the Battle of Arras, fought by the British, from April to June, and in the course of which the Canadians distinguished themselves at Vimy Ridge; the long-drawn-out Battle of the Aisne, fought by the French from April to November, famous for the fighting about the *Chemin des Dames;* the British offensive in Flanders, from July to December, which yielded Passchendaele Ridge and other positions; the Battle of Cambrai, in November and December, in which the Germans were compelled to retire several miles on a front of twenty miles.

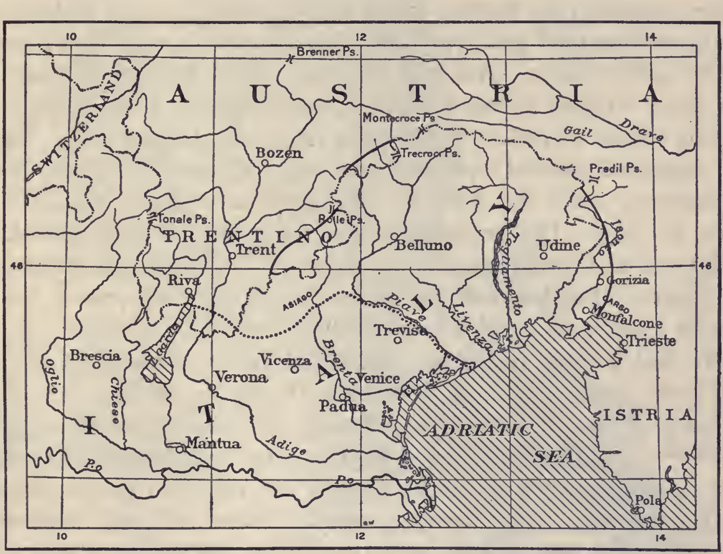
Italy invaded

But while on the French front the Allies made considerable gains, in another region they sustained a serious reverse, in Italy. The Italians had seized Gorizia in 1916 and in the summer of 1917 they carried on a very successful offensive along the Isonzo and the Carso Plateau. But with the breakdown of Russia and the spread of pacifism in the Russian armies the Germans were able to send large bodies of troops and a great quantity of heavy artillery to the aid of their ally, Austria. On October 28, 1917, the Austro-German army seized Gorizia; on the 30th Udine fell; a rapid retreat of the Italians followed to the Tagliamento. The Germans announced that they had captured 180,000 prisoners and 1500 guns. The Tagliamento could not be held and the Italians were driven back to the Piave. For days the Allied world held its breath, fearing that what had happened to Servia in 1915, to Roumania in 1916, was now in 1917 to happen to Italy, and that she would be conquered and eliminated from the war. But the Piave held and the attempts of the Central Powers to outflank it in the mountains to the north of Venetia, along the Asiago Plateau and other ridges, failed. There the invasion was halted. French and English troops were rushed to the aid of Italy and their arrival greatly helped and encouraged the Italians. But the world had had a bad shock and was apprehensive still, lest the Italian line should be broken. The Germans announced that the campaign had netted them 300,000 prisoners and nearly 3000 guns. Whether this was true or not, certain it was that they had freed Austria of the enemy and that they now themselves occupied four thousand square miles of Italian territory and that they were in a position to threaten the richest section of Italy, which contained, among other things, the great munition plants.

The Piave

The Allied gains on the western front and those in Asia, which will be referred to later, were but a slight comfort in view of the Russian and Italian disasters. The year ended in gloom in the Allied camp. But there was at least some satisfaction to be derived from the fact that Venice had not been taken, and that that matchless creation of art had not been destroyed by the barbarism of the enemy as had the incomparable cathedral of Rheims, the masterpiece of Gothic architecture, the living embodiment of French history, whose every stone spoke of long lines of kings — and of Joan of Arc.

The year 1917, therefore, closed in gloom. The collapse of Russia, the disaster in Italy, were more alarming in their possible, if not probable, consequences than the scattered and costly gains of the Allies on the western front and the entrance of America into the war, perhaps too late to be of much help, were reassuring. In Asia, it is true, the year brought some encouragement to the Allies, but how durable or significant the successes there would prove to be it was quite impossible to forecast. As the Germans had loudly proclaimed their intention to link Berlin with Bagdad, and erect a Middle Europe, and to extend it through Turkey and the great valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and as this meant nothing less than a pointed threat at the British Empire in India and Egypt, it was natural and inevitable that England should accept the German challenge in that part of the world as she had ac-


10
12
14
46
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
Brenner Ps.
Montecroce Ps.
Trecroci Ps.
Gail
Drave
Predil Ps.
Bozen
Tonale Ps.
Rolle Ps.
TRENTINO
Trent
Belluno
Udine
Isonzo
Tagliamento
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Garda
Asiago
Piave
Livenza
Gorizia
Carso
Monfalcone
Trieste
Treviso
Brescia
Oglio
Chiese
Vicenza
Verona
Brenta
Venice
Padua
ITALY
Mantua
Adige
Po
ADRIATIC SEA
ISTRIA
Pola

——— Farthest Italian Advance. ...... Austrian Invasion, October, 1917.

ITALIAN FRONT

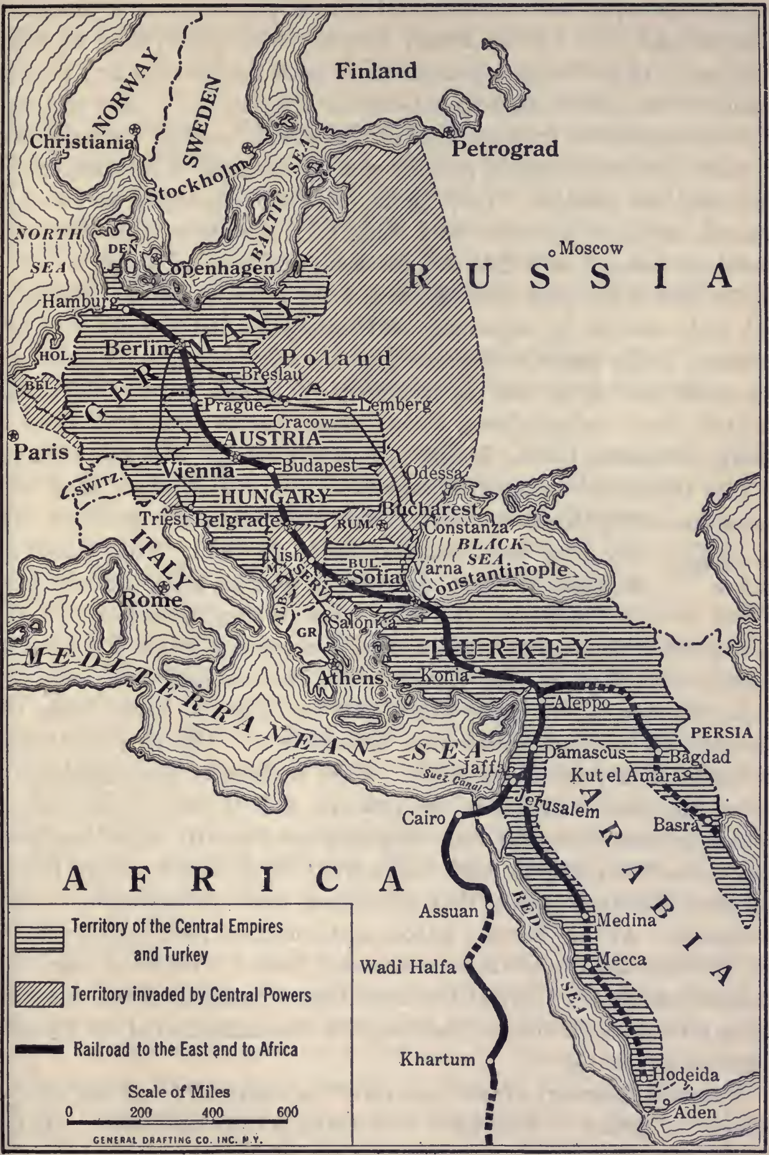
cepted it in western Europe and on the high seas. Consequently as early as 1915 an expedition had been sent out from India, under General Townshend, to prevent the consummation of the German plans. But the expedition failed disastrously. After having advanced two hundred miles up the Tigris and after having seized the city of Kut-el-Amara, General Townshend found himself besieged in that place by the Turks and after a few months, no relief having reached him, he was forced to surrender with his entire army, about ten thousand men, on April 28, 1916, after a siege of a hundred and forty-three days. Not only was this a serious reverse in itself, but it gravely injured Great Britain's prestige in the East. There was nothing for her to do but endeavor to repair the damage done. She at once organized another expedition on a larger scale and with more careful preparation, which she sent into Mesopotamia under General Maude, early in 1917. This expedition was successful. Kut-el-Amara was recaptured on February 24 and on March 11 the British entered Bagdad in triumph. Bagdad was not of great strategic importance, but its capture exercised a decided moral effect throughout the world.

The English in Mesopotamia

Toward the close of the year the British achieved other victories over the Turks, farther west, in Palestine. During the earlier years of the war the Turks had seriously menaced England's control of the Suez Canal and Egypt. The English resolved to eliminate this danger once for all by sending an army into Palestine, under General Allenby. This army gradually forced its way northward, captured Jaffa, the seaport of Jerusalem, in November, and entered Jerusalem itself in triumph on December 10, 1917. Great was the rejoicing throughout the Christian world at this recovery of its sacred city after seven centuries of Mohammedan control. The achievement of the mediæval Crusaders was being repeated. Would the new victory of the Christian over the Infidel prove ephemeral, as had the earlier one?

Capture of Jerusalem

The Germans were not downcast over the turn of events in these remote theaters of war. Nor had they any reason to be. On the whole they were holding the western front and the eastern front had disappeared under the terrific blows they had delivered to Russia and which had laid her low. On the 22d of December the German Emperor was undoubtedly expressing the prevalent German opinion of the general situation when he said to the army in France: "The year 1917 with its great battles has proved that the German people has, in the Lord of


Finland
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Christiania
Stockholm
Petrograd
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
DEN.
Copenhagen
Moscow
RUSSIA
Hamburg
Berlin
GERMANY
HOL.
BEL.
Poland
Breslau
Prague
Lemberg
Cracow
Paris
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Budapest
Odessa
SWITZ.
HUNGARY
Bucharest
Triest
Belgrade
RUM.
Constanza
BLACK SEA
ITALY
Nish
M.
SERV.
BUL.
Sofia
Varna
Constantinople
Rome
ALB.
GR.
Salonika
TURKEY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Athens
Konia
Aleppo
PERSIA
Damascus
Bagdad
Jaffa
Suez Canal
Kut el Amara
Jerusalem
Cairo
Basra
ARABIA
AFRICA
Assuan
RED SEA
Medina
Mecca
Wadi Halfa
Khartum
Hodeida
Aden
▤ Territory of the Central Empires and Turkey
▨ Territory invaded by Central Powers
▬ Railroad to the East and to Africa
Scale of Miles
0
200
400
600
GENERAL DRAFTING CO. INC. N.Y.

The "Middle Europe" Scheme

Creation above, an unconditional and avowed ally on whom it can absolutely depend. . . . If the enemy does not want peace, then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace. . .'. But our enemies still hope, with the assistance of new allies, to defeat you and then to destroy forever the world position won by Germany in hard endeavor. They will not succeed. Trusting in our righteous cause and in our strength, we face the year 1918 with firm confidence and iron will. Therefore, forward with God to fresh deeds and fresh victories!"

The first of the fresh victories were to be achieved on the diplomatic field and were to be supremely satisfactory to the Germans. They consisted in the treaties of peace imposed by them upon Russia and Roumania, and upon the big fragments of former Russia which had declared their independence, rather than remain connected with a country controlled by the Bolsheviki, namely the Ukraine and Finland.

The Bolsheviki and peace

The Bolsheviki demanded immediate peace and when they succeeded in driving Kerensky from power, and themselves assumed control, they began negotiations to that end. They signed an armistice at Brest-Litovsk, the German army headquarters, on December 15, 1917. The leading personages in the ensuing discussions were Kühlmann for Germany, Czernin for Austria-Hungary and Trotzky for Russia. The negotiations were long and frequently stormy. Trotzky urged that the peace be based upon the principles of "no annexations, no indemnities." The Central Powers pretended to accept this formula. Their insincerity and duplicity in announcing their adhesion to this principle and to that of the right of peoples to determine their own allegiance were shortly made apparent. They refused to withdraw their troops from the occupied parts of Russia and they indicated clearly that their aims were the opposite of their professions. At this Trotzky balked and withdrew from the conference and the Russian Government announced that it would not sign "an annexationist treaty" but at the same time it announced that the war was at an end and it ordered the complete demobilization of the Russian troops on all fronts.

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

Germany, however, refused to accept this solution of "no war, but no peace." It insisted on a treaty in black and white. As the negotiations had been broken off by the departure of the Russian delegates on February 10, the German army immediately assumed the offensive and began a fresh invasion of Russia, advancing on a front of five hundred miles and to within seventy miles of Petrograd. This speedily brought the Russians to terms and they signed on March 3, 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the most notorious "annexationist treaty" on record. Its principal provisions were: Russia surrendered all claims to Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia; she also renounced all claims to Finland and the Ukraine and agreed to recognize their independence and to make peace with them; she surrendered Batum, Erivan and Kars in the Caucasus to Turkey, and she promised to cease all revolutionary propaganda in the ceded regions and in the countries of the Central Alliance.

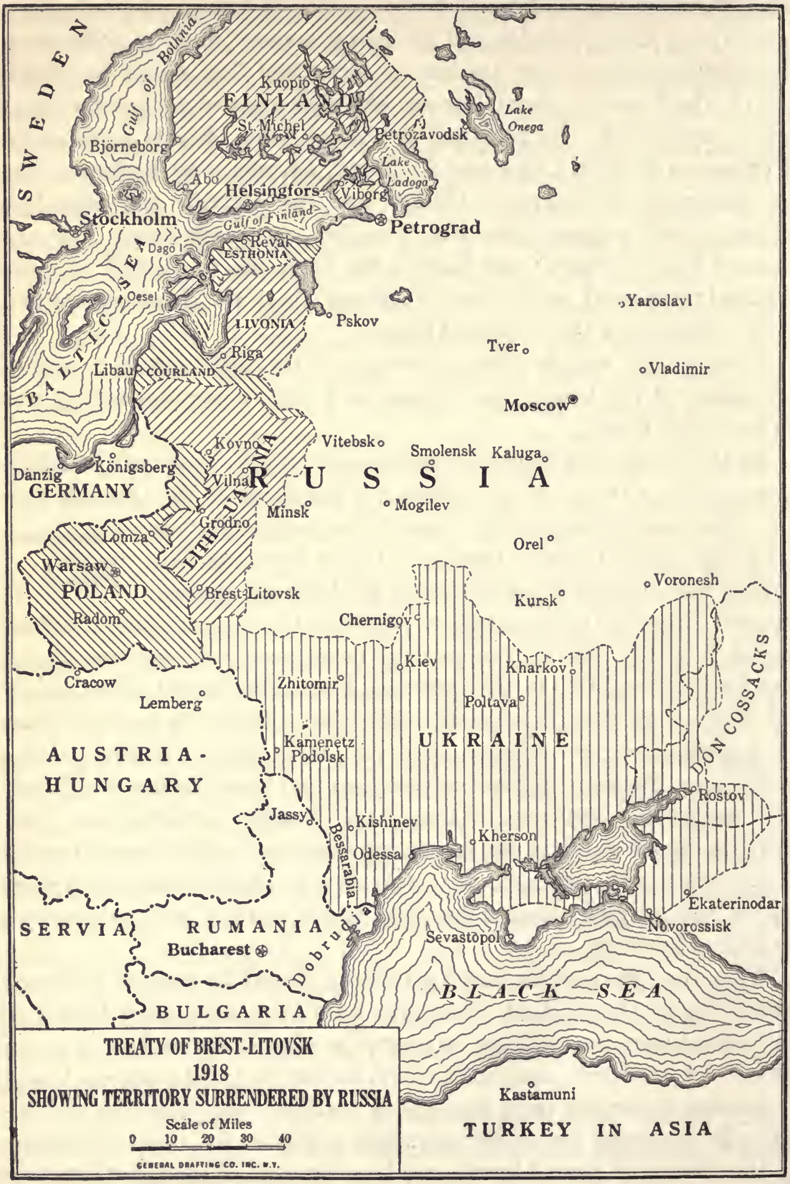
Subsequently and in direct violation of the plain intent of one of the articles of the treaty, the promise of a large money indemnity was exacted from Russia.

Dismemberment of Russia

By this treaty Russia lost an enormous territory, about half a million square miles, a territory more than twice as large as the German Empire. She lost a population of about 65,000,000, which was about that of the German Empire. A year or less of Bolshevism had sufficed to undo the work of all the Russian Emperors from Peter the Great to Nicholas II. So complete a mutilation of a great country Europe had never seen. Russia was thrust back into the condition in which she had been in the seventeenth century and which even then was found intolerable. Never in modern times has a great power surrendered such vast territories by a single stroke of the pen. Pacifism and internationalism had borne their natural fruit with unexpected swiftness. Gorky, the Russian novelist, and considered a radical until the Bolsheviki appeared and gave a new extension to that word, has estimated that this treaty robbed Russia of 37 per cent of her manufacturing industries, 75 per cent of her coal, and 73 per cent of her iron.

What the future of the ceded territories should be was not indicated beyond the statement that "Germany and Austria-Hungary intend to decide the future fate of these territories by agreement with their population." A few weeks later the Central Powers dictated a pitiless treaty to Roumania, forcing large cessions of territory and minutely and ingeniously squeezing her of her economic resources for their advantage.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk laid bare the soul of modern Germany. It proved to all the world that, whatever her professions might be,



TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK
1918
SHOWING TERRITORY SURRENDERED BY RUSSIA

SWEDEN
Gulf of Bothnia
Kuopio
FINLAND
St. Michel
Björneborg
Åbo
Helsingfors
Viborg
Petrozavodsk
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Stockholm
Gulf of Finland
Petrograd
Dagö I.
Reval
ESTHONIA
Oesel I.
BALTIC SEA
LIVONIA
Pskov
Yaroslavl
Tver
Riga
Libau
COURLAND
Vladimir
Moscow
Vitebsk
Kovno
Smolensk
Kaluga
Danzig
Königsberg
GERMANY
Vilna
RUSSIA
LITHUANIA
Minsk
Mogilev
Grodno
Lomza
Orel
Warsaw
POLAND
Radom
Brest-Litovsk
Voronesh
Kursk
Chernigov
Kiev
Kharkov
DON COSSACKS
Cracow
Zhitomir
Lemberg
Poltava
Kamenetz Podolsk
UKRAINE
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Rostov
Jassy
Kishinev
Kherson
Bessarabia
Odessa
Ekaterinodar
Novorossisk
SERVIA
RUMANIA
Dobrudja
Sevastopol
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
BULGARIA
Kastamuni
TURKEY IN ASIA
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40

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her greed was unabashed and unrestrained. And this greed was characteristic not simply of her rulers, military and civil. All Germany applauded. The same Reichstag which in July, 1917, had voted in favor of the principle of "no annexations, no indemnities" now enthusiastically ratified the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Socialists joining in. The rest of the world now knew, if it had not known before, what it might expect, if it was forced to pass under the same yoke. Germany stood completely unmasked. Her ideal was revealed in all its nakedness.

Germany and the western front

Having arranged matters in the east to her satisfaction, and no longer threatened or preoccupied in that quarter, Germany now turned practically her entire attention to the western front, confident that, by concentrated energy of attack, she could at last conquer there and snatch the victory which had so long eluded her and which would end the war. Transferring thither her large eastern armies she was confident that now she could compel a decision and could force a settlement to her taste. One more campaign in France and all would be well. The spring drive was to be begun early, the intention being to separate the French and English armies and then defeat each in turn swiftly — before the Americans should arrive in any such numbers as to be able to influence the course of events.

THE WAR IN 1918

The drive opened on March 21, 1918. The mood in which it was begun was expressed by the Kaiser the day before: "The prize of victory," said he, "must not and will not fail us. No soft peace, but one corresponding to Germany's interests." A month later the German financial secretary added an appendant to this Imperial thought when he said in the Reichstag on April 23: "We do not yet know the amount of the indemnity which we shall win."

The German drive of 1918

This great offensive, the greatest of the war, opened auspiciously and for three months proceeded according to the heart's desire. It was ushered in by the greatest gas attack Europe had ever known; also by a long-distance bombardment of Paris by a new gun of greater range than any previous gun had possessed. The ensuing attack was one of terrific force and was designed to spring the French and English armies apart at their point of juncture. The objective was Amiens. As a matter of fact the English left was, in the next few days, driven back toward Arras and the English center driven beyond the Somme. This actually made an opening. The English front was broken and a great disaster might have easily resulted, for the Germans now tried to turn the English right by cavalry. They were, however, met and checked by French cavalry just in the nick of time. But between March 21 and March 28, the Germans made great progress. Town after town fell into their hands, Peronne, Bapaume, Ham, Albert, Noyon, Montdidier. It was at this critical moment that General Pershing placed all the forces under his command absolutely at the disposal of Marshal Foch to be used as he might see fit. Foch had, so great was the danger, the greatest since the Battle of the Marne, been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies on the Western Front on March 28. At last the Allies had achieved unity of command.

After a slight pause the Germans attacked the English in the north, in Flanders at the point where their army and the Portuguese were joined. By April 12 the English had been forced to make a considerable retreat. It was then that General Haig issued a special order to his men which would have discouraged and demoralized men less self-reliant and less fond of the blunt truth, however unpleasant. This utterance of the English commander will remain historic:

Haig's special order

"Three weeks ago to-day the enemy began his terrific attacks against us on a fifty-mile front. His objects are to separate us from the French, to take the Channel ports, and to destroy the British Army. . . . Words fail me to express the admiration which I feel for the splendid resistance offered by all ranks of our army under the most trying circumstances.

"Many among us are now tired. To those I would say that victory will belong to the side which holds out the longest. The French Army is moving rapidly and in great force to our support. There is no other course open to us but to fight it out.

"Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."

The bitterest fighting continued and the British lost important positions near Ypres, the famous Messines and Wytschaete ridges, and then Mount Kemmel. But French reinforcements came and the Germans were checked. Ypres still held out.

The Germans had suffered very severe losses in making these attacks and gains. They needed time to reorganize their exhausted divisions. Apparently, too, there was a change at this moment in their high command, Ludendorff succeeding Hindenburg. Suddenly, on May 27, Ludendorff launched a new attack in an unexpected quarter on a forty-mile front, from Soissons to Rheims. On the 29th Soissons fell. The Germans advanced rapidly. By May 31 they were at the Marne once more after four years. In four days they had taken 45,000 prisoners and an enormous amount of war material. They were held at Château-Thierry on June 2 by French reserves which were rushed to the scene. The Germans were within forty miles of Paris and had gained nearly a thousand square miles of territory.

Belleau Wood

The Americans were beginning to count. On June 2 the Marines captured Cantigny and two hundred and forty prisoners. Two days later they helped to check the Germans at Château-Thierry. They also foiled an attack in Neuilly Wood, advanced two-thirds of a mile and took two hundred and seventy prisoners. On June 6 and 7 they advanced two miles on a front of six miles and seized Torchy and Bouresches. A little later they occupied Belleau Wood. These were details but useful and auspicious.

On June 9 the Germans made an attack on a front of twenty miles from Montdidier to Noyon, pressing the French center back several miles but at great cost. Then came a lull.

On July 15 they began their fifth and final drive in this remarkably successful campaign. Attacking on a sixty-mile front east and west of Rheims they pushed forward, crossed the Marne at several points and were evidently aiming at Châlons. They seized Château-Thierry.

From March 21 to July 18, 1918, the Germans had carried on a colossal offensive and had taken many prisoners, much territory and enormous booty. They were astride the rivers that lead down to Paris, itself not far away. Might not one or two more pushes give them the coveted capital of France and seal the doom of the Allied cause? Elated by four months of victories, which had brought them nearer and nearer the intended prey, inflamed by visions of imminent and unparalleled success, they were eager for the final spring. Then all would be over and a peace could be imposed upon the West similar to that imposed upon the East at Brest-Litovsk. The world would recognize its master, would be re-shaped according to Hohenzollern ideas, and would henceforth receive its marching orders from Berlin.

Not many graver moments, if any, have ever occurred in history. The world stood gripped by an intensity of anxiety and apprehension, painful, heart-sinking, intolerable. Particularly in America did a great and desolating wave of dread and foreboding sweep over the public mind. Minutes seemed like hours and hours like weeks, so racking was the suspense. Had we arrived too late? We had been so slow in seeing our duty, in recognizing our responsibility in the desperate drama of our times, we had finally entered the war so unprepared, that it seemed only too likely that we were to pay, and that the world was to pay, a grievous price for our tardy perception and decision. And would that price include, for us, not only national insecurity, but national dishonor and disgrace? The answer to these questions hung upon events, and events thus far had not been reassuring, had, on the contrary, seemed to be converging toward disaster.

Was America "too late"?

We had done much in material ways for the common cause since our entrance into the war. Our navy, efficient and ready, had begun, from the first day, to render useful and important services. By the close of 1917, we had less than 200,000 men in France. How many of these were prepared for front-line work it is impossible to say. But certainly they were far too few for the emergency. On March 27 Lloyd-George, the British Prime Minister, made an urgent appeal for "American reinforcements in the shortest possible space of time" and declared that "we are at the crisis of the war, attacked by an immense superiority of German troops." The appeal was answered. From then on there was a rapid and increasing movement of American troops to Europe, 83,000 in March, 117,000 in April, 244,000 in May, 278,000 in June and by the end of July there were 1,300,000 American soldiers in France. By November there were more than two million.

So desperate was the situation in mid-summer 1918, that the French Government was prepared at any moment to leave Paris, as it had done in 1914.

Foch assumes the offensive

But this moment was never to come. For Marshal Foch now struck a blow which freed Paris from danger, and which inaugurated a new and, as we now see, the final phase of the war. On July 18 he assumed the offensive, attacking the enemy on the flank from Château-Thierry on the Marne to the river Aisne. With French and American troops he took the Germans by surprise, and achieved a brilliant success. His entire line advanced from four to six miles, reclaiming twenty villages. Thousands of prisoners were taken, the Americans alone capturing over four thousand. A large number of guns were also seized. On the following days, the counter-offensive continued. Each day it achieved successes; each day it gained additional momentum. The Allied world passed through a new experience. An uninterrupted series of triumphs for the armies of Marshal Foch filled the days and then the weeks, after he had seized the initiative on July 18.

Second Battle of the Marne

By July 21 the Germans, threatened on the flank, were forced to withdraw the troops which had crossed the Marne. The Second Battle of the Marne was over and took its place in history, alongside the First Battle of the Marne, having accomplished the same deliverance of Paris and having begun the deliverance of France. In that battle Americans had taken an important part, although it should not be exaggerated. Seventy per cent of the troops participating in it were French. Forced to recross the Marne, the Germans next took their stand on the river Vesle. Bitter fighting occurred there. Again they were compelled to retreat and their next stand was at the Aisne. Week after week their backward movement continued, stubbornly yet unsuccessfully contested. Foch's counter-offensive widened out far to the east of Rheims, far to the north of Soissons. Between the Argonne Forest and the river Meuse the main American army, entrusted with a formidable and difficult task, fought desperately day after day, pushing steadily but slowly and at great cost farther and farther north. West of the Argonne the French were driving the Germans back.

Foch's great campaign

At the same time, the French and the British, with contingents of the other Allies, Italians, Belgians, Portuguese, Americans, interspersed, were attacking various points in the long line from Soissons to the English Channel. All these scattered attacks, carefully coördinated, were but parts of a comprehensive plan elaborated by Marshal Foch, who was now revealing himself to the world as the master-intellect of the war. One does not know which to admire the more, the incomparable conception of this campaign or the marvelous execution. Unremitting pressure everywhere, damaging thrusts here and there, such was the evident policy, the purpose being to maintain in Allied hands the initiative and the offensive which had been seized on the fateful July 18. Without haste, without rest, all through August and September and October the gigantic assault continued. The Allies steadily advanced as victors over ground which a short time before they had been compelled to abandon. Verdun was freed from the German menace, so was Rheims, so was Ypres. It would be impossible in any brief space, or, indeed, at length, even to catalogue the long list of incidents and events, in themselves often of great importance and interest, in this vast and complicated movement. Many towns and villages, some of them in possession of the Germans since 1914, were recovered. All that the Germans had won in their drive from March 21 to July 18 was lost, and the Allies then pressed on to conquer the rest of the territory of France, held so long by the Germans, to smash their retreating lines, wherever established, and to hurl them out of France and out of Belgium.

St. Mihiel

One detail of importance and of great interest to Americans in this general campaign was the elimination of the St. Mihiel salient by Pershing's troops on September 12–13.

By the end of September, after paying a heavy price for their retreat, the Germans were back on the famous Hindenburg Line, an intricate and powerful system of defenses which they had for years been building. Here they planned to hold, and then to institute an aggressive peace propaganda among the nations supposed to be tired of war. The only way to block this purpose was to smash the Hindenburg Line and to compel the enemy to hurry on incessantly toward Germany. Could this be done?

Battle of the Hindenburg Line

The Battle of the Hindenburg Line will perhaps rank in history as the decisive battle of the Great War, as momentous as the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipsic in 1813, which foreshadowed the doom of the Napoleonic Empire. In each case the arrogant dream of world power was summarily dissipated. As, after Leipsic, France had been invaded, so, after the Battle of the Hindenburg Line, the invasion of Germany seemed possible and likely. Napoleon, in a few months, had been compelled to abdicate. Might history repeat itself, after an interval of a hundred and five years? The climax of the four years' war was rapidly approaching.

The battle opened on September 26, with attacks on the two widely separated flanks. On that day the first American Army under General

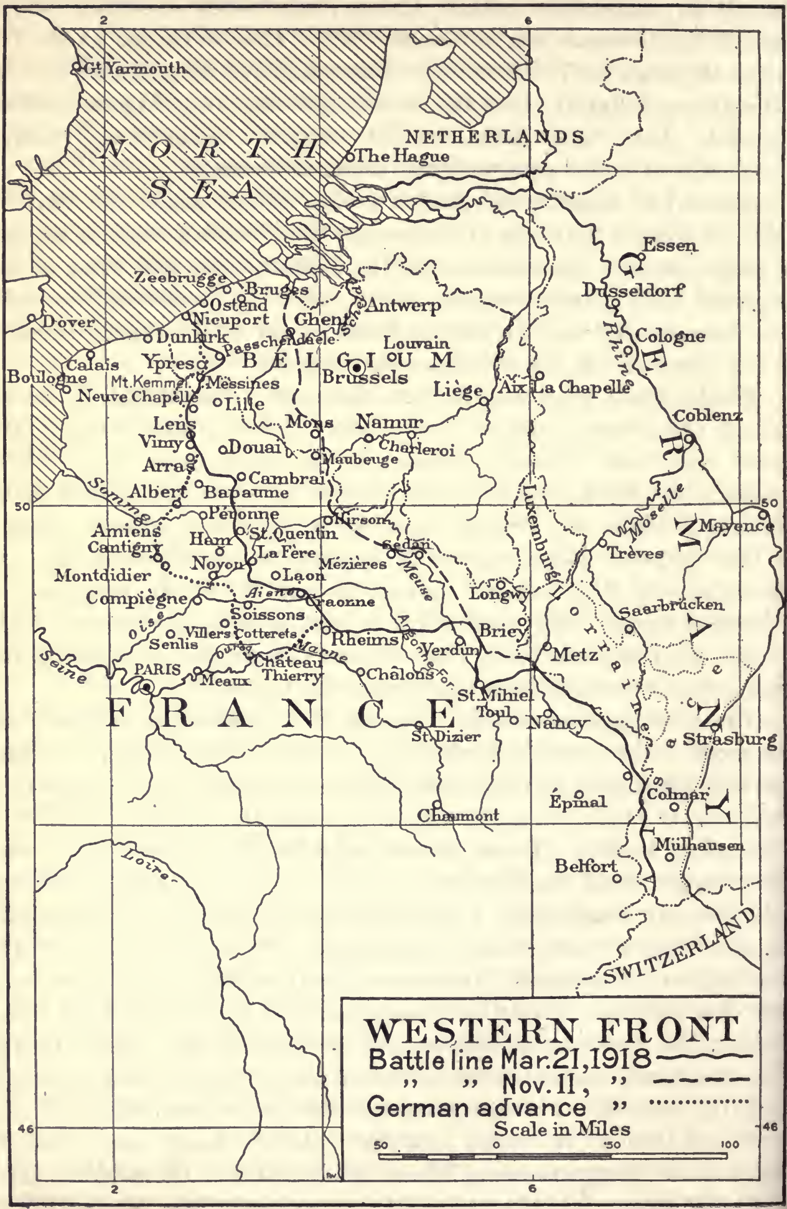
Liggett in conjunction with a French army under Gouraud moved against the Germans on the German left. The Americans fought between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse and at first advanced swiftly, taking many villages. Gouraud on the other side of the Argonne pushed forward. The Franco-American drive was not halted but rendered slower when German reserves were rushed to the scene.

Meanwhile Belgian and British troops had attacked the German right flank far to the north in Belgium and had been successful in driving a wedge between the Germans on the Belgian coast and those in the region of Lille. Again reserves were rushed by Ludendorff to meet this danger. But neither here in Flanders nor at the other extremity in the Argonne was the Allied pressure relaxed.

Finally Foch was ready for his chief blow. On October 8 he attacked the enemy, anxious about both flanks, in the center. The attack was made between Cambrai and St. Quentin by three British armies under Byng, Rawlinson and Horne, aided by the French under Debeney. Here the British achieved perhaps the greatest victory in their history. Hope, repeatedly deferred, was realized at last. In three days the British drove straight through the Hindenburg Line on a front of twelve miles, and where it was strongest, and then pushed on into the open country. That boasted defense was no longer invincible. St. Quentin fell and so, shortly, did Cambrai.

Progress of the Allies

The consequences of this breaking of the Hindenburg Line were enormous. The British pushed on toward Valenciennes. Activity was redoubled along the two flanks and soon advances were made pretty much along the whole line from the English Channel to Verdun. It was a wonderful coöperative movement with glory enough for all the Allies, and to spare. Laon, a tremendous stronghold, was soon evacuated. By October 16 the Germans had had to give up the Belgian coast, Ostend, Zeebrugge. Then Lille, Roubaix and Turcoing were evacuated. In three weeks an amazing victory had been won over positions selected and long prepared by the Germans themselves. The Americans pushed steadily down the Meuse. After October 16 it was merely a question of time when the Germans would inevitably be driven back into their own country. Each subsequent day continued the tale of territory recovered, of towns captured, of a growing demoralization of the German army. The greatest battle of the war had been decisively won. It only remained to gather in the harvest. The


WESTERN FRONT
Battle line Mar.21,1918
" " Nov.11, "
German advance "
Scale in Miles
50
0
50
100
NORTH SEA
NETHERLANDS
The Hague
BELGIUM
FRANCE
GERMANY
SWITZERLAND
Gt Yarmouth
Dover
Boulogne
Calais
Zeebrugge
Bruges
Ostend
Nieuport
Dunkirk
Passchendaele
Ypres
Mt.Kemmel
Messines
Neuve Chapelle
Lille
Ghent
Antwerp
Scheldt
Louvain
Brussels
Liège
Aix La Chapelle
Mons
Namur
Charleroi
Maubeuge
Lens
Vimy
Douai
Arras
Cambrai
Albert
Bapaume
Somme
Péronne
Amiens
Cantigny
Ham
St.Quentin
La Fère
Hirson
Montdidier
Noyon
Laon
Mézières
Sedan
Meuse
Compiègne
Aisne
Craonne
Soissons
Oise
Villers Cotterets
Senlis
Ourcq
Marne
Rheims
Chateau Thierry
Meaux
PARIS
Seine
Châlons
Argonne For.
Verdun
Longwy
Briey
Metz
St.Mihiel
Toul
Nancy
St.Dizier
Chaumont
Épinal
Belfort
Luxemburg
Lorraine
Alsace
Strasburg
Colmar
Mülhausen
Saarbrücken
Trèves
Moselle
Mayence
Coblenz
Cologne
Rhine
Dusseldorf
Essen
Loire
2
6
50
46

superiority of French military science over German military science was established, and the name of Marshal Foch took its place among the greatest names of military history.

Meanwhile in other theaters of this far-flung war momentous events were occurring, contributing powerfully to the gathering culmination. From every front and with each new day came news of victories so astounding and so decisive and attended with consequences so immediate and far-reaching that it was evident that the hour of supreme triumph was rapidly approaching, that a terrible chapter in the history of humanity was drawing to a close.

Allenby's Campaign in Palestine

From Palestine came the news that Allenby, who had taken Jerusalem in December, 1917, was on the go again. With an army of 125,000 men, among whom was a small French contingent, he carried out a brilliant campaign against the Turks. Beginning in the middle of September, and making a rapid and consummate use of cavalry, he was able to get around them and in their rear, enveloping them, and delivering a staggering blow in the plains of Samaria. In the course of a few days Allenby captured 70,000 prisoners and 700 guns and practically all the supplies of the Turkish army. Following up this victory he pushed up to Damascus, which he entered on October 1, 1918, taking 7000 prisoners. On October 6 a French squadron seized Beirut, the chief seaport of Syria. Then began a rapid drive toward Aleppo, the object being to cut the Bagdad railway and thus isolate the Turks who were fighting in Mesopotamia. On October 15 Homs, halfway between Damascus and Aleppo, fell, and also the port of Tripoli on the coast. A few days later Aleppo was taken. The fate of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Arabia was decided. Those regions, which for centuries had been under the blight of Turkish rule, were now freed. The Turkish Empire in that quarter of the world was a thing of the past. Also the dream of a German road from Berlin to Bagdad was now shattered.

Surrender of Bulgaria

And while the Turkish Empire was being amputated in the East, it was being effectively isolated in the West. Bulgaria, which borders Turkey in Europe, was being eliminated from the war. Almost at the very time that Allenby began his attack in Samaria, Franchet d'Esperey, a hero of the first Battle of the Marne, and now commander of the Allied army in the Balkans, an army consisting of French, British, Greek, Servian and Italian troops, attacked the Bulgarians between the Vardar and the Cerna rivers, and broke their lines in two, rendering their position highly critical. Ten days later, on September 29, Bulgaria signed an armistice which meant nothing less than unconditional surrender. She agreed to evacuate all the Greek and Servian territory which she had occupied, to demobilize her army, to permit the Allied troops to use any strategic points in Bulgaria they might wish to, as well as all means of communication. Bulgaria was thus out of the war. The Berlin-Bagdad dream was twice dead. Railroad communication between Turkey and Germany was cut. The grandiose German plan of a Middle-Europe, of which the world had heard so much, was rapidly being shoved into the lumber-room of damaged and discarded gimcracks. Turkey was verging swiftly toward her fate. Servia was quickly reconquered by the Servians and for the Servians, and it could only be a question of a short time before Roumania would be able to rise again, and denounce the infamous Treaty of Bucharest which Germany and Austria-Hungary had imposed upon her less than five months before, on May 7, 1918, a treaty which had practically robbed her of her independence, both economic and political.

Revolution in Bulgaria

It was a matter of detail, though pleasing in itself, when on October 3, the self-styled Czar of Bulgaria, Ferdinand, who had ruled for thirty-one years, abdicated in favor of his son, Crown Prince Boris, twenty-four years of age. Ferdinand was the second of the Balkan kings to lose his throne as a result of his conduct in the world war, Constantine of Greece having preceded him into exile in June, 1917. The new King Boris was destined to rule one month only, when a popular revolution on November 1 overturned the throne and drove him from the land. The Czardom of Bulgaria became a republic.

While such shattering events were occurring in the East, in the Balkans and in France, the war flamed up once more in Italy. It was in October, 1917, that Italy had suffered her great and dangerous reverse. It was then that she was thrown out of Austria, across the Isonzo and that she herself was invaded as far as the Piave. She had experienced colossal losses in men and in equipment. A year from that date, October, 1918, restored in morale and reinvigorated in every way, Italy assumed the offensive against the Austrians. Her attack was successful from the start and in the succeeding days grew portentously until she achieved an amazing triumph which largely effaced the memories of the previous year. The hostile line was broken and the

Austrians were compelled to withdraw pell-mell toward their own country. It was a rout and resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of prisoners and thousands of big guns.

Turkey eliminated from the war

The atmosphere was clearing rapidly owing to these decisive events. Both Turkey and Austria were ready to quit the war. Both asked an armistice. On October 31 the Allied Powers granted an armistice to Turkey on terms that amounted to unconditional surrender. The Dardanelles and the Bosporus were to be freely opened to the Allies, who might also occupy the forts that protected them. Access to the Black Sea was thus guaranteed. The Turkish army was to be immediately demobilized. The Allies were to have the right to occupy any strategic points they might desire or need to. Other terms completed the defeat of Turkey and registered her exit from the war.

Austria eliminated from the war

The armistice granted Austria on November 4 contained similar conditions and also conditions even more severe. The Austro-Hungarian armies must be demobilized and must relinquish to the Allies and the United States a large part of their equipment. Austria must evacuate all territories occupied since the beginning of the war. Practically, too, she must give up the Trentino, Trieste, Istria and a part of the Dalmatian coast. All military and railway equipment must be left where it was and be at the disposal of the Allies. All German troops must be evacuated from Austria within fifteen days. All Allied prisoners held by Austria must be immediately restored to the Allies. A large part of the Austrian navy must be handed over. Several other provisions only emphasized in detail Austria's complete defeat.

Disruption of Austria-Hungary

Meanwhile Austria-Hungary was in rapid process of disintegration. Every dispatch brought news of popular outbreaks from all parts of the Dual Monarchy. The Czecho-Slovaks declared their independence, dethroned the monarch and proclaimed a republic. Hungary declared her independence and apparently prepared to become a republic. It was rumored that Emperor Karl had fled, had abdicated, had been deposed. The truth was hard to discover, reports being so fragmentary and conflicting. Vienna evidently fell into the hands of the revolutionists and socialists and the German sections of Austria were said to have likewise declared their independence. The ancient empire was breaking up and several new states were rapidly evolving. Nationalistic, democratic, and socialistic forces were struggling for recognition and control. What the ultimate outcome would be no man could tell. The very winds had been let loose. Whether the House of Hapsburg still existed was uncertain. That it was doomed to vanish completely and that, too, very soon, seemed assured, if, indeed it had not already vanished. No one knew what the next day or hour would bring forth in this maelstrom of fermentation, in this confusion worse confounded.

The curtain was rapidly descending, the fifth act of the fearful tragedy of our times was closing with unexpected abruptness. Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary were out of the war. There remained the German Empire. Deserted by her Allies, and herself being rapidly driven from France and Belgium, and with the invasion of her own country not only probable but actually impending, what would this arch-conspirator of the age, this "natural foe to liberty," at home and everywhere, what would she do, what could she do, in a world so strangely altered since Brest-Litovsk, since Château-Thierry? The handwriting on the wall was becoming larger and more legible and more terrifying. The evil days were drawing nigh for a dread accounting. What could the proud and mighty German Empire do?

Germany seeks peace

What she did was to make a frantic effort for peace, appealing to President Wilson to bring about a peace conference, pretending to accept the various terms he had indicated in his speeches of the year as a proper basis for the new age, reforming her government rapidly in order to meet the more obvious criticisms which foreigners had made against it as autocratic and militaristic. The outcome of these maneuvers was the elaboration by the Allies and the United States at Versailles of the terms on which they would grant an armistice. These terms were to be communicated by Marshal Foch to such a delegation as the German government should send to receive them at a place to be indicated by the Generalissimo. On Friday morning, November 8, Marshal Foch received the German armistice delegation in a railroad car at Senlis, in France and read to them the terms agreed upon for a cessation of hostilities. They were allowed seventy-two hours in which to consult their superiors and in which to sign or reject the armistice.

Revolution in Germany

Meanwhile revolution had begun in Germany. On Thursday, November 7, mutiny broke out at Kiel. Several of the German warships were seized by the mutineers and the red flag was hoisted over them. On that and succeeding days similar movements occurred in various cities and states, and revolutionary governments, local or regional, generally headed by socialists, were announced from various localities, with what exactness we cannot tell, from Hamburg, Bremen, Tilsit, Chemnitz, Stuttgart, Brunswick, Bavaria, finally from Berlin. Reports circulated like wild-fire that reigning princes were abdicating or being dethroned, that workmen's and soldiers' councils or soviets were being formed in various centers and were seizing power. Demands were being made that the Kaiser abdicate. There were all the phenomena of a breaking up of the great deep. German society was being torn by alarming dissensions, the practical unanimity of the past four years was pounding to pieces upon the jagged reefs of defeat, and defeat with discredit and dishonor. An hour of fearful retribution had struck. There was dismay and disarray in the public mind, vacillation and poverty of counsel among the military and political leaders of the land. Moral bankruptcy, as well as material, stared the German nation in the face, that nation which had been a unit in war as long as war offered chances for aggrandizement and loot. Socialists, with the exception of a paltry few, had worked hand in glove with militarists and Pan-Germans and the assorted hosts of embattled adventurers and soldiers of fortune; they had done this for four years, the easy tools of autocracy and egregious militarism. But now this band of international plunderers was falling apart. Each was seeking safety as it might from the fast approaching storm.

Abdication of William II

On Saturday, November 9, a wireless message picked up by Paris and by London announced, to the stupefaction of the world, that the Emperor of Germany, William II, had abdicated, and that his son, the Crown Prince Frederick William, had renounced his rights to the throne, that a socialist, Ebert, had been made Chancellor, and that a German National Assembly would be speedily elected by universal suffrage and that that Assembly would "settle finally the future form of government of the German nation and of those peoples which might be desirous of coming within the empire."

On the following day, Sunday, the world heard that the revolution was still spreading, that Cologne cathedral was flying a red flag, that Hanover, Oldenberg, Magdeburg, Saxony and other towns and states were seething with rebellion.

On Monday Americans awoke to the screeching of whistles and the din of bells which signified that the armistice terms had been accepted by the German government and that "the war was over," hostilities to cease at eleven o'clock that morning, Paris time. Rushing for their morning papers they ascertained this further fact that William II, Emperor of Germany, who for thirty years had been the most powerful monarch in the world, had fled for refuge in an automobile to Holland. Thus the Last of the Hohenzollerns made his sorry exit from the scene, having plunged the world into turmoil and tribulation indescribable, the memory of which would haunt mankind with nameless horror for decades to come, the heartless, crushing cost of which would afflict and sadden generations yet unborn.

The evil that men do lives after them.

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CHAPTER XXIX

MAKING THE PEACE

For four years, three months, and more, the world had been passing through the hideous ordeal by fire. The end had come suddenly, unexpectedly, as had the beginning in 1914. The agony of uncertainty, the distress of clashing hopes and fears, the tense strain of daily, hourly anxiety, the ever-present sense of indescribable suffering and woe, now gave way to the exultation of victory, to pride in the glory of the achievement, to gratitude to those who had won it. The sacrifice had, at any rate, not been in vain. The golden hour had arrived at last, so often and so long deferred. Liberty had once more triumphed in its century-old struggle with despotism and now the opportunity had come for the spirit of freedom to inherit the earth. Civilization had hung upon the arbitrament of the sword. The unconquerable spirit of the brave had once more saved the world.

Victory necessary to peace

But while the worst was over in the appalling tragedy of our times, while war was no longer to slay its thousands daily and create new carnage hourly, the clearing away of the colossal wreckage of the war, the new ordering of the world after a convulsion that had affected every part of it, would, it was obvious, require much time and patience. The Allies had refused to listen for a moment to the ignoble and dangerous suggestion of a peace without victory since such an outcome would mean nothing less than peace with defeat. "The war has ended," wrote an editor immediately after the armistice, "in the decisive victory of the free peoples of the world — the only end which could be worthy of the ideals for which they have fought and could redeem the sacrifices they have made, the only end which could enable them to build a new and better order of civilization on the ruins of the old."

Mr. Asquith, prime minister of Great Britain, had said at the very outset of the war that England would never sheathe her sword "until the military domination of Prussia" had been "wholly and finally destroyed." That end was achieved at last. The most mighty military despotism of the world was overthrown; an overweening national pride was abased; a powerful and vainglorious monarch was a fugitive from the wrath of man; the colossal structure erected by Bismarck was in process of dissolution — such were the surprising and dramatic incidents of the closing scene, incidents calculated to impress profoundly the minds of men. In the spring of 1918 the Prussian system was on the verge of a stupendous victory; in the autumn that system crashed in utter ruin. Retribution so swift and so complete has rarely been witnessed on this earth.

The destruction of Prussia's militarism

"Twenty years after my death," Bismarck once said, "I mean to rise from my coffin, to see whether Germany has stood in honor before the world." Bismarck died in 1898. Had he returned to life in 1918 his rage would have been Homeric at the wanton and blatant incompetence of his successors, wasting, in a wild, insensate gamble the goodly patrimony he had left them and leaving Germany pilloried before the conscience of mankind. Long before his death, indeed, he had had a presentiment of what might be. "That young man," he had said of the Emperor William II, "will some day play his hand, play it at the wrong time and ruin his country," a prophecy now literally fulfilled. "World-Empire or Downfall" was the title of a notorious book, issued a few months before the Great War began, and received with enthusiasm in the fatherland. Bernhardi, its author, was right. Downfall it was to be. And the measure of that fall was in part indicated in the terms of the armistice which Germany signed on November 11, and which constituted the first steps toward peace.

Bismark's prophecy

THE ARMISTICE

The first clause in this document provided for the cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice. The second clause provided for the "immediate evacuation of invaded countries; Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg, so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days," the evacuated areas to be occupied by Allied and United States forces. The significance of the clause was great as it assimilated the invasion of Alsace-Lorraine, which had occurred forty-eight years

Its main provisions

before, with the invasion of Belgium, Luxemburg, and France, which had occurred four years before. In other words the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany in 1871 was an act of violence and continued as such all through the intervening years. The lapse of time had not weakened by jot or tittle the rightful claims of France to the lost provinces. It was just and fitting that Germany should be compelled to disgorge the booty she had acquired by the same process in both wars.

Other clauses provided that Germany must surrender in good condition much war material, 5000 heavy and field guns, 25,000 machine guns, 3000 bomb throwers, 1700 airplanes; also 5000 locomotives, 150,000 railroad cars, 5000 motor cars; also all the German submarines and 74 German surface war-ships of various kinds.

Territory to be evacuated by the German army

German armies must evacuate all the country west of the river Rhine, which should then be occupied by Allied and United States garrisons which should also hold the three principal crossings of the Rhine, Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne together with the bridgeheads at these points of a radius of nearly twenty miles (30 kilometers). East of the Rhine there was to be a neutral belt of about six miles extending from the frontier of Holland to that of Switzerland. The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhine Province was to be charged to the German government. Other provisions of the armistice required Germany to renounce the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, to withdraw all German troops immediately from territories which were formerly parts of Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Turkey, to evacuate East Africa, and to repatriate all Allied prisoners of war without the right to have her own subjects liberated from foreign prison camps. Germany must also make restitution of the Russian and Roumanian gold which she had extracted from those countries and hand this over to the Allies to be held in trust until the signature of peace. The armistice was to run thirty days and might then be extended. The purpose of these various provisions was to render it impossible for Germany to renew the war with any hope of success.

THE EXECUTION OF THE ARMISTICE

Such were the main provisions of the armistice of November 11. No sooner made than the execution began. On November 19 Marshal

Alsace and Lorraine welcome the French army

Pétain, leading the French army into Metz, the capital of Lorraine, and Germany's strongest fortress west of the Rhine, was received with enthusiasm by the people, welcoming back the tricolor after forty-seven years of German rule. On November 23 Strasburg set its clocks to French time and Marshal Foch, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies made his triumphal entry, amid frenzied acclamations. Even Germans were forced to recognize the actual situation, so unmistakable was the expression of Alsatian feeling, now that the opportunity for expression had arrived. The *Cologne Gazette*, learning of the reception accorded the French when they entered Colmar and Saverne and Wissembourg and other Alsatian towns, said: "It is better not to deceive ourselves with illusions. The hatred of Germany shows itself all through Alsace with the violence of a hurricane. The French are received, in a delirium of enthusiasm, as true liberators."

Central News Photo Service, N. Y.

Marshal Foch

The Prussian Rhine Province

Not only were Alsace and Lorraine thus recovered for France, in one of the most dramatic climaxes of history, but by the terms of the armistice the Allied armies had the right to occupy the Prussian Rhine Province and the left bank and the main crossings of the river. Accordingly three armies of occupation moved forward, the English to the north and establishing themselves in Cologne, the Americans farther south with their center in Coblenz, the French south of them, with their headquarters in Mayence. The last German soldier was withdrawn beyond the Rhine and Allied soldiers passed over it at the three places named in order to hold the bridgeheads and the surrounding areas.

Surrender of the German Fleet

While this systematic operation was proceeding on land, an event of profound significance was occurring on the sea. On November 18 the German fleet surrendered to the Allied fleets, about fifty miles east of the Firth of Forth. Nearly four hundred warships of the Allies witnessed this surrender, having formed in two long columns six miles apart between which moved the German ships. Naval history records no triumph as complete as this. The second naval power of the world, the proud creation of William II and modern Germany, had ceased to be, its ships forced to haul down their flags in the presence of the enemy and to be interned in a British harbor. Germany's sea-power was at an end, nor is it likely that it will ever again be permitted to revive and to disturb the peace of the world. The German navy had won no laurels and its surrender was ignominious. It was a captive in British waters. Over seventy battleships had preferred abject surrender to a test in battle. "The German flag," Admiral Beatty informed the German Admiral von Reuter, "is to be hauled down at sunset to-day, and is not to be hoisted again without permission."

Central News Photo Service, N. Y.

SURRENDER OF THE GERMAN FLEET

THE PROBLEMS IN MAKING PEACE

An armistice is a mere suspension of hostilities. It is the first step toward peace, yet it does not always lead to peace. An armistice is concluded quickly under the pressure of circumstances with but little time for deliberation. A peace, however, if it is to be enduring and particularly after a war that has swept the whole world within its destructive range, must be the product of long consideration and reflection. It can hardly be hurried and yet hurried it is likely to be, necessarily, because of the general desire for the speedy resumption of the normal activities of life, and also because delay allows time for the dangerous development of all those revolutionary passions and appetites, those forces of discontent and disintegration which are always loosened and accentuated by war. After the uncertainties and hazards of war must come the certainties and assurances of peace. Moreover, as the iron must be hammered into shape when hot, so the changes effected by war must be speedily clinched and codified, before those who dislike those changes have recovered sufficiently to be able to oppose and block them. Otherwise what was won by the fighters may be lost by the peace-makers.

Conditions of an enduring peace

Thus after the armistice of November 11 and after the execution of its immediate provisions for the weakening of the enemy, the surrender of his fleet, the occupation of a part of his land, men turned toward the far more difficult work of making peace.

On examination, how amazingly complicated the task! The variety and gravity of the problems demanding solution far exceeded those of the Congress of Vienna. Those problems fell naturally into several main classes although these classes were not mutually exclusive but were, on the contrary, extraordinarily intertwined with each other. There was first the problem of Germany. Germany must pay, both in territory and in indemnities, for the enormous injuries she had done the world. It would be only just if she were to pay the entire cost of the war, yet that would be practically impossible since the war had cost all the nations probably two hundred billions of dollars. But that part of this colossal burden which was not to be borne by Germany must be borne by those upon whom she wantonly forced war, and for which they were themselves not responsible. No "healing peace" could be made with Germany, because such a peace

The problem of Germany

would be flagrantly immoral and unjust. The burden of paying for this German-made war must be placed squarely upon the shoulders of Germany, as far as that was humanly possible. But the determination of this very point presented great difficulties of detail. An additional difficulty lay in the fact that the fall of the Empire had left Germany in political chaos, rival groups struggling for the control hitherto exercised by the now fugitive William of Hohenzollern.

Socialists in control of Germany

On November 9, after the armistice terms had been submitted to the Germans but before they had been accepted, Prince Maximilian, the last Chancellor of the Imperial Régime announced that the Kaiser had determined to renounce the throne. On that day a republic was proclaimed in Munich with Kurt Eisner, a Jewish Socialist, as head and virtual dictator of the Catholic state of Bavaria. Also on that day a group of Berlin Socialists demanded of Prince Maximilian that a Socialist government be installed. The Prince acceded to the demand and transferred his office of Chancellor to a prominent Socialist, Frederick Ebert, a saddlemaker from Heidelberg, who immediately took possession of the Chancellor's palace. But the real power was not long in Ebert's hands. For on Sunday, November 10, improvised soldiers' and workmen's councils in Berlin held a great meeting, formally repudiated the imperial constitution, and were recognized by Ebert as the center of power, pending the election of a national assembly to frame a constitution for the new Germany.

The Majority and the Minority Socialists

The Socialists had for many years cast the largest number of votes in elections to the Reichstag of all the parties in the Empire. They now seized the reins of government just as the Socialists of Russia had installed themselves in power shortly after the fall of the House of Romanoff in 1917. But in Germany as in Russia the Socialists were divided into several factions. The Majority Socialists led by Ebert and Scheidemann had supported the measures of the Imperial Government during the war. The Minority Socialists, led by Haase, had opposed them. For the moment the two factions were fused in the government now created, the Ebert-Haase government, offspring of the revolution, and really chosen by the local *soviet* of Berlin, although claiming to act for the entire nation, until such time as soviets could be formed all over Germany and united into a federation.

The career of this revolutionary government was destined to be uncertain and stormy. The fundamental principle of socialism is that the means of production, namely factories, mines, and land, should be owned by the state and operated by the state, that the present system of private ownership and private production should cease. But it was evident from the start that the majority of the members of the new government did not consider the moment opportune for so sweeping a change, that if it were attempted it would fail and lead to a reaction, that what the people demanded immediately was peace, and that law and a stable government were essential to the securing of peace, that the fundamental change from a régime of private property to one of social property must wait.

Karl Liebknecht and the Spartacides

On the other hand the Minority Socialists seemed to favor socialization first and peace afterward; and there was an extreme wing of the Socialists, called the Spartacides, led by Karl Liebknecht and by Rosa Luxemburg who were not interested in peace at all but wished to deprive the bourgeois elements of the country of all political rights and to establish the proletariat in complete control. They represented the same ideas and methods that the Bolsheviki in Russia represented — the rule of a single class, the repudiation of democracy, the use of force to effect the immediate introduction of thorough-going socialism.

For a month after the revolution the Ebert-Haase government was chiefly conspicuous for its weakness. Claiming to represent the nation as a whole, it was imperfectly obeyed even in Berlin itself. Meanwhile the Spartacides were preparing to seize control by violence. Through most of December and the early part of January there were recurrent outbreaks, riots, and much bloodshed in the capital. The Spartacides failed and Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and many others were counted among the dead. For the moment, at any rate, Bolshevism was blocked in Germany.

The election of a constituent assembly

The Ebert-Scheidemann group now proceeded with its plan of having an assembly elected by all men and women of twenty years or older, which assembly should frame a new constitution for Germany. The elections did not result in a majority for any single party. While the Socialists elected more members than did any other party, still they were in a minority of the whole body. They would not be able to make a purely socialistic constitution. But uniting with the Democratic party they would be able to organize the state.

The Weimar Assembly

The Constituent Assembly met in Weimar, a small town famous in the history of German liberalism and of German literature, the home of Goethe and Schiller and Herder and Wieland. A provisional constitution was immediately adopted and on February 11, 1919, Frederick Ebert was chosen first president of the German state. A ministry of fourteen members was established, seven of whom were Socialists, seven belonging to other parties. The Assembly then entered upon its main task, the elaboration of a permanent constitution for Germany. What the outcome of its deliberations would be no one could foretell. More serious still was the doubt as to whether the Weimar Assembly would be able to make a constitution at all or whether, having made one, it would be able to impose it upon Germany. Would the national fermentation subside or would the more extreme revolutionists of the Bolshevik type, the Spartacides, be able finally to get control of the state by violent methods, sweep the Weimar Assembly aside and establish Bolshevism? Time alone could tell.

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THE WEIMAR ASSEMBLY

Frederick Ebert delivering his address of acceptance as President of Germany.

EUROPEAN RECONSTRUCTION

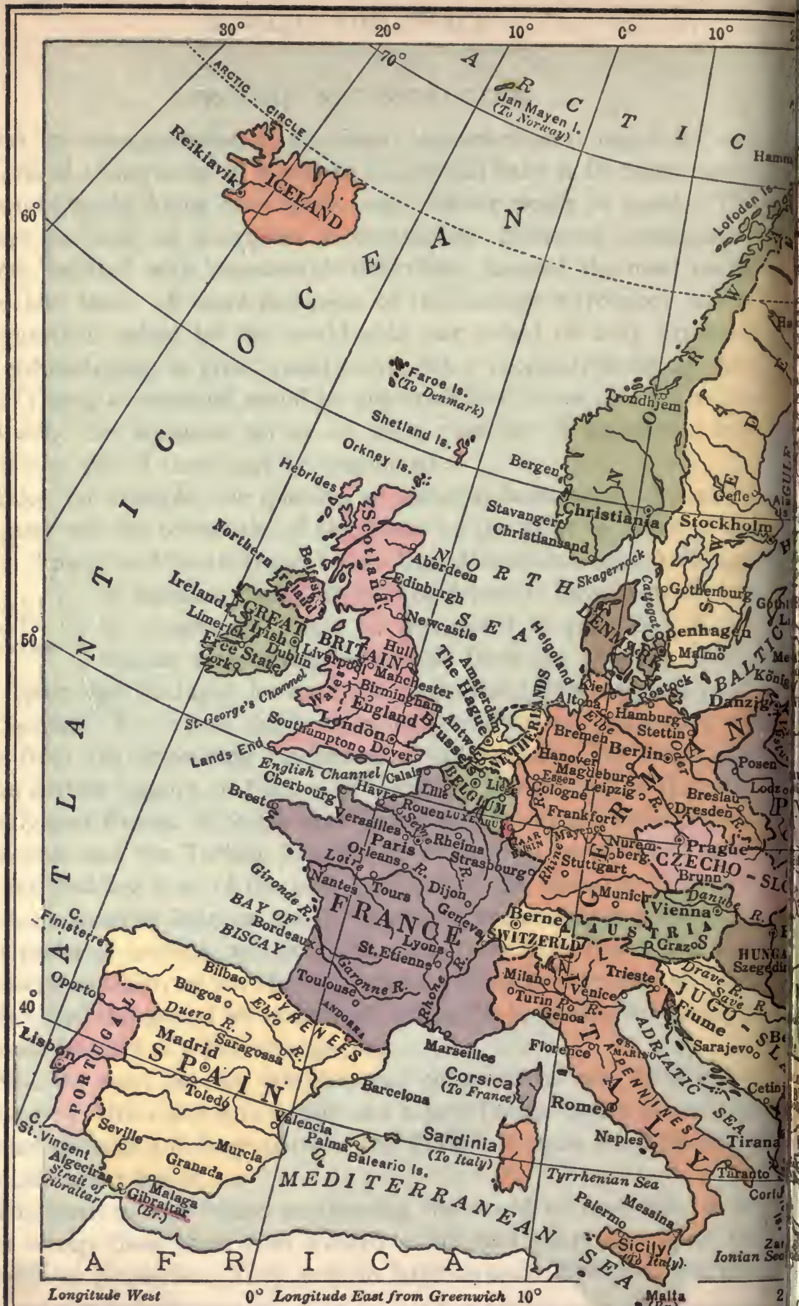
But the reorganization of Germany, important as it might be, was only one of a long series of measures that would have to be taken before the world could know once more even relative peace of mind. The general problem of European reconstruction presented innumerable aspects, bristled with innumerable difficulties, aroused the most varied hopes and fears. A mere catalogue of the changes introduced and of the questions raised by the world-wide war would be both extensive and disheartening, so great would be the labor necessary to bring order out of chaos, so essential would be unprecedented stores of wisdom and good-will. An adequate survey of these questions is impossible here but one or two of them may be considered.

Future national boundaries

Take, for example, the question of national boundaries. In only a few cases will the boundaries of the future be the same as those of the past. From the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains, from Archangel to Salonica, changes in political frontiers have been effected by events and must be recognized in practice. A few nations may emerge unaltered from the alchemy of this war, Spain and Portugal, for example, Switzerland, Norway, and possibly Sweden. But where else is there another European state that will issue from the impending readjustment unchanged? The boundaries of the British Empire, of France, of Germany, of Austria and Hungary, of Italy and Russia, of Serbia and Greece and Roumania and Bulgaria, of Albania and the Turkish Empire, all these must be sketched anew. For the dividing lines of the past have joined the snows of yesterday. The boundaries of Belgium and Holland and Luxemburg and Denmark must probably undergo rectifications. One thing is certain. The map of Europe on which we were brought up has passed forever into the limbo of discarded things and we must begin forthwith to familiarize ourselves with the features of a new strange map.

And we must become familiar, not only with a new Europe but with a new Africa and a new Asia and a new Pacific Ocean as well, for German colonies and large parts of the Turkish Empire are destined to pass into other hands.

The territorial problems confronting the world in 1919 have a far wider sweep than those that existed a hundred years ago upon the downfall of Napoleon. They arise in large measure from the fact that


30°
20°
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ARCTIC CIRCLE
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Jan Mayen I.
(To Norway)
Reikiavik
ICELAND
Hamm
Lofoden Is.
Faroe Is.
(To Denmark)
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Hebrides
Trondhjem
Bergen
Stavanger
Christiania
Christiansand
Stockholm
Gefle
Gothenburg
Copenhagen
Malmo
NORWAY
SWEDEN
GULF
Skagerrack
Cattegat
DENMARK
Northern Ireland
Belfast
Scotland
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Newcastle
NORTH SEA
Heligoland
Ireland
Irish Free State
Limerick
Dublin
Cork
GREAT BRITAIN
Hull
Liverpool
Manchester
Wales
Birmingham
England
St. George's Channel
Southampton
London
Dover
Lands End
English Channel
Calais
Amsterdam
The Hague
NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Brussels
BELGIUM
Liege
Lille
LUXEMBURG
Cherbourg
Havre
Rouen
Brest
Versailles
Seine R.
Paris
Rheims
SAAR BASIN
Strasbourg
Orleans
Loire R.
Nantes
Tours
Dijon
FRANCE
Gironde R.
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
Lyons
St. Etienne
Geneva
Garonne R.
Toulouse
ANDORRA
Rhone R.
PYRENEES
Marseilles
Kiel
Altona
Hamburg
Rostock
Bremen
Elbe R.
Stettin
Oder R.
Danzig
BALTIC
Königsberg
Hanover
Berlin
Magdeburg
Essen
Cologne
Leipzig
Posen
Lodz
Breslau
Dresden
Frankfort
Mayence
Rhine R.
GERMANY
Nuremberg
Prague
Stuttgart
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
Brunn
Munich
Danube R.
Vienna
Berne
SWITZERLD
AUSTRIA
Graz
HUNGARY
Szegedin
Milano
Turin
Po R.
Venice
Trieste
Genoa
Drave R.
Save R.
Fiume
JUGO-SLAVIA
Sarajevo
Florence
S. MARINO
APENNINES
ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
Rome
Cetinje
Tirana
Naples
Taranto
Corfu
Corsica
(To France)
Sardinia
(To Italy)
Tyrrhenian Sea
Palermo
Messina
Sicily
(To Italy)
Malta
(Br.)
Ionian Sea
C. Finisterre
Oporto
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
C. St. Vincent
Bilbao
Burgos
Ebro R.
Duero R.
Saragossa
Madrid
SPAIN
Toledo
Barcelona
Valencia
Palma
Balearic Is.
Seville
Murcia
Granada
Algeciras
Strait of Gibraltar
Malaga
Gibraltar
(Br.)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
Longitude West
0° Longitude East from Greenwich 10°

Present territorial problems

a war begun for the extinction of one small state, Serbia, resulted, not in that extinction, but in the destruction of three great empires, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, and in the defeat of a fourth, Germany, and the overthrow of its twenty-two monarchs. Meanwhile Serbia emerges from the colossal wreckage covered with glory, stronger than ever in its national integrity, and destined to a great enlargement of its territory. It is doubtful if the history of the world contains a more ironical page.

Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Turkey, in 1914, bulked large on the map; Russia, 8,400,000 square miles, or one-seventh of the land surface of the globe; Austria-Hungary, 261,000; Germany, 208,000; Turkey, 710,000, or three and a half times as many as the German Empire; in all, 9,579,000 square miles, or more than three times the continental area of the United States, excluding Alaska, and with a population of two hundred and fifty millions. The Congress of Vienna had a small area and a population of thirty-two millions to provide for as the result of the Napoleonic wars, namely the Duchy of Warsaw, which was only a part of former Poland, parts of Germany on the left bank of the Rhine, and the Italian peninsula.

In all this area of more than 9,000,000 square miles, supporting a population of a quarter of a billion, no man, at the close of the Great War, could point out the boundaries. They had been burned away in the consuming heat of the fray. What should be put in their places remained to be seen. That the drawing of the new map would prove a highly contentious matter was certain beyond peradventure.

Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Poland

One thing the victors of the war were committed to, namely the recognition of two new states, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugo-Slavia, and the restoration of an old state, Poland. The first of these would consist of territories formerly belonging to Austria and Hungary; the second would consist of Serbia and Montenegro and territories formerly Austro-Hungarian; the third of territories which for well over a century had been ruled over by Russia, Prussia and Austria.

Such were a few of the outstanding territorial problems created by the war, and there were many others, which must receive solution speedily, if peace was to be secured. In most cases the problems were intricate; in some obscure; in all sure to arouse the most heated passions. There was no remotest possibility that they could be settled amicably and in such a way as to leave no ill-feeling. They constituted the very stuff of which resentments and hatreds are made. Nevertheless settled they must be in one way or another.

WORLD PROBLEMS

Not only must Germany be forced to pay for the criminal destruction she had wrought in the war, not only must most of the frontiers of Europe be redrawn, not only must several new states be erected and guaranteed, but the economic development of these new states must be assured as well. Arrangements securing peace, security and good government must be devised for the vast territories severed from the Turkish Empire and for the former German colonies; for Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, for Constantinople, for the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. Moreover the future of Russia, of China, of Persia, comprising a third of the population of the world, must be based upon sound institutions, or the peace of the world would be indeed unstable. Again, the whole body of international law, flouted by the Central Powers in this most lawless of wars, must be painfully and laboriously reconstructed anew, for unless nations know their rights and duties, unless they respect them and insist that they be respected by others, international relations rest on sand, and humanity is at the mercy of force and guile.

The German Colonies, Russia, China, etc.

International Law

In short, in whatever direction one might turn in surveying the world on the morrow of the armistice, one could see only a tangle of thorny questions demanding answers, a profusion of perplexing problems of every description, and the prevalence of passions little propitious for a speedy issue out of all these troubles. Four years of world war had accumulated a staggering mass of unfinished business which the peace-makers must now confront, and through which they must hew their way, though dangers manifold should encompass them about on every side. The mere task of feeding the world was appalling, pressing, and acute, and the necessary means and methods hard, if not impossible, to find. In no country in the world was the economic life of the people normal or healthy; in many countries it was highly abnormal, sadly shattered and deranged. Agriculture, the basic industry, manufacturing, trade

Immediate problems for the peace-makers

and commerce, all had been severely damaged and dislocated by the war. A large fraction of the working population had been drawn from industry and commerce into the armies of the combatants. Less food was produced at a time when more was needed. Markets had been lost or changed. Gradually, under the inexorable pressure of the war, industry had been brought more and more under the control of the state and directed toward serving the needs of war. Industry had been increasingly diverted from private to public control.

Demobilization and the economic world

With peace would come demobilization, the return of millions of men to their homes, seeking their places again in the economic life of the various nations. Other millions would be thrown out of work by the fact that the great war industries, the munition plants, the ship-yards, the various supply services, would now have to curtail production as rapidly as possible. Women had been employed in enormous numbers in place of the men who had gone to the fighting line. Now an infinite number of such personal readjustments must be made. Herculean were the tasks confronting the governments. They must so order this necessary transition in the economic world from a war basis to a peace basis that there should not be a general outbreak of industrial strife in place of the prolonged and desperate armed strife of the last four years. The relations of capital and labor, always delicate and difficult of adjustment, might easily become more troublesome than ever. The existence and the urgent character of these numerous economic problems would enormously increase the burden resting upon the governments of the various countries, and that too at a time when international affairs of the greatest variety and gravity were likely to occupy their attention and challenge their ability to the utmost. But the war had been a peoples' war and the domestic interests of the masses must be taken into account in determining the foreign policies of the governments. Internal and external affairs could not be separated into compartments and treated consecutively. They were intertwined, and government programmes must have simultaneously in mind both sets of interests, those of the masses of the population as well as those of the countries as wholes and as members of the family of nations. It might well prove in practice that the vastly increased responsibilities resting upon statesmen in so troubled and critical a period of history would exceed their powers

Interrelation of domestic and foreign affairs

as human beings and that their achievements in each of the two great spheres of activity, home affairs, foreign affairs, would fall far short of the hopes and expectations of their constituents.

This was all the more likely to happen since extravagant hopes and expectations had unquestionably been aroused by loose talkers and writers, since programmes of reconstruction had been hastily brought forward in abundance whose realization in definite and concrete reforms could only be accomplished in years, if not in decades, if indeed they could ever be accomplished. Many were the discordant noises, all declaring that they were the authentic voices of the people but frequently sounding suspiciously like the voices of special classes. In the very multiplicity of counsellors, inevitable, it may be, in an age of democracy and the prolific printing press, lay the seed of much confusion and also of much future disappointment.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

One of the ideas which had been much discussed during the war was that of a new international organization, which should be designed and empowered to prevent the recurrence of such a hideous catastrophe as that which was then devastating and desolating the world and which inevitably would leave a heavy, heartless heritage of sorrow and of debt for long, long years to come. The old organization, or as the critics preferred to say, the old disorganization of the nations had broken down completely and was utterly discredited. It must be discarded forever. Any attempt to set it up again after the tornado had passed must be defeated. The nations must not be allowed to relapse into their former habits and methods, habits and methods that had led straight to bankruptcy. The old diplomacy, with its alliances, frequently secret, with its intrigues, with its general irresponsibility to the peoples whose destinies it assumed to control, must give way to a new diplomacy, open and above the board, dedicated to the task of eliminating jealousies, rivalries and hatreds and of introducing and encouraging the spirit of friendliness and coöperation among the nations. Particularly must war be outlawed. The phrase that this was "a war to end war" became current, as did also the words, "Never Again." Both expressed the determination to annihilate once for all this immemorial curse of mankind.

It should prevent war and maintain peace

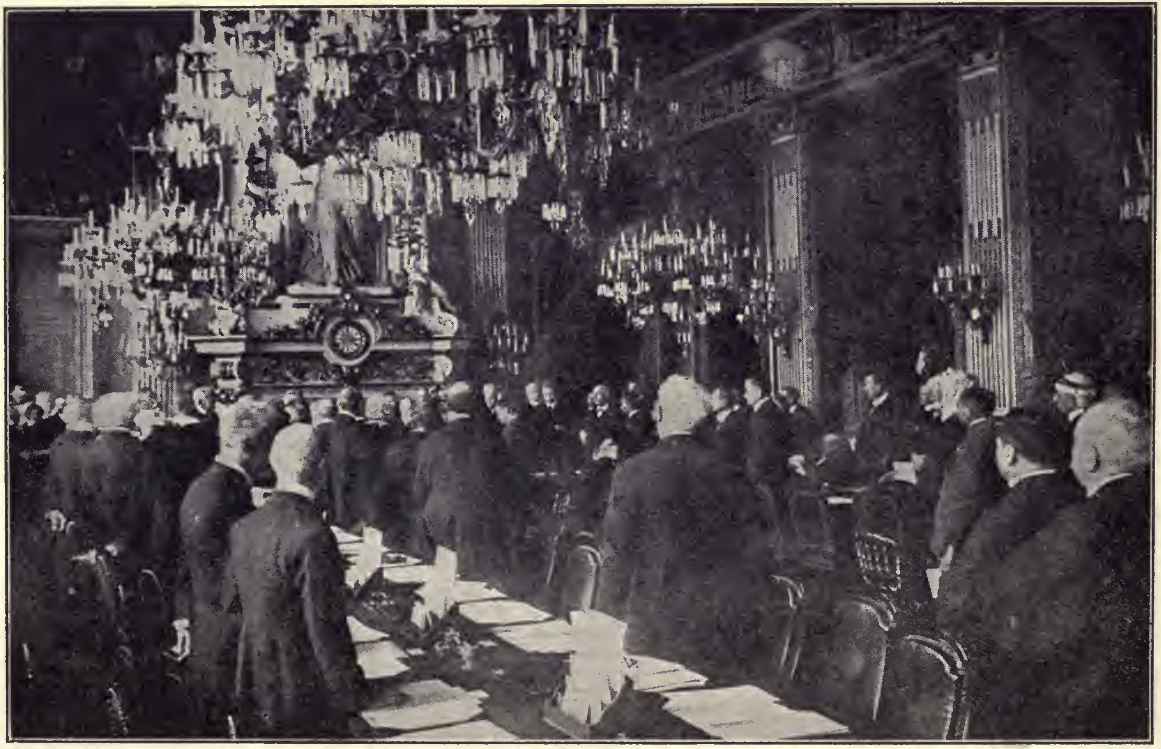
This indignant and passionate resolve to find a better way to settle international difficulties in the future than had ever been found in the past enlisted the support of many men in France and England and America. Societies were formed in those countries for the purpose of arousing public opinion to the feasibility as well as the desirability of a new organization of human society which should serve the interests of mankind, should express the conscience of mankind. In the United States the League to Enforce Peace was founded in Independence Hall in Philadelphia in June, 1915, with ex-President Taft as president. In the following year President Wilson gave it as his opinion that, "When the great present war is over, it will be the duty of America to join with the other nations of the world in some kind of a league for the maintenance of peace." This thought was quite in line with long-existing aspirations of the American people, as shown in their enthusiastic advocacy, at the Hague Conferences, of peaceful methods in adjusting international contentions and in the approval they had often given to the principle of arbitration.

Popular demand for a League to Enforce Peace

But a league of nations that could prevent war or even render it less probable could not remain a mere aspiration; it must be translated into a definite organization, with definite powers and obligations, and with a machinery for achieving its lofty purpose. It might easily happen that when the attempt should be made to embody the aspiration in a concrete institution, grave and perhaps insuperable difficulties would arise. No two people might agree, much less two nations, as to the practical means whereby the aspiration could be realized. To desire a constitution is one thing; to draft it is quite another thing, and much more arduous; and to get the draft accepted by those who are to be bound by it is something far more formidable still. The cause would not be aided by those uncritical and enthusiastic advocates who wrote and spoke as if only a league of nations were needed in order to realize the dreams of poets and seers throughout the ages, of peace on earth, good-will to all. A lush and rampant sentimentalism, expressed in high-sounding phrases, would not help things along very far, but would, on the contrary, be likely to do more harm than good.

A working organization necessary

Such, then, were some of the elements in the general situation revealed by the suspension of hostilities in November, 1918. Humanity had narrowly escaped a great and terrible doom. It had passed through



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PRESIDENT POINCARÉ OPENING THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS an intense strain of desperate endeavor; it had hovered long over the brink of failure and disaster. In the end it had achieved an astounding victory. Despotism had challenged liberty for the control of the world and despotism had gone under. Reigning houses that had ruled for centuries and that had held the world in awe had been scattered like chaff before an avenging wind. Hohenzollern, Hapsburg, Romanoff thrones had crashed to earth and all their satellites of petty kings and princes had run madly for cover, thinking themselves happy if they escaped with their lives to Switzerland. Monarchies became republics over night throughout central and eastern Europe. Autocracies yielded to democracies. Peoples, little accustomed by their previous experience or training to govern themselves, were now forced to do so, or to yield to new forms of oppression and misrule. The dictatorship of self-appointed radicals might be as ruinous to domestic happiness and to foreign peace as the old dictatorships of divine-right monarchs had been. Nationalistic, racial, social, economic questions surged up in every direction.

It was in a world like this that the Allies who had won the war prepared to meet, in order to confer upon and to determine the terms of peace which they would offer their defeated enemies. Having agreed among themselves what those terms should be they would then submit them to the latter for acceptance. Only after the necessary treaties had been made and ratified could the war be considered at an end; only then could the work of reconstruction be seriously begun.

The Peace Conference at Paris

The place chosen for the peace conference was appropriately Paris, which Meredith once called "the goddess of the lightning brain," "valiant unto death for a principle" and which had been the nerve-center of the Allied cause, the throbbing heart of the coalition, from the first day to the last of the racking struggle. The first session of the conference of Paris was held on January 18, 1919, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This formal meeting had been arranged by the Inter-allied Supreme War Council and by the representatives of the five Great Powers, which had decided among other things the number of representatives that each state should have at the conference. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan were to have five delegates apiece, and the British Dominions and India were also to be represented, two delegates each from Australia,

The Representatives

Canada, South Africa and India and one delegate from New Zealand; Brazil was given three delegates; Belgium, China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, the Czecho-Slovak Republic, Roumania, and Serbia two delegates each; Montenegro, Siam, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay one delegate each. This would make an assembly of about seventy members. While the larger states were given a larger representation, each state was to have but a single vote. This preliminary distribution of delegates was almost immediately altered owing to the protests of Belgium and Serbia which had fought and suffered from the first day of the war to the last and which now found themselves allotted only two representatives, whereas Brazil, which had not actually fought at all had three. Belgium and Serbia were forthwith given three apiece and the new Kingdom of the Hedjaz was given two.

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PREMIER CLEMENCEAU

President Wilson decided to attend the Conference in person, thus departing from the previous practice of the government. He appointed as associates on the American delegation, Secretary of State Lansing, Colonel Edward M. House, Mr. Henry White, and General Tasker Bliss. The Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of England, France, Italy attended, namely Lloyd George, Balfour, Clemenceau, Pichon, Orlando, Sonnino. The Prime Ministers of several British Dominions also attended as did those of Serbia and Greece and Roumania, Pachitch and Venizelos and Bratiano. Belgium sent her Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hymans, Czecho-Slovakia sent Kramar, Poland Dmovski and many other men of importance and distinction were among the delegates.

The Conference was opened by President Poincaré of France in

The opening session

a masterly speech. "Forty-eight years ago to-day," he said, "on the 18th of January, 1871, the German Empire was proclaimed by an army of invasion in the Palace of Versailles. It was consecrated by the theft of two French provinces. It was thus, from the very moment of its origin, a negation of right and, by the fault of its founders, it was born in injustice. It has ended in opprobrium.

"You are assembled in order to repair the evil that has been done and to prevent a recurrence of it. You hold in your hand the future of the world."

Its organization

M. Clemenceau was unanimously elected president of the Conference. Subsequently committees were constituted to investigate the great subjects which would require settlement and to report; committees on Responsibility for the War, on Reparations, on International Labor Legislation, on Regulation of Ports, Waterways and Railroads, and on a League of Nations. Of the last of these President Wilson was made chairman, having announced that his main interest in the work of the Conference was centered in the League of Nations and having emphasized the importance of it in various speeches delivered in France, England, and Italy before the opening of the Conference.

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